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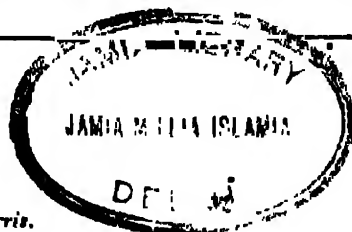
The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.



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	ADVERTISER

Owing to pressure on space we have postponed the publication of Dr. Ansari's letter addressed to Mr. Mohamed Ali in which he gives a most interesting account of the work that was being done on board the "Sardagna" and the daily routine of prayers, lectures and recreation.

All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference.*

The twenty-sixth annual session of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference opened on the 28th December, 1912, in the Kaiser Bagh Baradari in Lucknow. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was present during the morning when the President, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, M. D., I. M. S. (retd.), delivered his Presidential address which lasted over two hours.

Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami commenced his speech by a sympathetic reference to H. E. the Viceroy and a resolution of condolence was passed in silence, all present standing up.

After quoting at length a passage from the reply of the King-Emperor to the Address of the Calcutta University, which the President regarded as "the Magna Charta of the educational future of this country," Major Syed Hasan continued:—

"Let us hope the condition of education in India is not so deplorable as that depicted above. But the picture does not appear to be altogether unfamiliar. Some of its features and lineaments we seem to be able to recognise more or less plainly. With us also when the policy of your King-Emperor's speech has been fully carried out, we shall have no grounds for complaint. But for the moment it would appear that the decision of the Secretary of State, as conveyed in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter of the 9th August last, addressed to the President of the Constitution Committee of our proposed University, has undoubtedly given the coup de grace to our University movement, at any rate for some years to come. Nor has elementary education, which every Moslem state, whether of the West or of the East now regards as a sacred duty, fared any better hitherto.

"No intelligent person can pretend that Sir Harcourt's letter, if intended as an argument in support of the step the Secretary of State for India has been advised to take in regard to our University movement, is at all convincing. On the contrary, it would be legitimate to conclude from its general tone and temper that it was intended to put an end to all discussion and controversy.

"In the course of my future remarks it will be my duty to criticise adversely the conclusions of our Constitution Committee. But in doing so I disclaim the slightest intention of making any reflection on the personal honour of individual members or casting any doubt on their zealous devotion to the difficult duty

The Delhi Outrage.

Mr. ACHAND informed the House of Commons last evening that Lord Hardinge was steadily improving. He added that the indignation created by the outrage throughout India has been re-echoed from the dominions and foreign countries. The Secretary of State in Council had sent a telegram of sympathy to Lord and Lady Hardinge in which he was sure the House would share.

Messages expressing horror and indignation at the outrage are pouring in from every part of India. They include resolutions passed at public meetings held by (1) the Mussalmans of Datanli; (2) the Mussalmans of Jhelum; (3) the Anjum-i-Islamia, Nainital; (4) the Muslim Club, Nowshera; (5) the Mussalmans of Sargodha; (6) the Qasab Brotherhood of Delhi; (7) the citizens of Gorkhpur; (8) the Anjuman-i-Istikhad, Pilibhit; (9) the Mussalmans of Fatehpur Sikri, District Agra; (10) the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Gujrat, and (11) the Mussalmans of Hyderabad (Deccan).

The following bulletin was issued at 8 A.M. on Saturday, 4th January. The Viceroy's general progress is satisfactory. There was a slight decrease in the aching of the wounds all day yesterday and the process of healing is proceeding slowly.

The All-India Medical Mission.

We are glad to announce that we have received from Contantinople a cable, dated 1st January, sent by Dr. Ansari informing us that the All-India Medical Mission had safely reached its destination and that all the Members were well. A later cable from Dr. Ansari states that the Mission has much useful work to do.

* Owing to great pressure on space we have been compelled to postpone the publication of the Resolutions passed at the Conference and our comments on the Session's work. We regret that the same reason has compelled us to withhold a review of the Session of the Indian National Congress also.

—Ed., Comrade.

entrusted to them. In their anxiety for an early settlement they reflected the mood of the Moslem community who at the time were fired by the loyal sentiment and noble ambition of having the foundation of their University laid by the hands of their august Sovereign, then shortly expected in the country. Neither the committee nor the community realised that constitutions cannot be made overnight like fairy palaces. The futility of the attempt is now apparent to all, but it is easy to be wise after the event. When the committee consented to the various vetoes we find in the constitution they were contemplating their exercise by their own Chancellor. Even then perhaps his powers were too comprehensive and practically placed the University under a one-man rule. But in the light of the Secretary of State's latest decision the position is made much worse by transferring the powers of the Chancellor to the Government of India and practically making the university a Government institution instead of a communal one. For instance it is laid down that 'The Chancellor' (now the Government of India) 'shall by virtue of his office be the head of the University'. Again 'The Chancellor' (now the Government of India in Council) 'shall have power to enquire into every matter relating to the University and give such advice to the Court as he may deem fit about the improvement and welfare of the University. It shall be the duty of the court to take such advice into consideration and either act upon it or submit their views for the consideration of the Chancellor. If on the receipt of such report the Chancellor deems it necessary that his advice should be acted upon the Court shall do so' (sic) Let us not be too particular about the grammar of the last line. But you will observe that this statement is slightly altered from an existing rule of the College with the effect of making our 'Supreme Governing Body' that is to say the Court, supremely ridiculous and worthless. I will not trouble you further with the details of this precious constitution. What I have already cited will show you plainly that in the proposed University the Moslem community will not have much power left to their representatives.

"Now, I do not for one moment assert that the university founded on the lines proposed by the Constitution Committee will not be an excellent institution. True, it will be in practice altogether a Government affair, run by experts of the educational department, and hitherto on their own admission and on the evidence of men like Sir Valentine Chirol, efforts in the field of education have proved to be a failure. Their constant complaint is that they have failed to produce men of character, men of firm moral fibre; that they have only succeeded in turning out a number of graduates who have learned their work by heart without understanding it. Let us grant, however, that they are now going to turn a new leaf and succeed in future. But the question is why such an institution, however excellent, should be expected to especially interest the Moslem community and that so deeply as to induce them to sacrifice to it almost every educational asset they now possess and make themselves, as it were, educationally bankrupt for all time. Have we really formed any conception of the sacrifices that we are asked to make for this practically Government institution? Have we realised what it all means? Let us see. It means first of all the handing over to a department of the Government, for disposal at their will, of a few lakhs of rupees recently collected by an impoverished community in an outburst of enthusiastic local fervour, representing the hard earned saving of the poor and middle classes who could ill afford it, as well as the superfluities of the rich who could no doubt afford more. But even this sacrifice would be a trifle when compared with the sacrifice of Aligarh College itself for the glamour of the more name of a so-called university. Here is what we read in a quotation from the proposed Act: 'On and after the date of the establishment of the university the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, shall cease to exist as a separate corporation and shall be incorporated with the university.' 'Cease to exist,' gentlemen, and for such a university as I have endeavoured to give a sketch of for your benefit! To such a university all property, moveable and immovable, of every description belonging to the college together with all its rights and privileges, are to be transferred. The work of Sir Syed a lifetime, the tender plant of 40 years' growth cherished by the whole Moslem community, nurtured by the hands of their most trusted leaders, thirty lakhs or so of money (a drop in an ocean when we consider the requirements of a really first class university, but still representing the supreme effort of a community poor in comparison with other sections of the Indian people), all this heritage which we hold as sacred trust, we are asked to sell; and for what? For a morsel of pottage, for a university which we can in no sense of the word call our own. Can the Moslem community accept such a university as the fulfilment of all their hopes, all their aspirations in the direction of founding an autonomous institution, where they could carry on more efficiently and on a sounder basis and a larger scale the work they have begun at Aligarh, an institution enjoying at least the measure of self-government enjoyed by Aligarh College and in its administration free from interference by Government officials? We asked for bread and we are offered a stone.

"It must be said that our Committee were not solely responsible for the proposed scheme. They had to consider what the Government were prepared to offer. It was probably a case of 'Take it or leave it.' The share of the Government in this business betrays in my opinion an amount of suspicion and distrust of our people which is not justified either on theoretical grounds or as a result of past experience and which in my humble judgment is unworthy of an all-powerful central Government such as the Government of India. That Government is the supreme administrative authority for the whole country and can and does exercise its administrative functions whenever and wherever it chooses to do so. Can it be contended for one moment then that—constitution or no constitution—the Government could not at once put a stop to any improper or unwholesome tendency developed by any university to which it had granted independence in the management of its internal affairs—subject only to its supreme control when and if the necessity should arise for its exercise. So much for theoretical grounds.

"Let us turn to past experience. For the last forty years the leaders of the Moslem community have administered the affairs of Aligarh College in a manner which has earned them the well merited commendation of all competent judges, principal high Government officials, Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors and other high personages. The Education Commission of Lord Curzon which reported against 'denominational' universities spoke very highly of the College and its organisation and management. The College has always taken the lead in all educational reforms such as the residential system and the tutorial method of supervision—reforms to the use of which the official world is only now waking up and which have not yet been quite successfully imitated in Government institutions. The men, graduates and undergraduates, turned out by Aligarh College have received the meed of highest praise from Government officers in positions of the greatest responsibility, some of whom I may be allowed to quote. Here is what Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, has to say of them: 'The popularity which the College has obtained and the men it has turned out are proofs of the wisdom with which it was founded. Although it may not be given to every one to strike as justly the balance between the ideas of the East and the West as it has been to Syed Ahmed with his vigorous understanding and his strong personality, those who are acquainted with the young men who have passed through this college will probably agree with me that they show a markedly distinctive signs of their training as do the pupils of our public school in England and the graduates of our universities. An Aligarh College man has become synonymous with men of liberal ideas, advanced education, and independent character. He has become, above all, the type of the class of Indian who endeavours to do full justice to English desires, but expects us to do equal justice to his own.' Again, to quote the same authority: 'To have been an Aligarh man is, I have over and over again found, a passport to the respect and confidence both of Englishman and Native. They carry with them the stamp of their training, the impress of the man under whom their training has been accomplished.'

"Another Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Sir Charles Cradock, made the following observation in the course of his reply to an address of the Trustees: 'What is the reputation of your students? They have the character of being upright and manly, loyal to the Government under whose protection they live, courteous and respectful without servility, and fitted by their upbringing for the practical work of their life.' Thus what has been especially recognised, these high officers and many others is that Aligarh has succeeded in forming character and that its alumni are men of integrity, intelligence, and practical administrative capacity.

"It will be observed therefore that the record of the Trustees of Aligarh College is not such as to warrant the sprits of suspicion that pervades the whole of the scheme before us as modified by the Secretary of State's latest decision. The Government of India having according to their own avowed failed where the management of the College has been so eminently successful, now wishes to take in its own hands the management of the proposed university and assign to the trustees a position of responsibility without power—a most unenviable position to judge by the examples of it one comes across in this country.

"What is more, if you accept the scheme you may find a member of your own staff exercising the veto and assuming full control of the policy of the college, if he happen to have influence in high quarters or a friend well placed in the educational service. Those who have any knowledge of the power of a demi-official or private note in India, cannot possibly remain insensible to this danger.

"It might be said on the other hand that our attitude on this question shows a distrust of the Government which is not warranted by circumstances; that although the vetoes and reservations have been put in the scheme as a matter of precaution they will seldom or never be exercised unless absolutely necessary. But this is not

a correct interpretation of our position. It does not signify a distrust of the Government but of a system of constantly changing succession of officers of more or less educational training some of them unacquainted with or unsympathetic towards our national requirements in education, some with fads and hobbies of their own and others full of the ideas just now in fashion of the undesirability of education for any but the nations of the West. Historians have observed that one of the greatest drawbacks of what is known as a 'Benevolent Despotism' is want of continuity in policy and administration. The intrinsic weakness of the system is that it is impossible under it to ensure the permanence of any reform. It is under such a form of Government that we are believed by many to be ruled in India. But, however that may be, we suffer from this particular failing of that system in an intensified form. In the 'Benevolent Despotism' of the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first few decades of the nineteenth, changes in policy and administration followed only on the death of the sovereign or the removal from office of some great minister of state under whose influence the sovereign happened to be for the time being. In India while the administration changes every five years, the official life of administrative officers of departments is very small indeed on an average. This I consider a very important factor in the successful administration of such institutions as colleges and universities. It is to my mind at the root of the success of Aligarh College as an educational institution. We have had here continuity of action combined with a full knowledge of our requirements, and sufficient autonomy to be fairly free from constant official interferences. Time and labour have been freely and willingly placed at the disposal of the institution by the best intellects of the community. The administration has been sympathetic. The students have not been looked upon as mere mechanical toys to be made to assume any desired posture or perform any given action by the pressing of sundry buttons or the winding up of certain springs. They have on the contrary been treated as human beings with all their feelings, sentiments and passions, joys and sorrows, virtues and vices, merits and follies. What we wanted was to be able to continue this class of administration in a university which we could call our own. The Secretary of State's latest decision makes this impossible not only by what it offers to us but almost more so by the reservation which it lays down in regard to his future discretion as to the details of the constitution. Therefore we must dismiss from our thoughts, as a bad dream, all that we have hitherto fondly hoped we were going to get. Let us curb our craving for deputations and respectfully inform the Government that we have no use for the kind of university that is offered to us. Let us not forget within a few years of the passing of our great and trusted guide and leader and friend, the founder of all our hopes of advancement as a people,—the illustrious and incomparable Sir Syed Ahmed Khan—let us not forget so soon the one great lesson he taught us, the lesson of self-help. At this critical juncture in our fortunes it is the one quality which is likely to stand us in good stead and to bring us safely out of what I may call in colloquial phraseology a 'tight corner.' "

Major Bilgrami after discussing the affiliation question which he regarded as much less important than that of the supreme control of the University, proceeded to sketch out for the audience the ideal to which the University should strive, and mentioned the affiliation scheme. Continuing he said:—

"It will be more profitable to discuss first what we can do with Aligarh College as it now is and in what way we can make it even more useful for our community over the whole of India than it has been in the past. In other words, how far can we go with advantage in the direction of a charterless University, ready to be converted into a chartered one, if the time should ever come, as no doubt it will come, when some Secretary of State may, by a turn of the political kaleidoscope, change the whole aspect of affairs. But should all Secretaries of State remain forever obdurate we can still have an institution which would subservise the purpose of a national university of a very useful type, in spite of the limitations which will be necessarily imposed upon it by the refusal of a charter by the Government.

"Let us examine then in detail what we can do under present conditions in advancing Aligarh in the direction of a charterless university, to be converted under favourable circumstances into a chartered one, and in other character subserving the purpose of an Educational Establishment for the whole of India based primarily on the special requirements of the Moslem community and managed entirely by their representatives, but open to all classes of people of all nationalities and religions.

"In our quest for such a university it is useless for us to look for models in the existing universities of the world. No single model, such as Oxford or London, Göttingen or Berlin or Paris will answer our purpose. Our requirements are such that we shall have to combine the features of more than one type of university in order to get what we want. The main point is to know what that is.

"A recent writer (President Charles Franklin Thwing, LL.D.) divides the universities of the world into four classes, of which the lines of demarcation cannot be defined with absolute exactness because at many points they run into one another the same university presenting in varying degrees the features of more than one class. Yet the types are sufficiently distinct to be easily recognisable when met with. 'One class, and perhaps the more normal, has for its purpose the discovery and the publication of the truth. The schools of this class are devoted to learning and to scholarship. The laboratory and the library are their tools, and observation represents their method. The universities which are called rather by the social than by the geographical name of Germany are the more conspicuous members of this class. They represent the most impressive form of the higher education of modern times.'

"The next type, represented by Scottish and American Universities, 'seeks primarily for the development of character through the power of thinking. Scholarship finds its place too in this class, but less dominantly. The aim is rather intellectual and ethical, the aim is personal, directed toward the individual.'

"The third type has for its real purpose the making of the gentleman-men 'in whom' in Dr Thwing's words 'the intellect, the heart, the conscience, the will, and the æsthetic faculty are' so blended and made so harmonious that they become at home in any society.' The type is represented by Oxford and Cambridge.

"The fourth class 'seeks to train men of efficiency, its members endeavour to make graduates who are able to earn their living' just as professional schools of Engineering or Medicine do. 'Universities of this class belong especially to the Far East. They are found in India, China, Japan.' But listen further to the pathetic words of Dr Thwing, 'The reason is not far to seek. The means of subsistence are so small, the margin dividing starvation from bare existence so narrow, that every force must be utilized, every method employed, which shall add a crumb to the food or thread to the garment. The universities of Tokyo, of Calcutta, of Peking represent this type of efficiency.'

"Our University at Aligarh, chartered or unchartered, must combine the features of all these types, and add to them some special feature of its own. And what better guide can we have to our requirements than the noble words of our Kien-Emperor, when he says 'No university is nowadays complete unless it is equipped with teaching facilities in all the more important branches of the Sciences and the Arts, and unless it provides ample opportunities for research. You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western Science. You have also to build up character, without which learning is of little value.' Again, 'Let your ideals be high and your efforts to pursue them unceasing.' If we add to this the necessity for religious education which has been so fully recognised on all hands, which constitutes an essential element in the formation of character we have a complete guide to what the Aligarh of the future is to be.

"In all these directions we can raise Aligarh to a much higher state of perfection, and bring it much nearer to our ideal of a University, while waiting for another turn in the wheel of fortune. But during this interval of strenuous life, our labours and our efforts must not be confined to Aligarh alone, but carried on simultaneously over the whole of India in building up those institutions which if and when your ideal is fully realised, will become legally affiliated to the mother university at Aligarh. But in reality their affiliation must begin from the very first day of their start—an affiliation in spirit and soul, a spiritual affiliation, though not a legal one. They will take Aligarh as their model in every respect, including its residential and tutorial systems, its religious instruction, theoretical and practical, its games and sports and its *esprit de corps*. Where the teaching of these institutions does not go beyond the Matriculation or the Intermediate stage they will send up their matriculates or their P.A.'s, as the case may be, to the unchartered Aligarh University from the first. If they teach up to the B.A. standard their affiliation must for the time being continue to be spiritual only—but they can send their graduates up to Aligarh for post graduate study and research work, and in many other ways which I will specify presently, take their full share in Aligarh life and tradition. You will of course understand that the affiliation of these schools and colleges scattered over the length and breadth of India must under all circumstances be absolutely voluntary. Even if the Government gave us a charter with full power of affiliation, it will rest with the Schools or Colleges whether they will elect to be affiliated to Aligarh or not.

"Now while the Moslem schools and colleges of India are germinating and ripening, Aligarh itself must not only get more nurture in readiness from them, but must also expand vastly in order to meet her full responsibilities, and that is the work of years even of generations. I propose presently to enter into practical details of work that is before Aligarh, but this I must say here that thirty lakhs or so we have hitherto collected will not go far towards it. We must redouble our energies and never rest until

the sum has reached a round crore of rupees. Charter or no charter, we shall want all money we can get to raise Aligarh into a first-class and up-to-date educational institution, a model for the rest of India. But never forget that this can only be done under communal management and never under the hesitating, vacillating, unsympathetic educational policy of a bureau. The first practical step that I wish to propose is only one that will cost little or no money. I propose that the name of our college be now changed to Muslim University College, Aligarh, in token of the determination not to swerve from the purpose of having a Moslem university at some future date. It will also be a shorter and less cumbersome name than the present one of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College which now is invariably contracted into an Anglo abbreviation of M. A. O. College, a somewhat enigmatic term not understood by public outside India and requiring a great deal of explanation in conversation with the European at the end of which he gives up the attempt to grasp it.

"In order not to alarm you unnecessarily I may say at once before discussing the higher work of our University that the new Aligarh will continue to act as a mill for grinding out the requirements of the various Government services and departments, and at the same time providing a livelihood for a number of our young men to whom no other source of supporting life is open and whose highest ambition never soars higher than the official seat of a Munshi or Deputy Magistrate. Our University must continue to employ every method which shall add a crumb to the food or a thread to the garment of our impoverished community. This I know is not what the ideal of a University has been in the past nor is it the professed ideal to-day. The doctrine of 'Knowledge for its own sake' is still preached very widely at the inauguration of new universities or at big functions at the old. Newspapers din into our ears and feel very virtuous and very moral for doing it. Men high in the seats of the mighty declaim about it from their sublime heights. We can never hear enough of it in this country. But the truth is that it is now a mere pious aspiration. A formula now meaningless at least in the West that has come down to us as a relic of better times. In the old days it used to be the boast that the very idea of utility was desecration to true learning. We now find the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford making provision for teaching Medicine and Engineering and Agriculture. The Universities of Manchester and Leeds would have received few endowments or donations if they had not undertaken to specialise in commercial and technical education. The truth is that the modern spirit of commercialism in education has destroyed the highest ideals in the field of learning and nowhere is that spirit more rampant than in the England of to-day, in the centre of the world's commerce. The whole of the discussion with regard to compulsory Greek at Oxford is significant of the spirit of the time. At Cambridge it is impossible to induce an undergraduate to take up Arabic unless and until he is first promised a cadetship in the Egyptian service. The College of Oriental learning, which it is proposed to establish in London, has only been made possible because it will have the special function of giving linguistic training for commercial purposes. In England every ounce of knowledge has its exchange value in pounds, shillings and pence, but I shall not waste your time in quoting examples. This spirit of commercialism in education has invaded this country also and is, at least in part, responsible for that decline in the veneration due from pupil to teacher which we sometimes notice nowadays and which we all deplore. In the old days so long as the teacher could support himself or some patron of learning undertook to find him in food and raiment he expected no remuneration for his teaching except his name and fame. His pupils were to him like so many sons of his own. Thus in the mosques and shrines and private houses of Delhi, Lucknow, and Benares men gave themselves entirely to their pupils, as they do to-day at the University of Al-Azhar in Egypt and as they did in Europe in the days of monastic scholarship. The pupils then looked upon any service, however menial which they were allowed to perform for their teachers as a mark of his special favour and of high honour. In a lesser degree I am glad to say, the spirit still exists in this country under modern conditions, where the right kind of teacher and the right kind of public get together. But to obtain the best result a certain amount of warmth of heart, of genuine interest in the welfare of the pupil, and a little enthusiasm in work are requisite on the one hand, and on the other, a disciplined mind, a mind disciplined both by proper home training and at school. Where strict commercialism in education is the order of the day so much money for so many hours' work done some how, the spirit of veneration is apt to be destroyed. The best people in England complain that it has gone out of Oxford and Cambridge."

He then related the difficulty that educated Indians have in finding suitable profession when their courses of studies are finished. Referring to the Legal profession he said:—

"From the parlours of Whitehall and Cromwell Road to the great centres in India where men of importance and authority among the

ruling race and their echoes among our own do congregate, the cry is "Down with the lawyers!" I have inquired into the reason for bias against a class of useful men whom the British system of administration of justice has brought into existence. Authoritatively I have only been told of two reasons. One is that they make a lot of money. For this delinquency of course we cannot blame them. There is very little to be made by our people in any other profession. The second and presumably the most important reason is that they encourage litigation by carrying appeals from one court to another as far as possible. I suppose this charge can be brought against certain types of legal practice in any country and we might at once admit the truth of it in a limited sense for ours. But there is another side to the shield, I asked a most loyal pleader, a writer of many loyal pamphlets which he has had translated into English for private distribution. He himself cannot be accused of knowing that language. His view of the matter was that these appeals are not the result of any special vice or perversity on the part of the lawyers, but of very feeble, often fantastic judgments delivered by young gentlemen whose conspicuous ability does not always include a knowledge of the law. So that the only conclusion we can come to is that unless the whole judicial system of the country is changed and every man on the judicial bench made a law unto himself this necessary evil of appeal to higher courts must be continued in the interests of their clients by every honest and honourable lawyer. I have only one more word to add to this part of my subject and that is that the out-cry is loudest against Barristers. Now I have no patience with the men who without any foundation of liberal education to build upon or ability to grasp the meaning of what law they read, get called to the Bar by dint of much cramming and after many failures. Nowhere else have I witnessed such painful and patrimony as among the many all but illiterate and misguided young Indians who in the past have got into the legal profession in that way. We should, therefore, be very grateful to the Council of Legal Education for the regulations which require a fair standard of preliminary knowledge for entrance into the legal profession in England. They should save a great deal of misery and disappointment both to the young men themselves and to their parents out here. But I still adhere to what I said on my return to England from my last trip in India some five years ago at a public gathering in which many young Indian students were present. I then said that the Bar in India is overcrowded but only for fools. That for men of real ability there is room and to spare. To that statement I hold fast still."

The President dealt at length with the various aspects of the Moslem educational problem with special reference to the development of Aligarh. He discussed the need of religious education and laid special emphasis on the importance of scientific training as well as the desirability of the Mussalmans taking more to commerce and industry.

Sir James Meston's Speech.

Sir James Meston, replying to an eulogistic speech of the Raja of Jehangirabad, said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

As this is entirely a communal gathering, I feel I have no position except that of a guest and visitor who must feel grateful for the cordial reception given to him. But I cannot allow the few words my friend the Raja Sahib has spoken to pass without any acknowledgment. I cannot lose this opportunity of expressing the pleasure and edification with which I as well as every one else in this room have listened to the eloquent address delivered by the President. There are some things in it with which I cannot profess to agree as there must be some things in what I have said with which the President may not profess to agree. Yet that does not prevent free comment and frank speech. Free criticism is the key note of the President's speech (Hear, hear.) There are words in it of great wisdom which I trust you and the future generations will remember. I cannot hope anything better than that this meeting would be conducted in the same spirit of sobriety, wisdom and moderation in which the President's address has dealt with many topics to-day. The only other thing which I wish to say is to refer to an important paradox in the address—not the paradox to which the learned President has himself referred, but to the paradox in the last para, and the earlier portion of his speech when he refers to the relations between the Government and the community. All that I have to say is that whatever might have happened in the past, now there is no suspicion between the Government and the people. (Loud cheers.) I firmly hope and believe that as long as you speak freely and frankly to Government and as long as the Government speaks freely to you there will be no cause for this. Mr. President and gentlemen, it is not my intention to inflict a speech upon you, and I shall say no more except this that I hope your conference will end in success. (Loud and continued cheers.)

The Comrade.

The Blank Cheque.

THIS Christmas week which brought to a close the eventful year 1912 would long remain memorable in the history of the Mussalmans of India. Although the year has been strangely eventful in the Moslem world, the "leaders" of the Moslem community in India were determined to impress on the world its significance in a still more strange fashion. The All-India Moslem League was to be choked with pathetic subs and smothered in crapo; and the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference was to commemorate the only sessions in which the Moslem University of its annual resolutions was an absorbing topic of discussion by ignoring it altogether. It is true that a special meeting had been called by Khan Bahadur Nawab Mozammel-ullah Khan, the officiating Secretary of the Foundation Committee of the Moslem University, to deal with the situation created by the decisions of the Secretary of State for India and the opinion thereon of the Constitution Committee. But there was no guarantee that anybody would respect the conclusions arrived at by a body of delegates for whose election no rules were prescribed and whose delegation nobody was likely to scrutinise. The gentleman who had invited the delegates seems himself to have put a value on the significance of their delegation by absenting himself as usual from the deliberations of his community. But the week that brought an eventful year to a close proved in the end to be no less eventful. The Council of the League took a most significant step in amplifying the political creed of the League in a manner that is certain to have far-reaching results, and the spirited Presidential Address of the Conference, with its refreshing candour and its unhesitating desire to face facts and find a solution, made ample amends for the dullness of a Conference, in which the Joint Secretary had to make more speeches than all the other members put together for want of others inclined to speak.

When on the 10th and 11th August the Constitutional Committee passed its resolutions and adopted the draft of a letter in reply to that of Sir Harcourt Butler, there was no room for doubt that it arrived at these conclusions not only because its members were left unconvinced by the arguments of the Secretary of State, but also because they knew that outside its President's Kaiserbagh residence, too, there was a community which would not approve of any other settlement of the question. The proper course for the "leaders" to pursue after this was to fix a convenient date and place for a meeting of such members of the Foundation Committee as cared enough for the future of the Moslem University to attend and record their votes. In our opinion Lahore was the most suitable place and a suggestion was privately made to Mr. Shafi to arrange for the Foundation Committee's meeting some time in September. We regret that this suggestion was not acted upon, and that the same fate was in store for another private suggestion that the Dasera holidays should be utilized for such a meeting in Lucknow. Much valuable time was lost, but is it not worth enquiring, why? The "leaders" had to choose between Government and their own community. Not that the Government of India were opposed to the views and the wishes of the community. That is a suspicion as mischievous as it is unjust. On two distinct occasions that Government had approached the Secretary of State and supported the series of compromises embodied in the final draft of the Moslem University Constitution. But it is no secret that the Hon. the Member for Education, who had prevailed in the Executive Council of the Viceroy at an earlier date, had now turned his persuasive powers towards the Mussalmans with a view to bring round the community through its "leaders" to accept the Secretary of State's decisions.

The "leaders" were, therefore, in this predicament. They approved at heart the conclusions of the community but did not relish the idea of speaking out their mind boldly and frankly to Government. On the other hand, they were willing enough to submit to the Secretary of State, but had not the courage to face the community and openly advise it to submit. We are conscious that this generalisation is somewhat inapplicable to one or two prominent men who perhaps never liked the idea of affiliation. But even if they had accepted affiliation silently they had accepted it all the same, and, what is more, they had knowingly profited by their silent consent in collecting the University Fund. Faced by the alternative of winning the approval of the Secretary of State or retaining the confidence of the community they followed the tactics of the weak: they delayed their decision and as a consequence now find that perhaps they have lost both. One of the "leaders" made a halting effort to persuade the community against its better judgment, and led up to this in a series of articles in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. His "excellent second" in

every controversy, who had opposed him in the Constitution Committee in a moment of unusual "self-assertion," soon returned to the meek ways of an "excellent second" and sent round a "Confidential Circular Letter" supporting his principal's views. And finally came the famous dialogue between "Mateenullah" and "Josh Muhammad"—printed and published perhaps at the cost of the Conference—proving the superiority of his own cold reason over the effervescent emotions of his community. But so little confidence had these cold reasoners in the persuasiveness of their eloquence and arguments that even after this circularising and pamphleteering they did not dare to leave the final decision in the hands of their much circularised and pamphleteered community.

When the members of the Constitution Committee met at Lucknow last August, they had to face a somewhat delicate problem. The Government of India had received probably in the previous March an intimation of his views on the Moslem University from the Secretary of State, and as he was for giving away powers on which the Government of India had stubbornly insisted, and yet demanded a radical alteration of the Constitution such as the Government of India felt it would be most unreasonable to demand, specially so late in the day, they wrote back to the Secretary of State trusting that he would reconsider his decision. The only result of it was that Lord Crew, instigated no doubt by some members of his Council, declared that his decisions were final. A Press *communiqué* was issued from Simla, but as it left it doubtful whether the Government of India were the original sinners or only the reluctant messengers of evil news, they became involved in much of the odium resulting from the Secretary of State's decision. In fact to this day the Government of India have to bear the castigation for more than one sin of the Home Government without having themselves enjoyed the pleasure of sinning. After all that they had done in the matter of the Moslem University, they felt the pain of their castigation doubly, and issued another Press *communiqué* pointing out the sinner for whom they had vicariously been punished. But like disciplined people they loyally tried to carry out the bidding of their official superior, and the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler used his great talents in trying to make out as good a case as possible for the Secretary of State and his Council. Had this been all there would have been little to complain of; but the fear is that Sir Harcourt has been using his still greater talents in trying to win that case also.

When his letter of 9th August 1912, was received by wire on the same day at Lucknow, the members of the Constitution Committee, who had assembled to discuss the situation created by the Press *communiqué* of the Government of India, knew well enough their own minds and the mind of their community. They could have easily rejected the proposals of the Secretary of State contained in the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler without much debate. But they realised soon after their arrival in Lucknow that such action would not fit in with the difficult position of some of the members, and they were even invited to consider a postponement of all actions till the return of H. H. the Aga Khan to India. That meant the postponement of the expression of a clearly indicated, united and strong public opinion for nearly half a year. This suggestion was, therefore, instantly rejected, and it was pointed out that H. H. the Aga Khan had already expressed his views clearly enough by asking for subscriptions on the distinct understanding that affiliation would take place, and also after the issue of the Press *communiqué* by his cable desiring that Government should be requested to reconsider its decision. This cablegram had strengthened the hands of the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, and it was suggested to him that as his Committee was only constituted to frame a Constitution, it could well avoid the responsibility for rejecting a university such as the Secretary of State was willing to permit but could discuss his decisions merely as suggestions for the modification of the draft Constitution. The Foundation Committee, which was comprehensive enough to include practically all the educated men in the community, and was formed on a very broad basis could well take the responsibility of facing the "final" decisions of the Secretary of State with a final decision of its own. These suggestions were heartily accepted, and for obvious reasons, and a firm but courteous reply was sent to Sir Harcourt Butler. It now remains to explain the efforts that have since been made—for equally obvious reasons—to deprive the Foundation Committee of the power to frame its final decision while accepting the full responsibility for that decision.

A plan was improvised whereby instead of the Foundation Committee declaring its opinion itself a small body of delegates were invited to do so vicariously on behalf of the Foundation Committee. But it is easier to improvise such electorates than to make their elections practicable, and we have no means of knowing whether even in a single instance a delegate was returned by these hastily improvised electorates in what we can call a reasonably regular manner. It is, however

certain that a very small minority of the District Committees and Associations returned a delegate, and although they were not sufficient to falsify our prophecy of empty benches, even they were sufficient to falsify our predictions of a "show of loyalty." In view of this, no less than of the clamour of those who had not been sent as delegates but felt they had much to say about the future destiny of the Moslem University, the powers that be tore into shreds their own hastily improvised constitution for a committee of delegates, and granted to the Mussalmans then present at Lucknow something even more Radical than a Manhood Suffrage.

When the meeting commenced on the 27th, the Baradari was packed with everyone who chose to come in, including the much maligned students of our colleges and schools. But instead of an omnibus resolution supporting the conclusions arrived at by the Constitution Committee last August, the meeting was provided with an agenda in which was included a resolution tamely accepting the Secretary of State's decision on the subject of affiliation of outside colleges. Such a naked submission was judged to be too unattractive for the community, and it was clothed with a show of much disapproval and a request for permitting the recognition of outside schools. Naturally the first two resolutions based on those of the Constitution Committee were unanimously passed in a few minutes. But this unanimity disappeared when Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, the President-Elect of this year's Conference, threw a bomb in the assembly in the shape of a resolution protesting against the Constitution Committee's compromise which gave the Viceroy-Chancellor the last word in all matters relating to the internal management of the University. It was here that it found an occasion to assert itself, and it did so in no uncertain manner. The "leaders" made every effort to break down the opposition of the meeting, and failed—for the obvious reason that the community even as represented in that meeting distrusted them. They had accepted compromise after compromise in the hope of getting the Government to permit the establishment of a tolerable Moslem University. But it was clear that in spite of their pliability and complacency they had failed in their object and what was offered to them was a University which the Moslem community could under no circumstances tolerate. The resolution placed on the agenda of this meeting was the last straw, but instead of breaking the camel's back it only made the camel inclined to throw off the whole of its hefty load.

Those who were present at the meeting, and those who heard of the proceedings subsequently, have described it in various manners. But to our mind all that happened was exactly what any body of people, who were genuinely anxious to safeguard the vital interests of their community, would do in a condition of intense emotion, when they were being fooled or bullied into a tame submission to the will of one whose anxiety for their welfare and knowledge of their requirements were in no way comparable to their own. The scene enacted was certainly far more dignified than the rowdiness into which even the top-hatted and frock-coated assembly of 670 stolid and generally middle-aged Britons, truly representative of the culture and commonsense of their country, sometimes breaks when its feelings are roused. But for our part we must frankly confess we have no desire to see even such mild sensations repeated as were noticeable on the 27th December in the Kaiserbagh Baradari. Nevertheless, with all its sins on its head, we value the meeting greatly, because we trust it has convinced the "leaders" that it is hopeless to control the community without first winning its confidence by a consistent pursuit of its ideals and interests, and that democracies can be persuaded even to folly and error but cannot be bullied into the most virtuous and most profitable submission.

When all efforts to pacify the audience on the 27th December had failed, and it was apparent that not only unity was impossible, but that in such an atmosphere as had been created by the blundering repression of the "leaders" it was doubtful if even a most reasonable solution which savoured of submission to the will of the Secretary of State could be made acceptable to the assembly, the meeting was adjourned until the 29th December. The interval gave the "leaders" time, as the meeting of the 27th had provided them with food for reflection. What the result was became apparent when the adjourned debate was resumed and within an hour unanimity was practically restored. In a small conference overnight it was decided to pass an omnibus resolution embodying the wishes of the community, among others, on five important points, as expressed by the Constitution Committee last August, and in the course of discussion on the 27th December, and to appoint a small committee, representative of the different shades of public opinion in the various provinces, authorised to wait on His Excellency the Viceroy in the form of a deputation to represent the wishes and requirements of the community, and, after all necessary representations, to act and finally settle in a manner it considered proper in the best interests of the community all matters

relating to the Moslem University. If the committee appointed can be considered a fairly satisfactory microcosm of the Moslem community and truly representative of the different shades of opinion and occasionally conflicting interests, then we think the solution arrived at on the 27th December is under the circumstances the only practicable alternative. We would have preferred a series of representations to Government based on the wishes of the community followed by a final referendum to the community itself. But in view of the fact that nearly half a year has been wasted through the vacillation of the "leaders," and every moment's delay is dangerous, it appears to us inadvisable to postpone matters much longer, specially when we know well enough even to-day how the community feels and what it thinks on the subject of the Moslem University. Moreover, in all such controversies the holding of meetings and public discussions in the press only weaken the chances of the people's success. Governments differ among themselves just as frequently and as violently as the people, but in all negotiations for a workable compromise they possess the inestimable advantage of having a complete machinery of Executive Council meetings with closed doors, secret despatches and telegrams and cables in cipher. For instance, all that we know of the mind of Government on the subject of the Moslem University itself is that in the middle of May, 1911, it held certain views which it expressed with perfect unanimity through some Members of the Government of India; that in September, 1911, it held somewhat different views, but held them unanimously and expressed them through the Member for Education; and, finally, that on the 9th August, 1912, it held totally different views in deference to the Secretary of State, and communicated them to the Moslem community with the same unflinching unanimity in the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler. As a matter of fact, Government has indicated that although in some matters the last word has been uttered on the subject, in others it reserves to itself the right of expressing any opinion that it chooses to have, and to impose it on the Moslem community. On the other hand, whenever the Moslem community has discussed a matter, whether in committee or a public meeting, its differences and discussions have been there like an open book for all to read. Even when it sat with closed doors it failed to exclude the agents of Government from its councils for Iqbal's complaint is only too just.

بوسے گل بگئی بیرون چمن راز چمن
کیا قیات ہی کہ خود پھول میں غار چمن

Quite early in the discussions about the Constitution of the University, Government knew even better than the Mussalmans themselves what opinions His Highness the Aga Khan had on the subject of the Government control in the Senate, what views were advanced once more by the Oligarchs of Aligarh on the subject of the community's representation among the Trustees, and how far these opinions were at variance with those of the community at large. Again, when the Constitution Committee met in September 1911, at Simla, the Member for Education knew well enough even the names of those who would oppose the new condition sought to be imposed by Government as regards the appointment of Professors. Similarly, when the Constitution Committee met in August, 1912, at Lucknow, there was not a single expression used in the meeting, much less a broad divergence of opinion, with which Government was not acquainted soon after the meeting was over. And, finally, after the meeting of the 27th December last at Lucknow, Government knew well enough how the community was divided between those who were anxious to have a "row" those who were prepared to negotiate within certain reasonable limits, and the "humile obedient servants" who were prepared to accept every thing *dead beat*.

Now we ask, how long is this game to go on in which the Moslem community has to play the dummy and lay down all its cards on the table, while the Government refuses to disclose its hand and is even unwilling to declare that it has no other cards to play except those in its hand? It is for this reason that we support the decisions arrived at on the 29th December appointing a committee to be the plenipotentiaries in the negotiations that must take place before the University is finally established. But although we are opposed to further open discussions likely to turn the hand of the Mussalmans, we are equally opposed to the line of policy suggested to us by the "leaders" of offering more concessions to Government. The community has been beaten back from its Kirk-Kilossa; it has retired from its Tchorin and Lüle Burgas; it hopes to retain anything of importance, surely it must discover its Tobatalja Lines behind which it can stand up and maintain its honour and dignity. Concessions coming from the stronger side are signs of magnanimity; concessions coming from the weaker side are signs of even greater weakness, and give rise to demands for more concessions. That is

why it is necessary that the Moslem community must wait and see what the Government is prepared to concede out of its plenty before it offers concessions out of the little that it possesses.

In recommending to the community the granting of a blank cheque to a small committee we took care to add an important proviso: the composition of the committee must truly represent the composition of the community. That is no easy matter in itself; but on the whole we are satisfied that every view and interest is now properly represented, and although no doubt opinions will differ as to the qualifications of this or that individual, as they always differ according to the different estimates which different people form of their neighbours, and it is certain that hardly two persons in the whole community could draw up an identical list of 24 representatives of the community, we believe that on the whole the composition of the committee is fair and just.

What was, however, of no less importance is the procedure which was agreed upon before this blank cheque could be applied for and gained from the community. Knowing well enough the feelings of the community on the various points embodied in the resolution, the members of the committee have bound themselves to make every endeavour to have those feelings respected by Government, and while the representation on each of these points will be made by that member of the committee who is credited with being the most ardent advocate of that opinion of the community, the entire committee will offer him its support when dealing with Government. But when Government makes counter-proposals, the committee will retire and discuss among its members fully and frankly the situation created by such proposals, and although its final decisions will be based on the opinion of the majority, it is agreed that no concession will be made until and unless a substantial majority supports it, and the most ardent advocates of the popular view on that point are persuaded that it would be in the interests of the community to make that concession. These restrictions qualify very materially the expression which we have used to indicate the result of the Lucknow meetings, viz., the granting of a blank cheque to a small committee. In reality, while the committee is the plenipotentiary of the community, it has received explicit instructions as regards the terms it should make every effort to obtain, and we hope the members realise the full significance of their responsibilities.

It is a matter for no little gratification to us that it should have been the *Comrade* which was selected in the person of its editor to appeal to the Moslem community for the blank cheque which the committee has now obtained. This journal is hardly two years old to-day, and the success it has achieved and the circulation which it has obtained throughout the Moslem community of India, not to mention the respect it commands in other circles also, is best illustrated by the success of what was in reality a personal appeal. As Mr. Mohamed Ali said at Lucknow, no business man can carry on his business without having to apply some time or other for an overdraft, and the response to his application indicates the credit he has established for himself in the business world. Ours is a business established only a little while ago, and we have been loth to apply to any section of our countrymen for an overdraft on the strength of our credit. Nor have we ever found ourselves in a position in which an overdraft was indispensable to meet our liabilities. But at Lucknow it was the "leaders" that stood face to face with bankruptcy and we were asked to accept an overdraft of theirs which without our acceptance had no chance of staying off the impending disaster. We did so for reasons which we have mentioned above; but although it is no little gratification to us to find even proud Antonius appealing in their hour of need to a Shylock whom they never spared, the greater gratification is that in appealing to us they have recognised the power of the community for which we have so often pleaded. Ours is not going to be a cruel bond like Shylock's forced by malice out of vanity and over-confidence. But we trust the men whose face has been saved by us remember that they pledged to us something dearer than a pound of flesh nearest the heart. It is nothing less than the honour of more than a score of Mussalmans to whom their community has often looked up, and that is no little matter. Governments change and ministers and high dignitaries of State follow each other in a continuous succession. But a community lives for ever, and there is not one member of it who can dispose with its blank cheques at all times. Whether such blank cheques will be offered to them again depends altogether on the figures which the committee appointed on the 23rd December fills in the blank cheque which it obtained on that day through our instrumentality. We appeal with every hope to the honour of each and every member of the committee and we trust we do not appeal in vain. But if any of them fondly hopes that he has discovered in us a cat's paw useful enough to draw his chestnuts out of the fire of his community's wrath, let him not forget that even the harmless necessary cat has at times other uses also for the paw.

The Creed of the Moslem League.

ALTHOUGH the Council of the All-India Moslem League had decided, as we had announced, on the suggestion of His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, to hold no session of the League this year, it was subsequently resolved to convene a meeting of the Council of the League on the 31st December, 1912, and to permit such members of the League as had previously announced their intention of attending the meeting to do so and to take part in its deliberations, though not in the voting. When the meeting was actually held a further concession was made to the popular demand in permitting non-members also to express their opinions on the subjects under discussion as if they were ordinary members of the League. Whatever may have been the motive of those who agreed to hold no session of the League this year, it is certain that they form a very small minority of the community whose destinies they desire to shape. In this respect the Council of the League has proved no better than other committees of the Mussalmans, which are composed of the holders of different opinions in quite a different proportion to that of the holders of similar views in the community at large, and often provoke a quarrel with the community with results very different from those on which they calculate. In fact, it is coming to be noticed that these bodies have got a psychology and an ethics much the same as the psychology and the ethics of the House of Lords in England, without its justification in an ancient tradition, and it will not take many years before they come to realise that in every quarrel which they provoke with the community they are likely to come off only second best.

The meeting of the Council held on the last day of the eventful year 1912 was practically in all respects a much curtailed session of the All-India Moslem League, except that the members of the League who were not permitted to vote returned home with a grievance, while the original purpose of displaying the customary suit of solemn black and maintaining a funeral demeanour was altogether frustrated. As for the vanity of human wishes, the meeting was as lively as it well could be imagined and its temper had become unusually Radical on account of the unnatural restraints which the Conservative majority of the Council at the suggestion of two distinguished leaders of the community had decided to impose upon it. The Council certainly missed a well-prepared Presidential Address redolent of the fragrance of the midnight oil. But some important speeches which came straight from the heart and sincerity of the soul compensated the audience for the absence of greater elaboration and cleverer political rope-dancing. It is true there were no new resolutions nor the repetition of some hardy annuals which mostly serve the purpose of advertising the lesser known member of the League as proposers and seconders. But in the political creed of the League, which was formulated anew, this memorable session held within it the significance of a hundred resolutions, for it gave expression to a solid fact which no Viceroy or Secretary of State can unsettle.

Those rash generalisers who show in their actions even more than in their words that evolution is an abstract expression only to be found in books on science but never in real life have not hesitated to accuse Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of having been opposed for all time to Moslem participation in the politics of the country, to the National Congress and to the Hindu community. Those who knew the man in real life are the only true judges of his feelings towards his Hindu brethren, and we only wish that some of our Hindu and Moslem Nationalists could count as many true friends in what is often regarded as the rival community as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan possessed. In his writings and speeches there is ample enough proof of his genuine desire to treat Hindus justly and co-operate with them for the creation of an Indian Nation. But his opinion on the Congress needs no intimate knowledge of the man himself, for it is manifest enough from his speeches and writings; and if due allowance is made for many speeches having been made impromptu, and for the occasions on which they were made, as well as the ardent temperament of the speaker himself, it would be apparent to all who read them that their author desired at best a temporary separation of the Mussalmans from the Congress rather than their permanent abstention from political discussions or refusal to co-operate with other communities. We deem it a high honour to consider ourselves to be among the disciples of the Sage of Aligarh in political as well as religious and educational ideals, but we felt it no inconsistency in welcoming and even taking our humble part in bringing about the advent of the All-India Moslem League six years ago. And to-day, when that body has formulated self-government suitable for India as its political creed, we have no hesitation in saying that we have assisted in the matter in a way that would have met with the approval of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his cordial and active encouragement had Providence spared him to guide to-day the policy of his community and his country.

When the officiating Honorary Secretary sent round the agenda of the Council meeting, the chief item of which was the consideration of a new draft of the League's rules and regulations, little did the members imagine that they were asked to consider one of the most vital questions concerning their community. But so it was. Hitherto the League had confined itself to the maintenance and promotion of feelings of loyalty in the Moslem community, to the advancement and protection of the interests of the Mussalmans; and, without detriment to these two objects, the cultivation of harmony and good relations between the Mussalmans and other communities. When these objects of the Moslem League were formulated the community was going through a time of considerable uneasiness caused by the political affairs of the country. The Partition of Bengal had been carried out only a year ago, and had created among the Hindus of Bengal an unrest which had no parallel in the political life of India. The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal felt, and rightly felt, that the Partition would do them immense good, and that the Hindu opposition to the Partition was to a large extent based on this very reason. They had, therefore, thrown in their lot with the Administration of the new Province, and the Mussalmans of other parts of India felt bound to lend their moral support to their brethren in Eastern Bengal when the Congress took up the cause of the Hindus of Bengal as if it were a national cause and deserved the support of the whole of India. Moreover, soon after his arrival in India, Lord Minto took up the question of a reform of the Legislative Councils, and the Mussalmans knew that the system of representation in legislation, and to some extent in the general administration, would probably be extended. Hitherto they had left their communal interest in the hands of the Government, but with the withdrawal of that bureaucracy it became necessary for them to rely on their own efforts, and having had no chance of representing the views of their community in the legislatures of India under the system of election then prevailing, they found it necessary to appeal to Lord Minto's Government, through the famous Simla Deputation, for the modification of the system under which they could no longer hope to have their interests properly represented until and unless an Indian Nation, which then appeared almost as far as ever, came into being. The recovery of the Mussalmans from their political coma was hastened by the clearly indicated liberal intentions of the Government itself. But the first political acts of the Mussalmans after a long period of suspended animation were bound to be intensely communal, because when the Moslem League came into being one fact was patent, that strong and self-asserting communities were claiming rights and privileges in the name of the Nation when they really meant to benefit only a community or even a caste. It was also apparent that at least a certain section of Hindus in Bengal, the Punjab and the Deccan entertained towards Government feelings that can hardly be described as loyal. It was, therefore, necessary for the Mussalmans to express their own feelings of loyalty somewhat ostentatiously, not only with a view to impress Government with their firm intention of offering it their support, but also in the interests of the younger members of the community some of whom were liable to lose their balance through the intoxication born of the heady wine of politics of which they were taking the first copious draught after a long period of political torpor. This accounts for the fact that when the creed of the Moslem League was formulated for the first time six years ago both loyalty to Government and the protection of the communal interests of the Mussalmans found a prominent place in the Moslem programme. No doubt the promotion of harmony and concord with other communities was mentioned as another object of the League. But it was necessary to add the saving clause that these things were to be promoted without prejudice to Moslem loyalty and the advancement of Moslem interests. Such was the creed of the League when it was founded and those among the Mussalmans who may now sneer at what was done six years ago would do well to remember that this creed was formulated by some of them and some of the most prominent men who share their views to-day.

In the matter of the electoral reform of the Legislative Councils the Mussalmans succeeded well enough, although they have yet to achieve success in the matter of the electoral reform of local bodies which is extremely essential. But on the 13th December, 1911, the Partition was annulled when least expected, and it was annulled without any compensation being offered to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. That momentous announcement is destined to have far-reaching results on the political growth of India some of which are no doubt well worth learning for the Mussalmans even at the cost of a majority in a province, although there are some lessons lying with us which we trust Government will not now be late in persuading the people of this country to unlearn. But the despatch of the Government of India which moved the Home Government to authorise the changes it proposed would long be memorable for the bold plunge that the Government of India made into the political future of the country. However hard and subtly Lord Crewe may now try to explain away paragraph 3 of that despatch,

it is certain that self-government came large before the vision of the Government of India, and be it said to their credit that they welcomed it like statesmen and indicated their desire to hasten its approach. In view of the momentous change foreshadowed in that despatch, it has once more become necessary for the Mussalmans to examine their political chart, and while avoiding the submerged rocks in the perilous seas around them, they must turn the head of their ship towards the new haven. Eight hundred years of practical administration of a country is bound to create in any community a distaste for mere theorising and a practical instinct which is generally found to be much safer than the faculty of subtle reasoning. It was this instinct of the Mussalmans that led them to work for their educational awards before they formulated their claims even to a moderate participation in the administration of the country. But if the period of thirty years which intervened between the foundation of the Calcutta University and the establishment of the National Congress was just long enough for the new generation of Hindus to develop into manhood and strive for rights and privileges of at least political adolescence, the Muhammadans can neither be blamed for tardiness nor for undue haste if they too come forward to take their proper share in politics after the same interval after having established the nucleus of their future university, for exactly 30 years intervened between the foundation of Aligarh and the establishment of the Moslem League. To-day, when the Moslem League has placed self-government on its programme, it is true it has done so much earlier in the process of the political evolution of the community than the Hindus did. But it must be acknowledged that the Congress has done a good deal of pioneer work for it, and even travelling at the same pace as the Hindu community the Mussalmans were bound to come to the half-way mark from which their ultimate destination is clearly visible after a lesser interval than those who had to hew down the wood and clear the way.

But even now when the Mussalmans have accepted self-government to be their ultimate destination they have not done so through a love of meretricious theories. Their practical instinct has once more come to their assistance, and that at a time when it was most necessary. We recognise that it would not do for any community in India to walk in its tents because the world is moving at a faster pace than it can cope with. It must either induce others to slacken their pace or make efforts to come into line with them. In the creed which has just been formulated by the League we see a welcome indication that Mussalmans are not going to let the part of King Canute and imperiously command the rushing tide to recede.

But they are not negligent of the proper safeguards against the flow of the tide which not only brings rich cargoes to the shore, but sometimes deals destruction also. In the first place, we are glad to note that they have no desire to play the redulous ape in asking for a particular form of self-government because somebody else enjoys it in the British Empire or some one in India has made it the ultimate ideal. The world has considerably changed even for the British Empire since the Allahabad Convention of the Congress when the Colonial form of self-government became the creed of the Moderates. Ireland is likely to have self-government much sooner than it was considered at the time, and other parts of the United Kingdom are not likely to remain always without their own Parliaments. At the same time, it may be that just as the form of self-government suitable for the Colonies has not proved suitable for Ireland, the forms of self-government now familiar to the British Empire may not suit India. Who can say that the same conditions as prevail in other parts of the Empire exist even to-day in this country? To take only one instance, are we to forget the Native States for ever, and may not the German Confederacy provide some political lessons for us when we turn our attention from British India, which is an artificial creation, to India as a whole which her geographical outlines and historical associations have made a compact integer? It is, therefore, a matter for extreme satisfaction that the words "suitable for India" qualify the system of self-government which is to be the ideal of the Moslem League.

In the next place, the framer of this important object of the League has gone beyond the commonplace phrase "through constitutional means" in giving an outline of the methods by which self-government is to be attained. It must be remembered that it had become necessary to qualify the methods of attaining self-government in this manner by the Moderates of the Congress because there was such a party as the Extremists who desired no such restrictions to fetter their political liberty. The Muhammadans have no such need to define the character of the methods which they desire to pursue in order to attain their object, for there are no divisions among them like the Moderates and the Extremists, and if true moderation comes to exist among their "leaders" we have every confidence that they would avoid one more pitfall into which the political pioneers of India unfortunately fell. What is, however, necessary, not only for the Mussalmans but for all the communities that have new bottles into which the old

wine is being poured, is an indication that the goal is yet very distant if not dim, and that the way is long and wearisome. Idealism by all means, but not without patience, is the advice that the young need in every emotional community, and the Mussalmans owe it to the Hon. the Law Member, who in his freer days delivered the most remarkable Presidential Address of the League, that the Honorary Secretary in framing the creed of the League wisely included "a steady reform of the existing system of administration" as an indication of the slow process of attaining the *quoniam bonum*. Indian administration is far from perfect to-day, but the progress made during the last seven years has been so rapid, that even if the pace is not accelerated it will not take long for the country to reach its destined goal.

But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible, nor even on the relationship that comes to exist between the rulers and the ruled that the attainment of self-government depends. Self-government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation, and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual feels the unity of his individual self in spite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body, and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her self-government. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation-making as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal. Every country has within itself both centripetal and centrifugal political forces, but the powers of each of these differ according to the circumstances of each. In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nation-makers in India we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted. India is to be a *pluribus unum*. Its unity would come out of its differences, but it must be remembered that unlike America the lines of cleavage in India are not territorial but communal, and those who have seen the extra-territorial patriotism of the Mussalman during the present crisis will do well to remember that without ceasing to be Mussalmans they cannot merge their communal identity in their territorial patriotism of province or country. All that we hope is that in adopting self-government as their goal with an astonishing unanimity, the Mussalmans of India have not acted like the astronomer who fell into a well because his gaze was too intently fixed on other planets than his own. Disillusion will soon overtake them if they have forgotten their own political situation in this country in remembering too well the sad plight of their co-religionists in Tripoli and Morocco, in Persia and Turkey.

We have not spared the officiating Secretary of the Moslem League when to our mind he has been weak; but to-day we can find it in our hearts to forgive him all and to thank him not only on behalf of the Moslem community but of the whole country and of the Nation in being for providing them with a political creed which is destined to affect the beliefs and convictions of the men of to-day and of generations yet to come.

We also offer him here, as Mr. Mohamed Ali did in the course of discussion at Lucknow, our cordial support in maintaining that loyalty should be placed in the forefront of the objects of every political organisation in the country, and we have no more faith in the diagnosis of those who think that the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans are the outcome of what they call the Moslem parade of loyalty and the Gate-keeper's claims than we find any justification in their taunts that the Mussalmans have been shouting their loyalty from the housetops. A few calculating men have no doubt harped on loyalty too often just as they have made much personal capital out of the protection of communal interests. But that is no more reason for giving up the profession of loyalty than for discarding the declaration that the League shall advance and protect communal interests. The loyalty of the Mussalmans is a well established fact and we shall not pause to make invidious comparisons, for we have no desire that other communities should lag behind them in this respect. We trust that in course of time the loyalty of the whole of India would become so real and well-grounded that a declaration of loyalty in the political creed of any association will merely pass for a polite convention not unlike the oath of allegiance which the Members of Parliament in England and our own Councillors in India are required to take. So long as the political relationship of India to England is unique among the nations it is necessary to keep the loyalty of India to the British Crown in the forefront of India's political creed, but even when this unique character ceases to exist we trust the dignity of the Indian Nation would not be so delicate as to be unable to bear

the weight of the convention of loyalty. And dignity should not be proclaimed from the housetops any more than loyalty. To-day it is necessary to work for the creation of a nation by promoting unity between the various communities of the country and fostering a public spirit which would refuse to tolerate the self-aggrandisement even of the community that is most numerous and most powerful, and it is our firm belief that whatever may be the policy of this or that ruler of India it is in the connection of India with Great Britain which has made it possible for an Indian Nation to come into being. A nation would be the greatest blessing that England would confer on India, and those who work for it and hasten its advent, whether Indian or English, are deserving of our eternal gratitude.



The Moslem University.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the Mussalmans held at Lucknow on the 27th and 29th December, 1912. At first H. H. the Nawab of Rampur and subsequently the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad were in the chair:—

1. The name of the University should be "The Moslem University, Aligarh, and not the Aligarh University."

2. The Moslem community is not prepared to invest the Governor-General in Council with those powers which it was proposed to vest in His Excellency the Viceroy as the Chancellor of the University, and expresses its regret at the disapproval of His Majesty's Secretary of State of the appointment of His Excellency the Viceroy as Chancellor of the University and pray for a reconsideration of this decision.

3. Proposed by Mr. Mohamed Ali and seconded by Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami.

This meeting views the decisions of His Majesty's Secretary of State as contained in the letter of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, dated Simla, 9th August, with profound disappointment and regret. Having regard to the views expressed by the Constitution Committee and in this meeting in the course of discussion, among others,

- (i) that the name of the University should be "The Moslem University, Aligarh;"
- (ii) that with regard to the control, the powers proposed to be vested in the Chancellor should not be vested in the Governor-General in Council;
- (iii) that the power mentioned in clause 5 of chapter III of the Statutes should be the same as that conferred on the Patron under section 41 of the Rules and Regulations of the Trustees of the Aligarh College;
- (iv) that with regard to affiliation, the Statutes should remain as proposed; and
- (v) that the provisions in the Constitution relating to the powers of the Court, the Council and the Senate should not be modified;

and further, having regard to the momentous issues involved therein, this meeting appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen with full powers and authority to act and finally settle all matters relating to the Moslem University in such manner as may seem proper to them in the best interests of the community, and to wait in deputation on His Excellency the Viceroy and to make all necessary representations in this behalf.

Ex-Officio:—H. H. the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., President of the Moslem University Foundation Committee.

The Hon. Raja Sir Ali Muhammad Khan, K.C.S.I., of Mahmudabad, President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee.

Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan, C.S., Secretary-Elect of the Board of Trustees of the M. A. -O. College, Aligarh.

UNITED PROVINCES:—Nawab Vigar-ud-Daulat, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, The Hon. Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, Mr. Nabiullah, Mr. Wazir Hasan.

PUNJAB:—Dr. Mohamed Iqbal, K. B. Mian Mohamed Shafi, Capt. Malik Mubarez Khan, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Rahim Baksh, C.I.E., Mr. Fazle Hussain.

BOMBAY:—Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Fazalbhai Currimbhoy.

BENGALE:—The Hon. Mr. Justice Hasan Imam, Mr. Sultan Ahmad.

BEHAR:—Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq, Mr. Fakhruddin.

MADRAS:—Seth Yakub Hasan, Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan Kalami.

CENTRAL PROVINCES:—Khan Bahadur H. M. Malik.

DELHI:—Mr. Mohamed Ali.

ENGLAND:—Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Dec. 26.

A Constantinople wire says that the Government yesterday telegraphed the counter-proposals of the Porte to be submitted to the Peace Conference.

A Sofia wire says that political circles declare that the cession of Adrianople is a *sine qua non* for peace.

The semi-official *Mir* publishes an article warning the governing classes of the Allied States of the dangers which may arise from the insulting anti-Bulgarian diatribes appearing in a portion of the unofficial Press of the Allied States.

A message to the *Times* from Salonica says that in view of the determined stand of the Turks at Janina, where they are estimated to have 40,000 men, another Greek division is embarking for Prevesa.

London, Dec. 27.

A Constantinople wire says that according to the newspapers the Turkish counter-claims to the terms of the Allies include the retention of Adrianople and Salonica under Turkish sovereignty. They concede to Bulgaria a port on the Aegean similar to that conceded to Servia on the Adriatic. They refuse to entertain the idea of a pecuniary indemnity.

The delegates of the Allies express amazement at the Turkish counter-proposals as published, and emphatically declare that they could not be seriously discussed at the Conference. Meanwhile the Powers are earnestly counselling moderation in Constantinople.

The Allies declare that they will never agree to Adrianople remaining Turkish, and any serious proposal to that effect would wreck the Conference.

London, Dec. 28.

Reuter understands that the Turkish counter-proposals will be submitted to-day to the Peace Conference. Both parties are presenting their maximum demands with a view to mutual concessions. A compromise is therefore likely. Reshid Pasha presided to-day and is thus advantageously placed for defending Turkish claims. A lively debate is certain.

Later.

The Peace Conference met at eleven o'clock to-day and adjourned at 15-25 until four o'clock on Monday afternoon. Reshid Pasha presided. He submitted the Turkish counter-proposals which proved to be unacceptable, whereupon the Turkish delegates declared they must communicate again with Constantinople.

At the Conference to-day the Turkish counter-proposals were, firstly, that the vilayet of Adrianople should remain Turkish. Secondly, that Macedonia should be converted into a Principality with Salonica as a capital under the sovereignty of the Sultan and under the rule of a Protestant prince from a neutral state chosen by the Allies and nominated by the Sultan. Thirdly, that Albania should be made autonomous under the sovereignty of the Sultan and under the Prince Imperial of the Imperial Ottoman family chosen for five years with possibility of renewal. Fourthly, that Crete was not a matter for the Conference, but between Turkey and the Great Powers.

A general discussion took place at the Conference of the Ottoman proposals. The Allies emphasized that the Turks did not recognise the facts of the situation, particularly in regard to Macedonia. They requested fresh Turkish proposals, which would take into consideration the terms of the Allies. The Turkish delegates refused to give a definite answer as to whether to-day's proposals were their last word. The Allies pointed out that the discussion of Macedonian reforms was quite unacceptable at this stage.

London, Dec. 29.

Reuter learns that the representatives of the Balkan Allies at the Conference are of opinion that the proceedings at yesterday's Conference have weakened the original belief in Turkey's sincerity. It is now felt that Turkey is seeking to gain time in the hope of something turning up to her advantage. Some of the delegates are convinced that the time has come for the Powers to speak plainly and put an end to Turkey's tergiversations. There are hints of a Balkan ultimatum if the Turks prove uncompromising. The Albanian circle disapprove of the Turkish idea of an Ottoman prince for Albania. They want a European prince with European advisers.

Turkish delegates, in an interview with Reuter's representative, admitted that their counter-proposals embodied more than they expected to get, but they were only following the example set by the Allies. The Turks remain apparently adamant on the subject of Adrianople, which they declare is indispensable to the security of Constantinople and European Turkey. Nevertheless, in spite of the 'Turks' outward firmness, it is expected that they will submit an amended scheme to-morrow on which it will be possible to negotiate.

London, Dec. 30.

A Constantinople wire says it is stated that as a result of a prolonged meeting of the Council of Ministers instructions have been sent to the delegates in London to propose that the differences be referred to the Conference of Ambassadors.

A semi-official note was issued at the conclusion of the Council stating that while Turkey is animated by a conciliatory spirit, and is desirous of the success of the negotiations, she can in no circumstances assent to the cession of Adrianople.

A Constantinople wire says that most of the Ambassadors have advised the Porte to endeavour to come to terms with the Balkan States. The warning of the Russian Ambassador of the danger of delay owing to the situation in Asia Minor has disagreeably impressed official circles, in view of the agitation in the army, which is believed to be fostered by the Committee of Union and Progress, in favour of the resumption of hostilities.

An Athens wire states that fighting continues at Bizani, which commands the road to Janina. Several Turkish attacks on the Greek positions have been repulsed.

London, Dec. 31.

The Conference met again to-day when Dr. Danoff presided.

The Turkish delegates said that their instructions were incomplete and further reference to Constantinople was necessary.

The Conference adjourned until Wednesday. Both sides continue to show the greatest determination regarding Adrianople.

The delegates of the Allies, interviewed by Reuter, said the Turks at the Conference announced that it was the opinion of the Porte that the majority of the disputed questions should be submitted to the Powers, excepting the question of the Turco-Bulgarian frontier, which should be settled between Turkey and Bulgaria.

Reuter understands that the steps which the representatives of the Balkan States will take at the meeting of the Peace Conference on Wednesday, should the Turkish proposal again prove unacceptable, will partake of the character of an ultimatum.

The Powers have decided nothing concerning Turkey's proposal that they should take some action to promote peace. Meanwhile the Ambassadors in Constantinople are urging moderation and they emphasise the necessity for Turkey recognising the present situation.

London, Jan. 1.

Reuter learns that Dr. Danoff and Reshid Pasha met privately on Monday and discussed the whole situation earnestly attempting to arrive at an understanding.

It appears that the Turkish attitude is influenced by the attitude of the army, which demands the retention of Adrianople.

Bulgarian circles in the London declare that there have been many desertions from the garrison of Adrianople recently.

It is understood that immediately peace is concluded Austria and Italy in the name of Europe will invite Servia to withdraw her troops from Albania.

It is reported in Vienna that Rumania wants the cession of territory on the Danube amounting to about 1,150 square miles.

The Peace Conference sat for four hours on Wednesday and adjourned until Friday. It is believed that much progress was made. It is officially stated that the Conference discussed the Turkish counter-proposals and that an agreement was reached on certain points. The discussion of others was adjourned till Friday.

London, Jan. 2.

The Turkish counter-proposals were to cede all occupied territories westward of the vilayet of Adrianople which would remain Turkish subject to the rectification of the Turco-Bulgarian Frontier to be negotiated between Turkey and Bulgaria alone. Albania to be autonomous, the Powers settling its boundaries and political organisation. As Crete was en dépôt with the Powers the latter must be consulted before any decision was taken in regard to it. As

regards the Aegean Islands they belonged to Asia Minor, and it was impossible to cede any, but Turkey was prepared to discuss questions concerning them (apparently meaning reforms) with the Powers. The Allies replied that the cession of territory to the westward of Adrianople must comprise all and not only occupied territory. The Turks yielded on this point. The Allies refused to admit separate negotiations with reference to Adrianople. All negotiations must be with the Allies as a whole. The Turks again yielded. The Allies objected to the ratification of the frontier proposal as too vague, and asked the Turks to submit a definite boundary with a map at the next sitting. The position of Crete was a matter between Turkey and the Powers, and the Allies said they would possibly approach the Powers later, but Turkey must relinquish all rights to the Island forthwith. The Allies insisted on the cession of the Aegean Islands. In regard to the points which they had not yielded, the Turks finally stated that they would ask for fresh instructions from Constantinople. The Balkan Allies have assented to the Turkish proposals regarding the autonomy, boundaries and political organization of Albania. It was generally noticed that the language of the Ottoman delegates yesterday was much more conciliatory regarding Adrianople. The talk of the autonomy of Macedonia with Salonica as capital has been definitely abandoned. The Balkan delegates recognise that much progress has been made. The advice given at Constantinople has already had a good effect, which is reflected in the more moderate attitude of the Turks. The utmost friendliness prevailed at yesterday's sitting, though occasionally there was a sharp discussion. It is stated that the Conference yesterday proved that the union of the Allies was closer than ever.

The report that Austria may oppose the cession of Scutari to Montenegro has excited general resentment at Cetinje.

In an interview with Renter's representative Dr. Danoff said that the position of affairs had not improved so much as some imagined.

"We expect," he said, "the new map of the boundary respecting Adrianople at to-morrow's sitting. If we find to-morrow that the map does not accord with the Allies' terms negotiations will be broken off. We shall also insist upon our terms regarding the island."

The Peace Delegates.

TURKEY.

MUSTAFA RENDID PASHA.

ONE of the most experienced Turkish diplomatists. Has had some service in the Balkans, where he was Secretary in Charge of the Imperial Ottoman Commissionership in Bulgaria from 1890 to 1898, and Minister in Bukarest from 1894 until the beginning of 1896. He was promoted to be Ottoman Ambassador in Rome in April of that year, and was soon raised to the rank of Pasha. He remained here for many years until 1908, when he was transferred to Vienna, an appointment which he took up in January 1909, and retained until October, 1911. In the summer of the present year he entered Ghazi Muktar's Cabinet as Minister of Mines and Forests, and his activities in connexion with Turco-Italian peace negotiations at Ouchy in September and October last can be regarded in the light of a special qualification for his present appointment.

GENERAL SALIH PASHA.

A cavalry officer, he was at one time in disfavour under the Hamidian regime and was exiled to Erzurum. In 1906 he was for a time Vali of Scutari, and in August, 1908, shortly after the re-establishment of the Constitution, was appointed Assistant Chief of the General Staff under Izzet Pasha. Next year, on the advent of Hilmi Pasha to power as Grand Vizier in May, he entered the Cabinet as Minister of War, but retired with his chief in December and was appointed Director of Cavalry in 1910, under Mahmud Sherket Pasha, who had succeeded him at the Seraskierate. After this, on the outbreak of the war with Italy, he became Minister of Marine, but went out of office with Said Pasha in July of the present year. He has recently been appointed Minister of Public Works in Kiamil Pasha's fifth Cabinet, which was constituted only last October, and in addition to this he is also acting as Minister of Marine *ad interim*.

OSMAN NIZAMI PASHA.

A Soldier-diplomatist, partly of German origin, he resided in Bulgaria for some time as a member of the Commission of Enkaf, and in 1896 was appointed Secretary of the Cretan Reform Commission. In 1905 he became Assistant Chief of the General Staff, but three years later deserted war for diplomacy and was appointed Ambassador in Berlin in September, 1908. On the occasion of the presentation of his credentials shortly afterwards the German Emperor took the opportunity of making an emphatic manifestation of good-will towards Turkey. At one time it was

believed that he was to represent Turkey at the negotiations for the Tchataldja armistice, and he left Berlin for Constantinople, but did not actually take part.

GREECE.

M. ELEUTHERIOS VENEZELOS.

Was born in Cerigo in 1864, after its cession to Greece, of one of the oldest and most distinguished families in Hellas. The Venezelos trace their origin to the Florentine Dukes of Athens in the Middle Ages, and can claim an authentic patron saint in St. Philothea Venezela, who was beaten to death by the Turks in 1589, and was subsequently buried in the Cathedral of Athens. Eleutherios, whose father was expelled from Crete by the Turks, studied law at the University of Athens and in Germany, and after the establishment of Cretan autonomy he, although an Hellenic subject, became Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Island Government in May, 1899. In September, 1901, his policy no longer coincided with the wishes of the High Commissioner, Prince George of Greece, and he resigned office, becoming for a time unpopular. In Opposition, however, he achieved a considerable reputation, and soon after the resignation of M. Zaimis from the High Commissionership (in which he had succeeded Prince George in October, 1908) M. Venezelos became the leading man in Crete. In January, 1910, in the middle of the politico-military crisis in Greece, he was invited to Athens in order to advise the Ministry, and when a National Assembly was convoked for the purpose of revising the Hellenic Constitution he headed the poll in Attica, although he was at the time (September, 1910) absent in Crete. On the fall of the Dragoumis Cabinet in October in the same year M. Venezelos became Prime Minister, and has since then devoted his whole energies to the rehabilitation of Greece in every way. He is responsible for the inauguration of those measures and reforms which have proved so effective in the army and navy, and under his Administration the finances of the kingdom have been greatly improved.

M. SKOULOUDIS.

A Chiote, formerly a banker in Constantinople, who, after retiring from business, settled in Athens and was elected several times to the Greek Parliament. In April, 1897, he joined M. Ralli's Cabinet and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and by his ability was able greatly to mitigate the terms of peace which were imposed on Greece by the victorious Turks after the war of 1897. He retired from office in October of the same year.

M. JOANNES GENNADIUS.

He was born in Athens in 1847 of an Epirote family, and early entered the Diplomatic Service of his country. Appointed Attaché in Washington in 1871, he was promoted to be Second Secretary in Constantinople (1873) and First Secretary in London (1875). After acting as Chargé d'Affaires in London from 1876, he attended the Berlin Congress in 1878 as a member of the Hellenic Mission. On his return to London he succeeded in rehabilitating Greek finances to such an extent as to secure the quotation of Greek securities on the Stock Exchange for the first time for 50 years. In 1880 he went to Constantinople as Chargé d'Affaires, but shortly afterwards returned to London in the same capacity before leaving in 1882 for Vienna as First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires. In March, 1886, he became Resident Minister in London, and was sent to Washington in connexion with the tariff of 1888. His special mission was successful for Greek commerce, as were also his efforts for a treaty of commerce with this country in April, 1890. After this he was promoted to the full diplomatic rank of Minister and retained the position until the retrenchments of 1892. Being out of sympathy with the Greek policy after 1897 he lived in retirement until August, 1910, when he returned to London once more as Minister. M. Gennadius married an English lady in 1912, and is an Hon. D. C. L. of Oxford and an Hon. LL. D. of St Andrews.

M. GEORGE STREIT.

The grandson of a German who went to Greece in the time of King Otto, M. Streit is the son of a former Governor of the National Bank of Greece who was Minister of Finance in the Zaimis Cabinet of October, 1897. He is a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and for a time was Legal Adviser to the Hellenic Foreign Office and Professor of International Law at the University of Athens. In September, 1910, he was appointed to the position which he now holds—that of Greek Minister in Vienna.

The Hellenic Delegates are assisted by a Legal Adviser, by two Military Commissioners, and by a special Cretan Representative. PROFESSOR POLITIS.

A Corfiote who has devoted himself to the study of International Law. After studying for some time in France he was appointed

to the Professorship of this subject in the University of Poitiers, and subsequently to the same office in the University of Paris—a rare distinction for a foreigner.

GENERAL DARGIS.

An Albanian from Epirus who before the present war was in command of the Athens Division of the Greek Army. He is the inventor of an improved form of mountain-gun, and was Chief of Staff to the Crown Prince Constantine throughout the recent successful campaign.

COLONEL METAXAS.

Has studied in the Berlin Military Academy, and as a member of the Hellenic General Staff is credited with the preparation of some of the chief lines of the Northern advance.

M. ALEXANDER RHANGABES.

Was Private Secretary to M. Zaimis during his tenure of the High Commissionership of Crete from October, 1906, until August, 1909, and had considerable influence upon the affairs of that island during the régime of the Provisional Government. He attends the Delegation at the special request of M. Venezelos.

BULGARIA.

DR. DANOFF.

From 1894-1897 he was Vice-President of the Sobranye, and in March, 1901, became Minister for Foreign Affairs in M. Karaveloff's Cabinet. In January, 1902, he succeeded his chief as Prime Minister, but resigned office in May, 1903. After this he became Professor of International Law in the University of Sofia, and represented Bulgaria in the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. In September, 1911, he was elected President of the Sobranye, and subsequently, as President of the Grand Sobranye, was largely responsible for the revision of the Constitution carried out by that Assembly. In November of this year he went to Vienna on a special mission to Count Berchtold in connexion with the Austro-Servian difficulty, and afterwards was a Bulgarian delegate at the recent negotiations for an armistice at Tchnaldja, where he presided at the sessions. He has just visited Rumania, being charged with a special mission to King Charles and his Cabinet.

GENERAL PAPRIKOFF.

During the Servo-Bulgarian war in 1886 he served as Assistant to the Chief of the General Staff, and in 1889 was Commandant of the Military Academy in Sofia. In 1891 he was attached to the General Staff as Intendant, and became Chief of the Administrative Department of that body in 1883, finally becoming Chief of the General Staff in 1897. In January, 1899, he joined the Cabinet of M. Grekoff as Minister for War, a position which he retained under that statesman's four immediate successors—M. Ivantchoff, General Petroff, M. Karaveloff, and Dr. Danoff. In April, 1903, he resigned his portfolio in favour of General Sayoff, and was appointed to the General Staff as Inspector of Infantry. This he relinquished in order to go to St. Petersburg as Bulgarian Minister in January, 1907. On the invitation of M. Malinoff he returned to Bulgaria and joined his Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs in January, 1908. In this capacity he did much to preserve the peace of Europe during the crisis which ensued on the proclamation of Bulgarian independence and the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. In November, 1910, he was once more sent to St. Petersburg as Bulgarian Minister, and retained that position until October in the present year, when he returned to Sofia, only to be appointed Bulgarian military representative with the Montenegrin Army.

M. MICHAEL MAJANOFF.

Born in 1854, he was educated at Robert College, near Constantinople, and became a member of the High Court of Eastern Rumelia. In 1882 he became Comptroller-General of the Finances of that province and Director of Finances in 1885. In February, 1896, he became Minister of Public Works and Communications in M. Stoiloff's Cabinet, a position which he retained until January, 1899. In September, 1911, he was elected Vice-President of the Sobranye, and in January of the present year was appointed Minister in London. He has been editor of the *Mir* and other publications.

The Bulgarian Delegates are assisted by a Diplomatic Adviser and a Military Commissioner.

M. MILTCHOFF.

Has been Chief of the Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia since 1907.

COLONEL JOSTOFF.

SERVIA.

M. STOYAN NOVAKOVITCH.

Has had a long and varied Ministerial and diplomatic career in the service of his country. In October, 1881, he took office

as Minister of Public Instruction and Worship in the Protchanski Cabinet, and retained the position until October, 1883. He accepted the Ministry of the Interior in the Garachanin Cabinet in October, 1884, but went out of office in the next year. In September, 1886, he was appointed Minister in Constantinople, and continued to represent Servia at the Porte until 1891. In 1894 he became President of the Council of State, and in July, 1895, took office as Prime Minister, and at the same time directed the Foreign Affairs of the country. He resigned in December, 1896, and in January, 1898, returned to Constantinople as Minister, remaining there until 1900. He next went to St. Petersburg in a similar capacity and was Servian Minister in that capital from February, 1901, until 1903. For a few months in 1909, from February to October, M. Novakovich was once more Prime Minister, but did not retain for himself any Ministerial portfolio.

M. ANDRA NIKOLITCH.

In 1890 he joined the Cabinet of General Grouitch as Minister of Public Instruction and Worship and retained that position under M. Pashitch in his 1891-92 Cabinet. In April, 1893, he entered the Dokitch Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs, but retired from office in 1894, at the same time relinquishing his membership of the Council of State, which he had held since 1890. In December, 1896, he resumed the portfolio of Public Instruction and Worship under Dr. Simitch, retaining it until October, 1897. For a few days in May, 1902, he was in M. Pashitch's short-lived Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and again in the same capacity in the Grouitch Cabinet of October, 1903. He returned to the Council of State in the same year, but when the Cabinet was reconstructed in February, 1904, the Foreign Office was undertaken by M. Pashitch, and M. Nikolitch retired. The attempted reconstruction in the December of the same year, in which he was once more in charge of Public Instruction, failed, and he immediately accepted the same office in the Cabinet of M. Pashitch, who was General Grouitch's successor. This Ministry went out of office in the following May, but M. Nikolitch returned to power with his chief in April, 1906, still in the same capacity. When M. Pashitch, after twice reconstructing his Cabinet, resigned in June, 1908, the Minister of Public Instruction retained his portfolio under the new Prime Minister, M. Velimirovitch. This Cabinet went out in February, 1909, and M. Nikolitch did not again take office, but in October of that year was elected President of the Skupstina, a position which he still retains.

DR. MILANKO VESITCH.

Was appointed Servian Minister at Rome in June, 1910, and remained there until the beginning of 1903. In July, 1904, he went to Paris as Minister to the French Republic, an appointment which he still retains. He is a member of the Institute of International Law, and is a Servian representative in the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

MONTENEGRO.

M. LAZAR MIOUTCHKOVITCH.

Was Montenegrin Consul at Scutari from 1893 until 1901. Next year he became President of the "Cour des Comptes," and afterwards Minister of Finance from 1903 until 1905. In that year, on the proclamation of the Constitution in Montenegro, he was selected by Prince Nicholas, as he then was, to be the first Prime Minister, and took office in December. He also took charge of the Foreign Office. In April, 1907, he retired, being succeeded by Dr. Tomjanovitch, and became President of the Council of State until 1909.

M. POROVITCH.

Acted as Chargé d'Affaires for Montenegro in Constantinople from 1910 until the beginning of October in the present year.

COUNT VOJKOVITCH.

Was in charge of the Ministry of Justice in Montenegro from 1900 until 1902, and has more recently been acting as Private Secretary to King Nicholas.—*The Times*.

The Conferences in London.

SIR EDWARD GREY was able on the 11th December to make in the House of Commons the statement in regard to the meeting of the delegates of the belligerent States in London.

Mr. Bonar Law (leader of the Opposition) asked whether the Foreign Secretary had any further statement to make in regard to the diplomatic situation in regard to the Balkans.

Sir Edward Grey said: I promised yesterday, in reply to a question put to me respecting a prospective meeting of Ambassadors, to make a fuller statement on Thursday. As I am in a position to make the statement to-day, I will ask the House to allow me to do so.

As the House is aware, the five belligerents are sending their respective delegates to London to negotiate a peace. The King has placed rooms in St. James's Palace at their disposal, and His Majesty's Government will do every thing in their powers to promote the convenience of the delegates. The choice of London was made by the belligerent States on their own initiative. It was in no way prompted or suggested by us, but we are sure the House will agree that their choice is very agreeable to us—(cheers)—and their presence very welcome, and we believe that they will find the conditions here favourable to the conduct of their negotiations and the conclusion of peace, which we all earnestly desire to see secured. The Great Powers, who are neutral and signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, have now all agreed that their representatives in London should meet together for informal and non-committal consultation. The object will be to facilitate an exchange of views, especially on those points which may most directly affect the interests of any of the Great Powers concerned. These conversations will begin as soon as all the Ambassadors in London have received their instructions from their respective Governments, we hope next week. They will not constitute a conference, and in this connection I would recall that the first suggestion of a formal Conference came from Monsieur Poincaré, and Paris will therefore presumably be the first place to be considered should a formal Conference be found to be opportune and necessary.

"At this moment I do not think that I can with advantage make observations at any length on the European situation. Hopes and anxieties have varied from day to day, and may continue for some time to vary, and it is difficult to say anything without the risk of causing undue pessimism or raising hopes that might be subsequently disappointed. The relations between the Governments of the Powers are amicable and the diplomatic situation is favourable, and if there is anxiety it is lest some untoward and unforeseen incident should occur and cause an unfavourable change in the diplomatic atmosphere. The consultations of the Ambassadors are to be informal and non-committal, and this is, of course, an indication that the Powers are not yet sure that a solution of all difficulties is in sight. On the other hand, the fact that the Powers agreed to come to closer quarters have all in discussion may be taken as evidence that there is no one of them who believes that such solution is impossible, or that agreement is not more probable than deadlock. And when once the conversations in London have begun and the representatives of the Powers are in a position to discuss questions with each other round a table, the Powers will by this means be in closer touch, and there should be less danger of any of them drifting apart from the others should unforeseen points of difficulty arise. We trust, therefore, that these conversations may begin as soon as possible.

"In the interval I wish to refrain from any further comments of a political nature on the situation, and, indeed, the fact that London is the meeting-place for the conversations and for the peace negotiations imposes on His Majesty's Government a special obligation to be reserved in making such comments, but we desired that the House—whose forbearance and restraint all through this time of great interest and delicacy His Majesty's Government most fully recognize—should be informed as soon as the matters to which I have referred were sufficiently definite for this statement to be made."

The Porte and Peace.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Dec. 9.

As Tawfik Pasha has persisted in his refusal to accept the post of first Turkish plenipotentiary at the Peace Conference in London, the place will be filled by Rasid Pasha. The second plenipotentiary will be Osman Nizami Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin. The third, General Salih Pasha, formerly Minister for War and Marine, and now Minister of Public Works.

With the Ottoman delegates on their way to London the conclusion of peace would seem to be inevitable. Yet there are indications that the London Conference may be but an interlude between two acts of the Balkan tragedy. The language of a section of the Turkish Press, and the excited declarations of subordinate officials may be largely discounted; but it is, to say the least, disquieting to find that while on the one hand the conditions of the armistice are not made public here, presumably on account of their stringency, on the other hand, the more or less officially inspired *Agence Ottomane* continues to regale its readers with highly-coloured descriptions of Ottoman successes in Chios and of the pitiable plight of the armies of the Balkan League. Even Nuredoughian Effendi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, himself appears to have supplied the correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* with a most roseate picture of the Ottoman military position and with a statement that the Porte does not contemplate the cession of either Adrianople or of Salonica, or even, indeed, of Macedonia to the Balkan States.

Perhaps, however, the real explanation of his statements is to be found in his undoubted desire of the officers and men of the Syrian

and Eastern Anatolian units now at the front to continue the war, and to the rumoured revival of the Committee propaganda in military circles. That there has been some sort of revulsion of feeling with regard to the recent arrests of the leaders of the Committee is indicated by the subsequent release of nearly half of the persons arrested and by the publication in the local Press of statements that many of those released had been victims of delation.

Whatever may be the currents now at work beneath the surface, there can be no doubt that the Government will have to manoeuvre very cleverly if it is to satisfy at once the appetites of the Balkan League and the *amour propre* of the Ottoman public. Even in Turkey conciliation of the irreconcilable is not too easy, and those who hope and anticipate that the Turkish Army and the educated civilian classes will accept the logic of accomplished facts may prove to have overestimated the military knowledge of the former and underrated the capacity of the latter for changing their whole political attitude with disconcerting speed and frequency.

Turkey Misled by the Powers.

Dr Hans Baath, of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, has had an interview with Kiamul Pasha, in the course of which he put to him the question, "Is it true that the Great Powers assured the Porte that there would be no war in the Balkans?" The Grand Vizier replied, "Perfectly true only that took place before my Cabinet came into power. Turkey, harassed by the Italian war and by a thousand and one domestic troubles, dismissed at that time all the reservists, relying upon the assurance of the Powers that no war would take place. We were thus surprised and defeated before we could organise effectual resistance. With all that there is no reason for being anxious about the future. Our military position is very strong to-day, and in desiring to make peace we obey no compulsion."

The Population in Adrianople.

THE Friends' War Victims' Relief Fund has received an interesting letter on the condition of the population shut up in Adrianople from Mr H. M. Wallis of Reading, who, with Mr J. B. Crossfield, is representing the Society in Bulgaria. Mr Wallis says:—

"Our new headquarters will be at Mustapha Pasha, where we are to warehouse our flour and await the (momentary) fall of Adrianople.

"Now comes the gravamen of the situation. It is believed by the Queen and Prime Minister that the non-combatants inside Adrianople number from 50,000 to 60,000—the *Times* correspondent discussing it with me admits 70,000, local Bulgarians of education put it at 85,000 and up to 100,000. But General Dimitreff, Chief of the Commissariat, plainly told us yesterday that there are from 110,000 to 120,000 after deducting 25,000 troops and 10,000 civilian deaths in the four weeks. He said this deliberately as the outcome of some pencilled calculations as to the weight of the flour required, and said 60,000 ordinary civilian inhabitants plus 60,000 driven in from the surrounding country, by the turning movement of the Bulgarian armies, minus deaths, would leave what I give you. So it is probably approximately true, and Crossfield and I are up against a calamity unparalleled in our time, for all food has been taken up for the garrison, and though some distribution is made to Moslems, none is given out to Christians, and there are many Armenian Christians and very many Hebrews. What can we do with our beggarly £1,000? As the General said you can feed the lot for three days. He too, is greatly impressed by the approaching calamity, but his job is to feed the army. He is a remarkable man, who deeply impressed us and is giving us every possible help. Remember that when the place falls the trouble is only begun. There is not even a rug left in a house, or a morsel of food within a radius of 12 miles of the besieged town."

The Russian Advance in Asia.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

SIR,—In Saturday's issue of the *Manchester Guardian* I read the following ominous news which, judging from antecedent evidence, appears, to my mind, to represent a true state of facts. It says:

"It is stated that the Russian Consuls in Armenian vilayets have made it known that Russia is prepared to protect the Armenian population in case of disorder."

In drawing the attention of the British public to this report I trust it is permissible to me to ask—Is England so enmeshed in the coils of her understanding with Russia or so busy with "Te Deums" over the collapse of Turkey in Europe as to have neither time nor inclination to consider what this new development of Russian political activity means to British dominancy in the East? England and Russia represent two different ideals diametrically opposed to

each other; one stands, with all her mistakes, for the progress of free and self-governing institutions among subject nationalities; the other for reaction and repression. I am convinced that any weakening of British influence or power in the East in the face of her great rival—any setback to England due to whatever cause—would be disastrous to Asiatic nations. I believe there is in this country absolute consensus of opinion on that point. I trust also there is the same unanimity regarding the vital necessity to England of her Asiatic Empire.

That being so, may I call attention to some of the salient features of recent Russian movements which, but for the preoccupations of the last few months, I feel certain would have created more than excitement among the public? Whilst our eyes have been fixed on the North Sea Russia has strengthened her grasp irrevocably on Northern Persia. No amount of polite protests are likely to induce her to loosen the hold she has acquired; all pledges and promises for the withdrawal of troops are courteously but coolly put aside by a declaration of impossibility in view of mythical disorders. Her road to the Gulf is now assured. Herat is open any day to a *coup de main*. From Herat to Chaman and to Cabul the advance is not difficult. The Afghans are no fools; the fact that one Asiatic Power moves with a fixed determination for a definite purpose whilst the other is always giving way is not without its effect on their minds.

That is the position in Mid-Asia. The news to which I have referred shows that the process which has succeeded so admirably in Persia is about to be repeated in Armenia. "Russia will give her protection in case of disorders." You may rest assured that, in spite of all *dements*, there will be disorders which, as in Azerbaijan, will afford the pretext for the advance of troops. Once there, they will not be withdrawn for "fear of a renewal of the disorders." If the question were put to the Armenians themselves whether they would be happier or freer under Cossack domination there would be no doubt as to the answer.

But what of the effect on British dominancy in Asia? The occupation of Armenia would only be a prelude to the absorption of Asia Minor and an advance to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Is England prepared to give up her Asiatic Empire? With Russia dominant in Persia and Western Asia there can be but one result.

When Liberal England again begins to see things straight, I feel sure she will realize that a strong Turkey is a vital necessity to her Asiatic Empire and to the uninterrupted continuance of her work in Asia.—Yours, &c.,
AMEER ALI.

Reform Club, London, December 10.

San Stefano Hospital.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Nov. 29.

THERE has been among the conflicting and so often vain rumours of this changeable city a great deal of talk about cholera here lately. I have had the opportunity of observing on the spot during the last week the result of the disease—whether it be cholera or not—at San Stefano. This is a small suburb of Constantinople, whose name has been written in history. Possibly some day Clapham Junction will be equally famous if there is ever a Treaty of Clapham; subsequently renewed by a Congress of Constantinople. It contains a number of elegant houses inhabited by the well-to-do during the summer months. San Stefano—why or how I know not—has become one of the smaller centres of the sick, in other words, a cholera camp.

A DESERTED SUBURB.

But the first question is, is it cholera? The disease here manifest—and terribly manifest—does not include all the best known symptoms of cholera. On the other hand, we know that the sick soldiers have suffered as much as men can suffer from exhaustion, exposure, and starvation. So, until medical diagnosis has been made, we shall not know whether the sick at San Stefano are suffering and dying from cholera or from the results of disorganized war. But from the human, not from the scientific, point of view the question is indifferent. The fact, from the human point of view, is that some of the Turkish soldiers at San Stefano are sick and dying from a disease that in many points resembles cholera and others are probably dying from cholera. San Stefano is deserted. The elegant summer "residences" are empty; only every now and then in the silent street you hear the tinkling stale music of a faded pianoforte, which plays an old-fashioned—not an old—tune. It was here on the railway embankment, and under the outside wall of the town, that the dead and dying were lying like crushed insects. This was about a week ago, I suppose, but the week has appeared long.

Then somebody had the idea of making a deserted Greek school into a hospital, and when I first visited this spot I found it under the charge of a Turkish medical officer assisted by a small group

of Europeans. Two ladies and three men of different nationalities. There are in the Greek school eight rooms altogether. There are five rooms occupied by patients, one which forms a sort of kitchen and store room and two rooms occupied by the medical staff of the Turkish Red Crescent. Besides this there is a compound roofed over in the open air, and there are a certain number of tents. In this house and in these tents there are (or rather were until to-day) about 350 men, all in various stages of sickness. Is it cholera? They are in any case very ill. So many die every day; but less and less every day; only five last night, compared with 15 the night before.

When you think of a hospital you think of all the luxury of modern science, of clean beds, a supply of sterilized water, antiseptics, lemonade, baths, etc. Here there are no such appliances. Mattresses on the floor, crowded rooms, no means of washing and dressing or bandaging. A hospital such as the hospitals in the Middle Ages must have been.

The men suffer from a multitude of other diseases than cholera, even if it is cholera. One has got mumps. Many have got gangrened feet and legs, which are blue and stiff and numb, as if they had been frost-bitten. Their limbs must either be amputated or the men must die. And an amputated Turk has no future. Some have sores and holes in their limbs, although none are wounded, and all are unwashed. There is one room, where the worst cases are—these are the dying and the dead. The sick are all soldiers, most of them Turks; some of them Greeks.

THE MANNERS OF THE TURK.

Even in their agony the Turks never lose one particle of their dignity, and never for one moment forget their perfect manners. They die as they lived, like nature's noblemen they are, always acknowledging every assistance and, when they refuse a gift, putting into the refusal the graciousness of an acceptance.

Nobody who has never been to Turkey can have any idea of the politeness, the innate *politesse du cœur*, of the Turk. Only this afternoon I was coming back from San Stefano on board a Turkish Government launch and, together with an English officer, I was talking to the Turkish naval officer, who was in command of the launch. The Englishman offered a cigarette to the Turkish officer. He accepted it, and lit it. The Englishman then offered one to the officer's younger brother, who was there also. "He does not smoke," said the officer, "and I do not either." "He has lit and smoked the cigarette so as not to offend me," said the Englishman to me.

Equally polite are the soldiers dying in great pain of a horrible disease amidst awful conditions. They never forget their manners or their dignity. They are childlike and infinitely pathetic in their wants. One man in a tent, where some of the convalescent were assembled, cried out in Turkish his need, which was interpreted (to a third person) by a Greek. He wanted a candle, by which a man might tell stories to the others. There was no candle in the place. But I am not ashamed to say that a small lamp was stolen and given to the man to afford illumination to that story-telling. Another man wanted a lemon. There were then no lemons; the man produced a five-piastre piece (a franc, nearly a shilling) and offered it to one of the assistants if he would get him a lemon.

The Turkish medical authorities have taken steps in the matter of this little hospital. Although it is impossible to persuade any of the owners of the deserted homes at San Stefano to let them be used as hospitals, a home has been found for the medical staff of the English contingent of the Red Crescent, which has opportunely arrived here, and which has already done excellent work, on condition that no patients, not even the owner's own father, be introduced into it.

Also wooden barracks are now being built for the Egyptian contingent of the Red Crescent. The ruling spirit of the Greek school of San Stefano is a lady, who would much dislike her name to be even mentioned. But it has been mentioned, and it may perhaps be permitted to an eye-witness of her untiring and pious work, and of her angelic goodness, to say that Miss Alt came to San Stefano like an angel to hell, and she could have said, like Beatrice,

"In con fatto da Dio, sua mercè, tale,
Che la vostra miseria non mi tange,
Né fiamme d'osto incendio non m'assale."

The Occupation of Salonica.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

IN view of the report by the Bulgarian General Theodoreff on the capitulation of Salonica, the report of General Daghia.

the chief of the Greek General Staff, sent to the Minister of War here on November 11 has been published. From this it appears that after its defeat on October 19 and 20 at Yenidjeh the Turkish army was incapable of offering serious resistance, and when the Greek army appeared before Salonica on the 25th the military governor of the town offered its surrender and that of the army conditionally. As the conditions were not acceptable to the Greek Crown Prince preparations were made for a general attack on the morning of the 26th. Thereupon Tahnin Pasha accepted the Greek conditions before the battle began. Shortly afterwards information was brought to the Crown Prince that Bulgarian cavalry had made their appearance 39 kilometres from Salonica, and that a Bulgarian division was 15 miles behind. The same night a protocol for the surrender of the Turkish army was signed, and part of the Greek troops occupied the railway station. The Crown Prince also warned the Bulgarian commander by letter that it was useless for him to advance on Salonica, the army there having capitulated.

On the morning of the 27th, while the disarmament was in progress, the Bulgarian army was advancing, and eventually, as it was evident that they were forming for battle, General Theodoroff was warned in writing to halt, as the Turkish army had surrendered. In spite of that the Bulgarian troops fired five or six shots at the Turkish troops who were disarming, and it was not until another communication had been sent that the Bulgarian army halted at Aivali.

The disarmament was completed and Salonica occupied by the Greeks. The Bulgarians continued their advance, and on the 28th General Theodoroff sought an audience of the Crown Prince. The audience was granted, and on a formal declaration being given recognising the occupation of the town by the Greeks, that there was no question of a joint occupation, and that hospitality was asked for two battalions which had suffered severely from bad weather, the Crown Prince assented to the request on condition that he referred it to the Greek Government. M. Stantsieff, who accompanied General Theodoroff as interpreter, begged the Prince, if the Greek Government did not agree to the two Bulgarian battalions staying in the town, to communicate this to the Bulgarian General, giving ten hours for a reply. Simultaneously General Theodoroff informed the Crown Prince, through M. Stantsieff, that the two battalions during their stay in Salonica would be under the orders of the Greek commander of the Salonica garrison, and would send an officer to receive his orders.

Insecurity at Salonica.

The Rome correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* transmits a message from the director of a Salonica bank which has been received in the Italian capital. The message states:—"Salonica is at present in more serious danger than before the entry of the Greeks. Not only do the latter indulge, under the very eyes of the officers, in the grossest acts of violence and immorality, but their presence encourages the local Greek residents to commit all sorts of outrages—chiefly against their Jewish business rivals. Already more than a dozen well-known Jewish business men have been killed. The banks are greatly perturbed. The rivalry between the Greeks and Bulgarians threatens to degenerate at any moment into a street battle. Sanguinary conflicts have already occurred in the suburbs, and the other day there was one in one of the chief cafés. The insecurity is so great that the European residents are about to attempt to organise joint measures of defence, while the Jewish population is keeping as much as possible indoors."

Kiamil Pasha's Snare.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reports a rather unkind remark of Kiamil Pasha about the quarrels between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. "The aged statesman observed that the Turks would have to play the same part towards the Balkan States as they did with regard to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Had not Turkey stood with fixed bayonet over the holy tomb the various Christian faiths would have massacred each other long ago. In the Balkans, too, the Ottomans would have in the future to fulfil a similar mission."

Disorders.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Nov. 14.

To-day, as King George's charger pranced over the badly-laid granite pavings of Salonica's streets, another chapter was opened in the history of the Macedonian capital. It was an event of vast political, historical, and sentimental importance. But few of the onlookers remembered they were celebrating a victory over the Turks. The thoughts uppermost in their minds were that, once again, the Greeks were masters of Salonica, that a long exile was ended, and that a dream had been realized. The imagination of the King, too, must have been fired as he entered, conqueror, into this town,

where ancient walls and churches tell of Byzantines, triumphal arches stir up memories of the Roman conquest, and the white circular tower on the sea front speaks of the Venetians.

The roads out to the marshes which lie to the west of the town were alive with Greek enthusiasts on their way to greet the victors. Here as I gazed upon the camp of the 7th Division under General Kleomousi (the men who have borne the brunt of the fighting) and saw their trim Creusot artillery lined up along a road flanked on either side with V-shaped khaki tents almost undistinguishable among the rushes, the Greek Army made a good first impression. The men were in excellent condition, well clothed, booted, fed, and equipped, and ate ravenously of the raw cabbages they had plucked from the vegetable gardens which dot this district of the town. Amidst the everlasting brown of the khaki clothes and the Schneider guns of the army, the sun-baked grass of the fields, and the muddy tracks which serve for road, the landscape was gladdened only by the thousands of red fezcs which denoted the Ottoman nationality of the majority of the victors. A comparison of this picture with that of the weary, demoralized, and undisciplined Turkish troops, tentless and starving within sight of Salonica, went far to explain why the Greeks have been able to reach their goal in a hop, skip, and a jump.

It was well into the afternoon ere a detachment of cavalry led the Evzones through the streets and gave the Greek population of the Macedonian capital their opportunity to "demonstrate." The Star and Crescent had disappeared as if by magic, and in its place flew the blue and white flag of Greece, and fair damasci showed roses upon the warriors until they marched over a flower-carpeted street. It was as though a victorious Hellenic army was returning to its native Athens from a successful campaign abroad. It seemed incomprehensible that a Turkish defeat could thus be celebrated in a Turkish town. In effect it was more than the celebration of martial victory: it was the deliverance of the Greek population from the bondage of Turkish rule.

TWO ROYAL PROCESSIONS.

The King's entry to-day with the Royal Princes and Princess Alice (who has worked heroically with the Greek Red Cross throughout the campaign) was comparatively tame. The drenching rain was sufficient to damp the most ardent patriotism. Apart from this, the show was badly stage-managed. There was an entire absence of martial display, and it seemed to me that a great opportunity of impressing the Oriental mind was thrown away. Albeit the King and his sons were affectionately welcomed. Even the Bulgarians, who after days of forced march and a night previously spent with mud for a bed and rain for a cover, owing to their having been kept outside the town for 24 hours by the Greeks, managed things better. At least they had a band, dirty and weatherworn it is true, and a torn banner to add a touch of military colour to the proceedings, and as the young Princes Boris and Cyril followed a detachment of business like cavalry and led in three regiments of mud-died soldiers we felt that victorious troops had really arrived. On the day's showing the Bulgars had the best of it. The demonstration would have been more effective, and the cause of the allies would have been better served, had some attempt been made more definitely to combine the two processions. As it was, this very day was sown the seed of discord between the Greeks and Bulgarians.

THE DISARMAMENT OF THE TURKS.

It is regrettable that one cannot so highly compliment the Greek upon their occupation as upon their conquest of Salonica. Admittedly the Hellenes were set a difficult task, but they might have accomplished it more creditably. While the Turkish flag still floated over the Konak the inhabitants of Salonica, Christian and Moslem, enjoyed perfect security. I have been unable to trace a single instance of any attempt on life or property. Now, unfortunately, all this has changed, so changed that a complete record of all the cases of wounding, pillage, and looting of the last few days would fill pages of the *Times*. The Greeks probably committed an initial error in agreeing to the Turkish stipulation that Hassan Tahnin's army should be disarmed by its own officers. Intentional oversights were bound to occur, and though I have been unable to obtain direct proofs, I am quite prepared to accept the assertion that Turks, presumably disarmed, were afterwards found to be in possession of implements of warfare. This was made the excuse for searching all Moslems entering the town, and the signal was thus given for the exhibition of a considerable excess of zeal on the part of the Greek soldiery.

I do not propose to enter into the rights or wrongs of the case or to judge the conquering army for the manner in which this second disarmament has been carried out. I merely wish to record some of the scenes I have myself witnessed in various quarters of the town where the searching of Turks has taken place. The examination was thorough and not confined to Turkish soldiers. Turks generally, and numerous Ottoman Jews were subjected to the same process. They were rigorously searched from head to foot and their baggage was minutely examined not once, but, in many cases, half a dozen times.

Nor were arms the only object of the search, for I have seen numbers of Moslems robbed of their watches, purses, and similar objects of value. Any attempt at resistance was met by personal violence. I saw one bald-headed "Mustahfiz" cuffed and kicked, his fez torn from his head and trampled in the mud, because he protested against the determination of a Greek soldier to relieve him of a pocket knife worth at most a few piastres. On another occasion three Greek soldiers and a civilian were violently attempting to rob a Turkish soldier of his ass when a Bulgarian officer rode up and wielded his riding whip in such effective fashion that he sent the Greeks whining away and took the Turk on with him to a safer sphere. Every fez-capped passerby of obviously lowly birth was similarly arrested, and the civilian Greek could always count upon armed assistance in the case of difficulty with his victim. Greek officers were eye-witnesses of these incidents and raised not a hand to curb the zeal of their men. On three occasions only did I see Bulgarian soldiers molest a Turk, and it may have been and doubtless was a coincidence, but in every case a passing Bulgarian officer sent the would-be thief sprawling in the mud with a well-directed blow for his pains.

ROBBERY AND OPPRESSION.

It is a disagreeable duty to have to record such actions on the part of an army which has fought valiantly and well, and in the ranks of which I counted many close friends, and I may, therefore, in passing to other matters, be allowed to state that I have mentioned only instances which have come beneath my personal notice and that I have, if anything, distinctly understated the importance of the outrage which have been perpetrated under the cloak of disarmament. Robbing the beaten Turk of the few piastres on which he must exist till the war is ended and he is translated to his Anatolian home, outraging the religious susceptibilities of a defenceless Muhammadan by chalking a cross upon his fez are not acts which one expects from Christian conquerors. At nightfall the soldiers of the two armies have given themselves up to wholesale looting. There are hundreds of well-authenticated instances. Houses have been looted and shops ransacked, and the privacy of the home has gone absolutely unrespected. One rich Donmeh Turk, from whom £2,000 was demanded at the point of the bayonet by Greek soldiers, handed over his wife's jewelry, in lieu of cash, and amongst others the house of the British Consular Cavanis was sacked and objects to the value of £110 stolen. The customary procedure has been for suitable houses to be indicated to bands of soldiers or irregulars by the lower-class Greek of the town who subsequently shared in the plunder.

The principal sufferers have been the Jews. Inaugurated by the local Greek Press a crusade of anti-semitism has spread over the armies, with the result that the unfortunate Israelites have been pillaged and mercilessly ill-treated.

These facts are in the highest degree regrettable. The Bulgarians, perhaps not without reason, throw the whole responsibility upon the Greeks on the logical grounds that the Hellenic Army, being the army of occupation, is responsible for the safety of public life and property. Whatever excuses may be put forward on one side or another, the fact remains that the existing condition of the town is intolerable and that more serious developments may be awaited unless disorder is suppressed with a much firmer hand than has been shown up to the present.

Greek Administration.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Nov. 30.

It is now three weeks since the Greek Army, after practically a promenade from the frontier, made hurried terms with the Turkish troops before this town and hastened in to forestall the Bulgars, who had fought their way down, so making things easy for the Greeks. Already we have had for over a fortnight a Greek Minister of Justice, who is also "representative of the Hellenic Government in Macedonia"; a mayor, a chief of the postal and telegraph administration; a learned professor at the head of a new sanitary service, and divers other officials, of course all Greek: while to assist in maintaining order and tranquillity some 600 trained Cretan gendarmes have been imported. All this has a very cheering sound about it, and when our Minister of Justice assures us that he has come here "to put an end to the tyranny and disorder that reigned in the country, to assure absolute liberty to all the elements of the population without distinction of religion, to treat all nationalities with equality and justice, to respect the rights of individuals, and to work for the welfare of all the inhabitants of the country, such being the general principles dominating and guiding the administration in Greece," one at once grasps the fact that the millennium is about to dawn.

It is an old saying, however, "the darkest hour is that before the dawn," and our present experience is amply proving the truth of it; for never has your correspondent witnessed such complete anarchy, confusion, and disorder in any town in which he has ever

dwelt; he has lived long in Turkey, but never in Greece. His Excellency tells us that to assure public order he has brought these 600 gendarmes—and there are more to come—who, helped by soldiers, are patrolling the town and maintaining order. But where is the order? There have been more street robberies, housebreaking, harassing of Jews and Turks, molestation, and other abominations during the last three weeks than were ever known before. In fact, for women it is now impossible, and even for men risky, to be out in the streets after sunset. The tram service is completely disorganised, and on the upper line to the railway stations it has had to be entirely suppressed because the Greek soldiers crowd into the cars, often refusing to pay the fare, disregard all rules, and otherwise abuse their position, their officers, even when on the same tram, taking no notice, and letting them do just as they please. The idea of military discipline seems quite unknown, at least so far as any consideration for the general public is concerned. But, in all fairness it must be said, the Bulgarian soldier seems much more under control than the Greek.

His Excellency likewise tells us what he is going to do to safeguard the public health. Meanwhile our streets are one mass of mud and filth; for we have lately had much rain, and they have not been cleared or swept during the three weeks of the occupation. The whole length of the quay and on to the railway stations is a slough of despond; while beyond the Custom House, in the same direction, the carcasses of dead and rotting horses and other animals are poisoning the air of the whole neighbourhood. No! the millennium has certainly not yet dawned for us. And judging from what is seen, one is disposed to wonder whether after all, and making due allowance for the difficulty of the situation, the Greeks are really equal to the task of ruling such a mixed population as that existing here and in this region. The only contented fraction, so far, is the lower Greek element, which just now does much as it likes, while villagers coming in with their produce and paying no dues, in consequence of the Turkish collectors having been terrorised and driven from their posts, are also naturally happy for the time being. That anybody else enjoys the change is exceedingly doubtful.

The deporting of prisoners of war, military and official, and of refugees is steadily proceeding; while this week a great number of officers, officials, hojas, etc., were suddenly shipped off on the plea that they were implicated in some plot. The refugee problem is a very hard one to solve. Rumour says the Bulgarians are wiping out the whole Muhammadan population of Macedonia—men, women, and children being massacred without mercy; so these refugees cannot be sent back to their ruined villages; but what, then, is to be done with them? We can only trust these rumours, like so many more, are false. In fact, we cannot bring ourselves to really believe them; for such vengeance would be an everlasting blot on the escutcheon of Christendom—even when one remembers all the unspeakable barbarities allowed under the Turkish Government of recent years and for centuries.

The Provisional Government of Albania.

Rome, Dec. 8.

A SEMI-OFFICIAL telegram received here last night from Avlona states that the Albanian Provisional Government has been constituted as follows:—

Ismail Kemal Bey.—President and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Mgr. Bacciori.—Vice-President without portfolio.

Mohmed Pasha Berealla.—Minister for War.

Mufid Bey Libohova.—Minister of the Interior.

Abdi Bey Toptan.—Minister of Finance.

M. Pietro Poga.—Minister of Justice.

M. Guraucchi.—Minister of Public Instruction.

Midhat Bey Frasheri.—Minister of Public Work.

M. Lefnoei.—Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

Pandelita Ali.—Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

A Senate, which is to consist for the present of 18 members, has been established under the presidency of Zeynel Bey of Ipek. Issa Boletinat and Riza Bey of Djakovka have been appointed commandants of the National Militia. All the foregoing appointments were made by the General Assembly. (Herald.)

The Albanian Tribesmen.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Foderissa, Nov. 24th.

THE flood-tide of war has swept over Turkey in Europe more rapidly than even the most sanguine believers in "the Balkans for the Balkan people" anticipated. As it subsides, leaving desolation and chaos behind it, a mass of questions must needs arise; and of these the most pressing, and in many ways the most interesting, is the Albanian question. Of all the Balkan

peoples, the Albanians alone have now presented no solid front and struck no united blow for freedom. In a former article it was suggested that in the event of war the Moslem Albanians would side with the Turks, not because they desired a continuance of Turkish rule, but because they believed that, together with the Turks, they would be able to conquer any foreign invader and also evict the Greeks and Slavs from "Greater Albania." The victory, however, would, they believed, cost the Turks so dear that the Albanians would be able to demand and obtain terms that would be equivalent to autonomy. The Christian mountain tribesmen of the North, on the contrary, were determined to get rid of the Turk at any price, and, with the exception of Mirdita and the tribes allied to it, were likely to throw in their lot with Montenegro. This prophecy has been accurately fulfilled. The five large tribes of Malissors, by rising before the proclamation of war by Montenegro, attacking and evicting the smaller military outposts from their territory, and repelling the reinforcements which endeavoured to come from Scutari, opened up the way for Montenegro and greatly facilitated the capture of Detitch, Tuzi, and the other frontier fortresses.

In acting thus with Montenegro the tribesmen aimed primarily at freeing their own territories from Turks at any price, and not merely from Turks, but from all Moslems who were pro-Turk. Such Moslems as formed part of the tribes in question—there are many, for example, in Kastrioti—have remained neutral with very few exceptions. But all other Moslem villages were attacked and destroyed with fury, for their inhabitants had last year acted as Bash-bozouks against the tribesmen when in revolt. Thus the path of Montenegro was opened to within about an hour and a half's march of Scutari.

Difficulties, however, speedily arose. The tribesmen considered that, instead of being treated as allies they were being treated as conquered. The Montenegrins already, it is complained, regard the territory they have entered as exclusively Montenegrin. Much friction and misunderstanding took place at the beginning of November, the tribesmen returning to their mountains, the Montenegrins having decided that they could take Scutari unaided. The Dukagui and Mirdita tribes have meanwhile remained quite neutral awaiting the fortunes of war. They would not aid the Turks, and they appear not to have decided not to aid the Montenegrins. In fact, the bulk of the Albanians of the North are anxious that in some way or other their national rights should be safeguarded.

The neutrality of Mirdita may possibly be due to the fact that its chief Prekë Ibb Doda was well received in Vienna just before the outbreak of war.

A brief sketch of the events that have led to the present complications may be of interest. Ever since the Turkish revolution of 1908 the Turks have made successive violent attempts to "Ottomanize" Albania. This produced various revolts. Had it not been for the lamentable fact that Albania is divided by three religions it is probable that by now a form of autonomy would have been extorted from the Turkish Government. The rising last year of the five large tribes of Malsia e madhe, together with the two Dukagui tribes Shala and Stroshi, was the most important. It was, indeed, the beginning of the present war, for the help then promised, and in part given, by Montenegro to the insurgents bought their friendship. It was hoped by the insurgents and by their friends that the revolutionary movement would spread throughout Albania and that European intervention and a recognition of Albania would result. The Moslems of Kosovo and the Albanians of the South had both promised help. Throughout the broiling summer news came daily, "The Moslems begin tomorrow," "The South rises next week." But no help came. The lamentable truth was that neither Moslem nor Orthodox wished the glory of a successful revolution to fall to the Catholics.

Ismail Kemal, a leader of the South, appeared in Montenegro. He was quite unknown to the Northern tribesmen, but his advent brought hope that the South was about to rise. Ismail Kemal, however, did not contribute even a piastre to the cause. As a Moslem he had no desire for an Albania in which the Catholics should play a prominent part. And he is reported to have restrained the South. Another prominent leader, also a Moslem, who urged that such an opportunity of presenting a solid Albanian front must not be missed, replied:—"Let the Catholics have a thrashing. It will do them good." The insurgents were thrown back to Turkish rule without any guarantee of protection and the Turks continued their policy of "Ottomanization."

Further insurrection was discussed all the winter and a united rising of Moslems and Catholics planned. The Kosovo rebellion began, and, as they marched upon Uskub, the Catholics were to attack in the direction of Scutari. The Catholics duly started and successfully attacked and captured the smaller military outposts in their tribal lands. Then suddenly and without consulting the Catholics at all, the Moslems, having forced the dissolution of the Turkish Parliament, made peace. The Catholics were bitterly disappointed. They wanted no more Turkish promises, so they

sought other help. A delegate from Malsia e madhe attended the Eucharistic Congress at Vienna and there presented an ultimatum to Austria. "You are the protector of the Catholics of Albania. You have again and again promised us help. The present state of things is intolerable. Do you mean to help us—Yes or No?" "Wait," said Austria, "do nothing yet." "We have waited too long already," was the reply; "this is our last appeal. We shall turn to Montenegro." He left, and the chief of the five tribes called on King Nikola for help.

The Outlook in the Near East.

For El Islam.

THE problems offered for solution by the population of the Turkish Empire are too various and intricate to be disposed of in a book, much less an article. The most that one can do is to lay stress on factors of importance and warn the student against certain pitfalls. Some leading factors in the present situation, as well as its most crying danger, seem to be ignored.

What is the cause of the Muhammadan fanaticism, expressed in brutal massacres of subject Christians, which was unknown before the nineteenth century? The Muhammadans of old were not inhuman. Compare their conquest of Jerusalem, for instance, when the Holy Sepulchre and all the churches were respected, with that of the Crusading armies with its awful massacre; their treatment of the subject Christians with that endured by heretics and Jews in Europe, and it will be evident that the religion of the sword in those days was more tolerant than that of peace and love. In the Bulak edition of the *Arabian Nights*, in the fourth volume, there is a story different from every other in the book, having in every word the air of truth. It is of a merchant who repaired to Acre at a time of truce, and while there became enamoured of a Frankish woman, the young wife of a Crusader. In the Crusading era such a case resulted from wronging her by thoughts of God. Afterwards he came across her as a captive, and, as she was then lawful to him, married her. The story, told with absolute simplicity, with no aspersions on the faith or customs of the Crusaders, is an odd contrast to the Frankish stories full of 'the foul Paynim,' 'the false perjurious Mahound,' etc. Yet that the Crusaders recognised the honour of the Moslems, esteeming them above the Eastern Christians, can be shown from history, as also that the Eastern Christians loved them better than the Frank.

'Secure under the Mahometan sceptre,' says Gibbon, writing of the schism of the Eastern Church: 'the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem' (the Patriarch of Constantinople, not yet fallen, was intimidated by the forces of the West), '... condemned the creed and council of the Latins.' Far from crushing out the Oriental churches, Moslem rule preserved them. By the Europe of the Middle Ages they would have been persecuted to extinction for their slight divergence.

When Constantinople fell at length, the conqueror divided the city and its churches equally between the two religions, and though the edict was rescinded half a century later, the principle of toleration still endured. Through Turkey in the eighteenth century, like Lady Mary Montagu, came the moderation of the Turk as something unexpected, a most strange discovery. Every male Christian paid a tax (the *mevdi* tribute) annually for his life, which was technically forfeit to El Islam. In return he was exempt from service in the wars which swept off thousands of the Moslem population. The penal laws against him much resembled those which formerly prevailed in England against Roman Catholics, with the exception that his faith was not proscribed. Those laws were often unenforced for years together. They are now abolished. All recent changes have been favourable to the 'Nazarenes.' Never, so far as I know, in history of El Islam have subject Christians suffered persecution for their faith. What, then, is the cause of those 'atrocities' which have shocked the world from time to time in the last century?

I believe the answer to be foreign interference, of a particularly intimate and galling nature.

Of old, poor Christians and poor Moslems lived on equal terms, chaffing each other freely on the subject of religion, as many genial folk-tales live to witness. They do so still where equal poverty combines them. But, thanks to interference by the European Powers, protecting each her special brand of native Christian; thanks to missionary efforts directed mainly to the Christian population; thanks last, but principally, to the capitulations of the Berlin Treaty by which each subject of the fourteen States enumerated resident in Turkey acquires extraterritorial standing (i.e., is placed out of reach of the law of the country) together with his servants and dependents, generally native Christians; the Christian population has been set above the Moslem in a way which savours strongly of injustice. The

Christian has been schooled for nothing by the missionaries, who put him in the way of earning a good living. Boasting the protection of some foreign consul, he is perforce an object of attention to the Turkish Government. In time past, when supervision was less keen than it is now, many Christians even changed their nationality. Without departing from the country, or with least intention or desire ever to do so, they obtained papers of naturalisation from a foreign consul simply and solely to secure a 'pull' in Turkey, and not through any love of the adopted nation. I am acquainted with a man, a Christian native of the Lebanon, whose father, being dragonian to the Italian Consulate, obtained papers of naturalisation in this way. The father laid by money and bought property. The son renounced the *faiz* and took to hats, and thought himself superior to all Ottoman subjects. Despite his Arab name, he was Italian to all inquirers, until this year, when word went forth that all Italians were to leave the Empire. Then he changed his tone: 'I am the son of an Arab, like the rest of you,' he cried in anguish. His swagger of the foreign subject vanished. He begged them, for love of God, to let him stay. But the evidence was clear against him; his fellow-Christians with the Moslems drove him out. In his place of exile his one thought was to return; his mind was tortured with a anxiety for his possessions. He bribed some smugglers to convey him in with anxiety for his other illicit goods. But in a street of Beyrout, when he believed all danger past, the cry 'Italiani' was raised suddenly, a mob collected, our friend was badly beaten by the common people rescued by the authorities, and once more banished. That shows the utterly factitious character of such 'naturalisation'.

The great majority of Christians in the Turkish Empire have no wish to dwell elsewhere. Except the people of the Lebanon, who, in return for their autonomy, were years ago walled in with a prohibitive tariff, preventing too much profit from their labours, they would seldom emigrate; and the tendency of emigrants is to return. Nowhere else could they enjoy the same immunity in the pursuit of rather dark commercial ends; nowhere else could they extend such interest for money lent, or live on a luxurious scale so cheaply. They have no corporate sentiment approaching nationality, nor any solid bond of union in religion, divided, sub-divided, as they are, into conflicting sects. These words do not apply to Servia and Bulgaria—till lately Turkish provinces—where a sense of nationality survived and the bulk of the population was of one opinion, but they do apply to Thrace and Macedonia, almost as much as to the Asiatic provinces I have in mind.

The scale of education, as of comfort, wealth and luxury, is generally higher among Christians than among Muhammadans, and this owing entirely to foreign interference (including missionary effort, rendered arrogant by the capitulations) in the former's favour. The Christians almost everywhere seem pampered; the Muhammadans neglected and downtrodden. And the Christians are not herded to the army, like the Moslems.

'We saved their lives, we kept them like expensive pets for centuries,' I have heard a Moslem cry with indignation, and now you say we are their persecutors! If we had killed them all at the beginning, as you, of Western Europe, would have done in those days, you would not now be troubling; but our Faith forbade it.

'Expensive' they have truly been to Turkey; though as to 'pets' there may be two opinions. My friend meant that the Moslems had done all the fighting, and the government, police, and so on, while the Christians stayed at home, increased, multiplied, and made money. On the other hand, many of the Christians have been, and are still, good subjects, of high service to the State. A list of native Christian *pasas*—not to speak of physicians, clerks, philosophers, and men of letters—would include few names that are not quite illustrious, honoured by Moslems and by Christians equally. The Christians have always had a hand in the administration of finance in Turkey; her foreign commerce has been theirs entirely. A hundred instances of kindness and toleration could be found for every instance of oppression, under normal circumstances.

It is only where the foreign consuls', or 'protectors', hand is seen, raising a man above the common lot of Turkish subjects, that any bitterness is found between adherents of the two religions. The Christians boast of favours, put on airs. Then all at once there may arise a sudden madness, and the innocent—poor, wretched, and half-starving villagers—may suffer for the guilty, being, to the mind of madness, the same species. The burden of bad government falls heaviest to-day upon the poor Muhammadan, who, seeing Christians, once his equals, basking at their ease, feels sore with injury. He, the conqueror of old, has still his pride, but nothing else to lean on for support or comfort. No foreign Power is heedful of his lot. His government, to which he looks with blind devotion, is always harassed by the Franks or Muscovites and cannot help him.

In 1860 at Damascus there was this sore feeling. Some lowclass Moslems did a foolish, rather childish thing. They made some crosses out of bits of wood, attached them to the tails of the street dogs, and sent these running through the Christian quarter. The Russian consul took the matter up. The culprits were apprehended. At the consul's bidding the Turkish Governor gave orders that for punishment the prisoners were to sweep the streets of the Christian ward in chains. The sight of Moslems thus degraded, with native Christians looking on complacently, produced a transitory insurrection of such fury that the authorities were powerless to check the slaughter. Thousands of Christians perished, hundreds fled. The Russian consul's house was the first burnt.

That is an instance typical, I think, of many others. Russia in her dealings with the subjects of the Porte has seldom been considerate of Moslem feeling, or squeamish of the means used to obtain her ends. Many thousands of lives have been sacrificed to her ambitions.

Then usury has caused much trouble; for usury, beloved of Eastern Christian, is to the unenlightened Moslem an abominable crime. Where land is the security, the trouble is embittered; for land in Turkey is a sacred thing, 'the house of El Islâm,' and a Christian could not until three years since acquire it legally in his own name. Usury has been the cause of horrid murders, particularly where the moneylender is Armenian and his customers are Kurds, his ancient enemies. And here again the innocent many—wretched peasants—have suffered for the guilty few—the cunning townsmen. The slaughter of women and children, so horrible to us, seems merely logical to peoples among whom the custom of blood-vengeance still obtains; and Christians also practise it in warfare.

As far as I can gather, in two cases only can massacres be fairly laid to the charge of the Turkish Government, and both cases happened under Abdul Hamid II, a Sultan whom the Turks themselves deposed with ignominy. Moslems of the better sort are not bloodthirsty. They hate such crimes as much as we do. They have long been worried over the condition of their country, seeking some road to quiet out of all her troubles. The very massacres themselves are proof that even ignorant Moslems were unhappy in the state of things. The Powers of Europe, they were constantly assured, desired nothing else than the good government of Turkey for benefit of Muhammadan and Christian, both alike. That was the cause, the one and only cause of all their interference. This seemed strange, since, by their inference on behalf of Christian sects, by their 'Capitulations' placing many thousands of inhabitants of Turkey outside the country's law—a privilege which has been shamefully abused by certain lesser Powers which once were Turkish provinces—they have made reform a superhuman task. Yet many Moslems half believed these Christian declarations. That was one reason why the Young Turk Proclamation of equal rights for all was everywhere received with such enthusiasm. Moslems hoped that the way out of the difficulty had been found at last; while native Christians hardly dared to trust the evidence of their own senses. The news was too miraculously good to be at first believable.

Then came the disillusion. At once upon the tidings of new life in Turkey, Bulgaria threw off the suzerainty—very dear to Moslem pride—and Austria gobbled Bosnia and Herzegovina. The other Powers which signed the Berlin Treaty made but feeble protest. The Christian States had never been in earnest when they said their one idea in interference was Turkey's renovation and reform. The last thing they desired was her revival. At the first sign of a new and healthy life in her they fell to snatching what they could for fear lest in a short while she should hold her own. Supine and sick, they might have let her be. Alert once more and eager for her strength she got no mercy from them.

In the European and the Asiatic provinces, in Arabia, Egypt, and throughout North Africa, in Afghanistan and India, a wave of Moslem indignation rose, and still is rising, against what was regarded as the grim fanaticism of the Christian Powers. Tripoli did not allay this feeling. The present onslaught upon Turkey by her former subjects—the final tearing up of the Berlin Treaty in so far as Europe is concerned, though Turkey is still called on to observe it for her part—has brought it up to fever heat. To those who know—as Moslems know, exclusively—the part played by Bulgaria in working up the Macedonia appears the most ironical of pretences, too shallow to deceive a child in politics. The aim of the Allies, they say, is nothing nobler than a wholesale slaughter of Muhammadans, unworthy the connivance of the Western Power.

Bulgaria's rejection of the suzerainty discredited the Young Turks at the outset with the rank of Moslems, who look upon the loss of territory as an insult to the Faith. The Young Turks, thus belittled, proved feeble and were soon divided. They felt their impotence to cope with the old Moslem feeling. They made the grave mistake at first of relaxing all the reins of government instead of tightening them. And along with protestations of sincere goodwill they got their death blow from the Powers of Europe, their

protectors. They fell, and a strong Government (including Christians), representing all shades of opinion, took up their anxious burden of reform. Again Bulgaria was foremost in the field against it. Again the Powers of Europe shrugged their shoulders, pleading impotence.

Is it wonderful that every Moslem in the world should now be saying that we are the real enemies to Turkey's progress, our last desire to see her Christian peoples dwell contented; our real intention to degrade and maim her? Our Moslem fellow-subjects have their newspapers which publish gleanings from the English Press, a large section of which is occupied to-day in vilifying with amazing ignorance a Moslem Power, the only one left standing, which is the subject of their love and fervent sympathy.

Truly the simple fact, well ascertained, of the existence of a multitude of native Christians loyal to the Porte might give our latter-day Crusaders pause, since it deflates their distastes. The Christian churches of the East are many; Turkey has let them all survive together. Would any Christian Power have done as much? They value foreign interference only as it raises one above another. Collectively they stand to lose by any change. Under any other rule they would ere long grow discontented, and sentimentalise about 'old times,' as do the Copts in Egypt. The majority now know enough of the conditions which prevail in other countries to recognise that even a chaotic, medieval Turkey, prolific of disorders and unsafe for travel, is better as a place of residence and less oppressive of the individual than, for example, Russia.

As for Turkish government, 'rough in the hand but genial in the head,' I believe that most of them regard it in the abstract with some slight affection. The Orthodox Greek Church of Turkey long ago declined to be the cat's paw of an anti-Moslem Power. Her punishment was the Bulgarian exarch. The Armenian Church has suffered more than any other from the Muhammadan mob, and she preserves the spirit of a nationality, yet it is truly to be doubted if a majority among her members would be found to vote for any foreign rule but the Turk. The lesser, weaker Churches are protected under Moslem rule from the aggressions of the greater. All have equal standing. As in the hotbed of religious strife, Jerusalem, the Moslem keeps the Christians from each other's throats.

If Christians thus support the Sultan, what of the Muhammadans? Their loyalty is a religious sentiment extending far beyond the Turkish Empire into ours. The world of El Islam is still, what Christendom has ceased to be, one mind, one body for religion. The genuine Turks—a small, superior race, enjoying the prestige of aristocracy—alone of all Muhammadans have stepped out from the Middle Ages into modern life. Others have seemed to do so at the behest of Christian tutors and through imitation, but they are subject to relapses one has seen in Egypt. The Turks have made the journey by themselves. They promise to evolve a civilization as 'modern' as our own and owing much to ours, yet independent and perhaps superior, as building less upon mechanical contrivance, more on culture of its citizens. They are Haush, members of the only Shiite sect of El Islam which values reason as a guide above tradition. They, therefore, in their faith itself can welcome progress which Mahomeds and Shohas would deem ungodly. And their influence upon their co-religionists is almost boundless. It was they who overthrew the recent tyranny whose ministers were chiefly Arabs of the baser sort. It is they—though not the Young Turk, hardrained section—who rule to-day the councils of the Empire. To show the influence they can exert on populations commonly esteemed fanatical, and also the sincerity, of even ignorant Moslems in the desire for a new era, when in the spring of 1909, the late Sultan was employed upon his counter-revolution, secret emissaries were despatched in all directions to stir insurrections (which means massacre) with the notion of discrediting the new régime. Only in one district round Mezon and Adana did massacres take place. Elsewhere quite common Moslems of the class that generally loves a riot—at Beyrout it was some *hatmen*—caught the envoys soon after their landing and led them to the Government for deportation. At Adana Turks worked among the *reghous*.

Upon the Turks, with their prestige as fellow-tribesmen and companions of the Caliph, as liberators of the realm, rests all the hope of the Islamic world. The indignation felt by Moslems everywhere at their unjust treatment by the Powers of Europe is immeasurable, and may at any moment become dangerous. The Turks are conscious of this peril at their backs, and are doing all they can to ward it off. In the capital they were in a position to maintain good order without the presence of the foreign warships in the Bosphorus. And in the provinces there cannot fail to be some ugly outbreaks when the tidings of defeat are known, as must soon happen, in spite of false news circulated with the best intentions. These disorders the presence of the foreign warships in the Bosphorus will exacerbate, since all the Powers concerned are viewed as enemies to El Islam. And who can say how far the flames may spread?

It seems to me a great misfortune for the British Empire that a Moslem Power, the Caliphate, should be put down for the mere wish to practise what we have for years been preaching—a nationality that shall be independent of religious differences. For it comes to this

In the four years since religious toleration was proclaimed in Turkey, Turkey has had a number of assaults, no defender. 'The backward Moslem races will regard these national disasters as a 'judgment' upon Turkish innovations; and that must do incalculable harm.

The most disheartening fact revealed by the collapse of the so-called Concert of Great Powers is that England with her millions of Muhammadans has no settled Moslem policy. Is it too much to expect that harassed statesmen should have some faint conception of Pan-Islamism in its higher meaning? Perhaps it is. But mere humanity demands consideration of the problem offered by the poor Muhammadan. The Allies may say, at the conclusion of the war, that the said problem is no longer of importance in the European provinces, few of the Muhammadan inhabitants remaining. The trouble will be thus transferred to Asia, and rendered more acute by more congestion if the aggressive policy of Europe is maintained. Who can say, after this exhibition of their impotence, that the Great Powers can guarantee the integrity of Turkey in Asia? The raids of any trifling pretext are as likely to continue till not a scrap of independent Moslem territory is left. Conquest is no true solution of the difficulty; it only bottles up a spirit which must have an outlet, and prevents the Moslem population from its own development. The principles formulated at the revolution, and since adopted by the Turkish nation as a whole, were as hopeful for the Moslem as the Christian. There seems a danger that in any settlement arranged by Christian Europe the claims of the Muhammadan may be ignored.

MAMADUKE PICKTHALL in the *Contemporary Review*.

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Sell	10	0	0
Collection from a village through Kala Khan, Esq.	10	0	0
Monky Tanuz-ul-din, Esq.	5	0	0
Village collections	10	0	0
Miscellaneous collections	65	0	0
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Through Syed Abdul Hakim, Esq., Desna, Patna ...	100	0	0
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Through Chandan Sahmat Husam, Esq., Ambapur, Basti			
Sell	250	0	0
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Hakim Ahmad ulla Khan, Esq., Allahabad	6	0	0
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E. W. Eason, Esq., Bombay	5	0	0
Sheikh Faizulla, Esq., Delhi	50	0	0
Muhammad Shah, Esq., Delhi	12	8	0
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Anonymous	5	0	0
Ahmad Jan Sahib	100	0	0
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Sheikh Muhammad Yehya, Esq.	25	0	0
Abdul Kayyum, Esq.	1	0	0
Through Sheikh Mahbub Elahi, to render <i>saahib</i> to the soul of a departed lady	1	0	0
Kale Khan, Esq.	1	3	0
Amount collected in Fatehpur Mosque and Jam'i Masjid	231	9	0
Through Muhammad Shafi, Esq., Delhi	12	8	0
Through S. K. A. Karim, Esq., Gobindpur	18	4	0
M. Abdulla, Esq., Budann	4	7	0
Tahsin Hosain Khan, Esq., Lucknow	4	2	0
Rahim Baksh, Esq., Dera Ghazi Khan	12	0	0
Halibur Rahman, Esq., Sons East Bank, on behalf of some Mussulmans	17	11	0

Zahiruddin Ahmad, Esq., Purnea ...	11 13 0	Miscellaneous collections ...	13 0 0
Through Muhammad Ismail, Esq., Gorakhpur—		Through Muhammad Wasi, Esq., Sagri, Amangadh—	
Muslimans of Gorakhpur ...	960 0 0	Self ...	5 0 0
M. Mubarak Ali Sahib's mother, Domariaganj ...	6 0 0	Collected by Mr. Abdur Rahman ...	5 8 0
Muhammad Rahmatulla, Esq., Siwana Mal ...	1 8 0	Petty collections ...	0 5 0
Through Mirza Rahmatulla Beg Mathra, Zamania ...	56 8 0	Through Syed Zamiruddin, Esq., Sultanpur—	
Through S. Ali Ahmad, Esq., Amroha—		Ahmadulla, Esq., Asraja ...	3 0 0
Collected through the exertions of Shaikh		Abdul Ghaffar, Esq. ...	15 0 0
Muhammad Hadi Sahib from the Mussulmans		Collected by Mr. Abdul Ghaffoor ...	70 0 0
of Amroha ...	500 0 0	Sale proceeds of jewellery contributed by Mus-	
The Comrade for half passage money to Con-		lim ladies ...	18 0 0
stantinople and back of Mr. Abdur Rahman Sid-		Mir Akram Ali, Esq., Rajahmundry ...	2 0 0
diqui, Manager of the All-India Medical Mission...	270 8 0	Messrs. Ahmad Jan & Sons, Allahabad ...	15 0 0
H. H. the Shaikh Sahib of Mangrol ...	400 0 0	Through Haji Musa Khan Sahib, Dataoli, Aligarh—	
Through Mr. Tamkin Muhammad Khan Sahib of		M. Ikram Ali, Esq. ...	2 0 0
Bhopal ...	105 0 0	Inhabitants of the village Poronra ...	7 5 0
Contributions received on way to Bombay (details		Inhabitants of the Kauriyaganj ...	5 8 0
to be supplied later) ...	23 0 0	Inhabitants of village Sabooti ...	9 0 0
Hosain Raza Beg, Esq., to make up the deficiency of		Inhabitants of village Balrampur ...	16 3 0
his passage money ...	35 4 6	Hafiz Niaz Ali Khan Sahib ...	25 0 0
Muhammad Eghal Khan, Esq., Ambar ...	21 1 0	Muhammad Khan, Esq. ...	1 0 0
Through Syed Shujaat Ali, Esq., Chatra ...	6 10 0	Haji Muhammad Yunus Khan Sahib ...	258 0 0
Nihal Uddin, Esq., Bulandshahar ...	7 12 0	Hakim Syed Zahurul Hasan Sahib ...	15 0 0
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Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Chapra ...	100 0 0	Delhi ...	1,850 0 0
Through Shaikh Hussain Bakhsh Sahib, Farrukhabad	500 0 0	Through Hazikul Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib,	
Kamarul Hasan, Esq., Orai ...	5 0 0	Delhi ...	30 0 0
Through K. M. Manzur, Esq., Kahaganj—		Through Mustafa Beg, Esq., Azamgadh—	
Collections of the town ...	150 0 0	Through Chaudhri S. Molla Sahib ...	15 0 0
Through Ahmad Ali, Esq., Dewanganj ...	3 0 0	Muslimans of village Sojni ...	69 2 0
Kadir Bakhsh, Esq., Kangra ...	5 0 0	Muslimans of village Dewri ...	61 5 6
M. Mohsin, Esq., Nowgong ...	10 13 0	Muslimans of village Balia Kalyanpur ...	61 14 0
Through Inamulla, Esq., Aligarh ...	50 0 0	Abdul Ghani Ansari, Esq. ...	5 0 0
Through the Hon Mr. A. K. Ghaznavi—		Muslimans of Purna ...	40 0 0
Collections of Dildhar ...	510 0 0	Muslimans of Muhammadpur ...	16 0 0
Through Moulvi Amjad Ali Sahib, Balurghat,		Petty collections ...	0 2 6
Dinajpur ...	510 0 0	Akhtar Ali, Esq., Aligarh ...	10 0 0
Through T. Ahmad, Esq., Dacca—		Ghulam Mohi-ud-din, Esq., Boha, Patiala ...	5 0 0
Collected by the Mussulman students of the		Through Abul Muhammad, Esq., Shahzadpur, Punjab—	
Madras ...	40 0 0	Rajoo Pramanik, Esq. ...	12 13 0
Abdul Hadi, Esq., Barisal ...	22 0 0	Ebrahim Khondker, Esq. ...	10 4 0
Syed Azmatulla, Esq., Madras ...	10 0 0	Messrs. Fayaz-ud-din Sarkar and Abdul	
Through T. Ahmad, Esq., Glenaghatia, Dacca ...	32 14 0	Pramanik ...	10 0 0
Syed Ihsan Hussain, Esq., Hyderabad, (Deccan) ...	2 0 0	Messrs. Haji Abboo Ali and Ahmad Ali Sarkar,	
Muhammad Zahiruddin, Esq., Masulipatan ...	3 0 0	rupees six each ...	12 0 0
"A Muhammadan Lady," Bellary ...	25 0 0	Messrs. Sadat Pramanik, Pameesa Haji, Miroo	
Through Latafat Hussain, Esq., Islamnagar, Rudaul—		Pramanik, Munir-ud-din, Muhammad Salek,	
Muslimans of Islamnagar ...	200 0 0	Mokram Haji and Rahim Bux Sarkar,	
A Sympathiser, Khudaganj ...	5 1 0	rupees five each ...	30 0 0
Through A. M. Zahiruddin, Esq., Gorakhpur—		Messrs. Ahmad-ulla Mun-hi and Nawai Haji, rupees	
Self ...	2 0 0	six each ...	12 0 0
Anwarul Haq, Esq. ...	2 0 0	Mojet-ulla Bepari, Esq. ...	4 0 0
Hindu Friends ...	0 8 0	Messrs. Dowat Mandal and Kadir Bepari and	
Through Syed Ibrar Hossain, Esq.—		Sahar Pramanik ...	6 0 0
Muslimans of Bulandshahar ...	14 0 0	Sukhlal Pramanik, Esq. ...	2 8 6
Through Muhammad Munir Ali Sahib, Quetta ...	43 0 0	Messrs. Bishoo Nikri, Khairi Molla, Salim-ud-	
Through Muhammad Jan, Esq., Mathura ...	700 0 0	din Akada, Dr. Abbas Ali, Jadoo Munshi,	
Through Chaudhri Kuramat Hossain Sahib, Arrah—		Ayanulla Munshi, Munshi Kefatulla, Ned-	
Muslimans of Arrah and Mufassil ...	1,200 0 0	hoo Sarkar, Rahim-ud-din Sarkar, and	
The Comrade on account of half of the railway fare		Pam-ordi Mandal, rupees two each ...	20 0 0
of Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Manager of		Mother of Chattri Nikri and Messrs. Hindi	
the All-India Medical Mission ...	2 3 0	Molla, Ayan Sheikh, Rahim-ud-din, Sarkar,	
Futehal Islam, Esq., Chauta, Dist. Tippera ...	57 3 0	Muluk Chand Pramanik, Dagoo Molla,	
Abdul Waddoo, Esq., Sandila, on behalf of himself,		Kayam Sardar, Nageb-ud-din Fakir and	
his relations and servants ...	100 0 0	Salim-ud-din Sarkar, rupees one each ...	9 0 0
Muhammad Shukrulla, Esq., Nandraul, Bikapur ...	10 0 0	Villagers of Chak Paikbanda ...	2 0 0
Nawab Ali, Esq., Dacca ...	3 0 0	Villagers of Paikbanda ...	4 0 0
Through Muhammad Ashiq Hossain, Esq., Dhilsa—		Smaller collections ...	1 7 0
Self ...	0 0 0	Villagers of Ank Bangala and of Retaudia ...	13 0 0
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Subhan Khan, Esq. ...	5 0 0	Messrs. Nawazish Ali Khan and Kader Bux	
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Through S. M. Hossain, Esq., Hydernagar—		Dhani Barkanda], rupees two each ...	6 0 0
Haji Qadir Khan Sahib, on behalf of Gholam		Jadu Sheikh, Esq. ...	1 0 0
Khan Sahib (deceased) ...	15 0 0	Shadhu Pramanik, Esq. ...	2 0 0
M. Qudratulla, Esq. ...	10 0 0	Messrs. Samir Pramanik and Samir Sheikh,	
M. Nawab Khan, Esq. ...	4 0 0	rupees one each ...	2 0 0
Minor subscriptions ...	46 0 0	Karim Pramanik, Esq. ...	3 0 0
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Self ...	10 0 0	Munir-ud-din Molla, Esq. ...	3 0 0
Messrs. Shahabuddin, Ali Akbar Shah and		Messrs. Parash-ulla Khondker, Munshi Sarkar,	
Siddiq Ahmad, rupees five each ...	15 0 0	Abdul Karim Khondker, Asim-ud-din	
Messrs. Rahmat Ali, Chedi Khan, Sultan Mu-		Chapraul, Golam Essamul Man and Essam	
hammad and Haq Nawaz, rupees two each ...	8 0 0	Molla, rupees one each ...	4 0 0

Miscellaneous collections	2 8 0	Through Abdul Ghani, Esq., Girathpur	...	84 8 0
Through Harid Ali, Esq., Banat—		Shah Zahir Alam Sahib, Ghazipur	...	28 1 0
Abdul Rasak, Esq.	30 0 0	Through Fazle Haq Khan, Esq., Banu	...	349 12 6
Alla Ma, Esq.	6 0 0	Through Imambox Khan, Esq., Bannu—	...	
Syed Abdul Ali Esq.	12 0 0	Previous Balance	...	96 14 0
Syed Muhammad Ali, Esq.	15 0 0	Khan Mazullah Khan, President, Anjuman	...	300 0 0
Messrs. Muhammad Omar, Nazir Ali, Azim-		Khan Shadi Khan, Rais, Ghazi Khel	...	200 0 0
ud-din, Abdul Nabi, Sher Din, Muhammad		Muhammad Hanizam Khan, Head Clerk, Resi-	...	
Hassan, Shah Ismail Beg, Ishaq Ali and		dent's Office, Waziristan	...	101 0 0
Mrs. Habib-ulla, rupees two each	20 0 0	Khan Atanullah Khan, Tehsildar	...	100 0 0
Syed Inayat Ali, Esq.	16 0 0	Sheikh Mozaffaruddin Khan, D. S. Police,	...	
Syed Zafar Yab, Esq.	4 0 0	Bannu	...	100 0 0
Syed Mukarram Ali, Esq.	21 2 0	Through Muhammad Ali Khan, Ismail Khel	...	78 0 0
Messrs. Ali Ahmad, Ayub Ali Khan, Nurud-din,		Bazgal Khan F. A., Sub-Inspector, Excise	...	55 0 0
Muzaffar Ali, Abdul Ghani, Shadi Khan,		Muhammad Abdullah, B. A., Head Master	...	50 0 0
and Anonymous, rupees five each	35 0 0	R. Sudar Khan, Inspector Police, Lakki Circle	...	40 0 0
Messrs. Raham Khan and Mushtaq Ahmad,		B. Fateh Muhammad, Clerk, Post Office	...	40 0 0
rupees ten each	26 0 0	Tar Gul Khan, Hada Khel	...	33 0 0
Sale-proceeds of skin	39 0 0	Through Mr. Mehr Bux, Tailor Master	...	25 0 0
Messrs. Nannu, Majid, and one unknown, rupees		Sariland Khan, Jhandu Khel	...	35 0 0
three each	0 0 0	M. Abdul Haund Khan, B. A.	...	80 0 0
Miscellaneous collections	87 13 3	Through Abdullah Khan, Kundi—	...	
Through Chandhri Ishaq Ahmad and Moulvi Abdul		Miscellaneous Nourang collections	...	109 8 9
Wadeed Sahib, Bareilly	1,000 0 0	Muquarrab Khan, Bazar Ahmad Khan	...	20 0 0
Through Abul Ala, Esq., Pertabgarh—		Collections of Casabry	...	13 0 0
Through Messrs. Habibulla and Muhammad		Moulvi Mohammad, Arabi Teacher	...	40 0 0
Yusuf, President and Secretary, Anjuman		Miscellaneous collections through M. Firoz-ud-	...	
Refaul Muslemia, Lalgaon	175 0 0	din Khan, Inspector	...	82 0 0
Through Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Sahib, old		Daughters of Sayad Abdul Ghafur Shah,	...	
Boy of Madrasa Deoband	139 8 9	Honorary Magistrate	...	10 0 0
Through K. B. Nawab Sheikh Ahmad Hosain		M. Chiragh Ali, Teacher	...	12 0 0
Sahib, of Pirayawa	113 18 0	M. Mehr Baksh, Tailor Master	...	20 0 0
Sale proceeds of Kurban skin	100 15 6	Price of a gold ring offered by Sher Khan,	...	
Mr. Babu	25 0 0	Student, Ghazal Khel	...	68 0 0
Punchait of Kunjras	50 0 0	M. Muhammad Nawaz, Teacher	...	6 0 0
Haji Sheikh Ghurran Sahib	15 8 0	K. Ghous Ali, Teacher	...	5 0 0
Mother of Raza-ulla Shah Sahib	15 0 0	Messrs. M. Mir Muhammad, Ali Husain Khan	...	
Messrs. Sheikh Ali Husain and Muhammad		Patwari, Abdullah (tailor), Khuda Baksh	...	
Ayub Khan, rupees ten each	20 0 0	Khan (clerk) Khuda Baksh Kureshi, Monin	...	
Moussalman of Tahsil Patte	9 8 0	Khan, Rafailah Mrs. Musahib Khan,	...	
Messrs. Sheikh Shabrat Ali, Wilayat Hosain,		Allahditta (tailor), and M. Husain Baksh	...	
Maqad Alam and Abdul Wahid, rupees		Dyer, rupees four each	...	40 0 0
five each	20 0 0	Musa Khan, Esq.	...	4 15 9
Through Mr. Firozuddin	4 12 0	Miscellaneous through Mir Hamza Khan	...	4 4 0
Through Mr. Jamil Ahmad	4 1 6	Messrs. Muhammad Azam, Muhammad Sharif,	...	
Through Sheikh Mubarak-ulla Sahib	3 11 0	Nizamud-Din, Murid Ahmad (tinner), and	...	
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Delhi	25 0 0	Muhammad Rabin, Jamal Din and Mohib	...	
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Muhammad Inayat Sher Khan, Esq., Bhopal	10 0 0	Hasu Khan and Ghulam Muhammad,	...	
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Through Faez Hosain, Esq., Ahmadpur—		Khan, Amirull Khan, Sahibuddin Khan,	...	
Musliman of the place	300 0 0	Muhammad Khan, Ahmad Yar Khan,	...	
Through Nasiruddin Ahmad, Esq., Nagina, Dist.		Zake Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan	...	
Bihar	1,050 0 0	rupee one each	...	9 0 0
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Masud Alam, Esq., Gaya	15 0 0	Through Abdur Rahman Unns Sait Esq., Dadapeta—	...	
Through Khan Bahadur Ashiq Ali Khan Shib,		A Musalman Lady	...	15 0 0
Fatehgaon—		Urfa Bashiruddin, Esq., Srinagar	...	27 7 0
Sadashand Khan, Esq.	6 1 9	Fauzat Ali Khan, Esq., Mokumpur Dist. Tippera	...	15 0 0
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Sahawat Ali, Esq.	2 0 0	Bannu and annas five spent by K. B. Ashiq Ali	...	
Shah	2 3 3	Khan of Pertabgarh on M.-O. Commission to	...	
Shadi maid servant	0 4 0	31st December 1912	...	21,209 6 0
Through Huknuddin Hosain, Esq., Baheri	75 0 0	Amount previously acknowledged	...	2,00,615 14 8
Amrulla, Esq., Mianganj	5 0 0		...	
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Yours faithfully,

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—Morris.



Vol. 5.
No. 2.

Single Copy
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Delhi: Saturday, January 11, 1913.

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The Delhi Outrage.

EXPRESSIONS of indignation at the crime and of sympathy with their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge still continue to arrive in the Comrade office from various quarters in India. For want of space we have been only publishing the names of public bodies and of the localities where such resolutions had been passed. The messages received this week include resolutions passed at public meetings held by (1) the Muslims of Ferozepore (city), (2) the Muslims of Bhera, (3) the Shia Community of Delhi, and (4) the Anjuman-e-Islam, Jodhpore.

Lady Hardinge's Description.

At the indignation meeting at the Bombay Town Hall, on the 2nd January Lord Sydenham read to the audience the following letter from Lady Hardinge, and in doing so he said that Lady Hardinge had kindly permitted him to read an account of the outrage written on the same day, which brings home the terrible experience of their Excellencies as no words of his could do:—

Passing down the Chandni Chowk, where the cheering was at all sides, I suddenly felt an upheaval and was thrown forward. When I recovered my place, I felt rather dazed and most decidedly with a bad stinging in the head. The Viceroy turned to me and said 'I am afraid that was a bomb.' The elephant had stopped. Then he called out: 'Go on,' and the procession started again. My impression was perfect stillness from the crowds until then, but when we started there were voices raised and I heard 'Bravo' amongst

these. I then began noticing more details; for instance the howdah back had gone and that the Viceroy looked pale. I said to him: 'Are you sure you are not hurt?' He answered: 'I am not sure. I have had a great shock, but I think I can go on.' A few seconds afterwards, I stretched backwards to be able to see him from the back, and through a slit of the uniform near his right shoulder (the furthest from me) I could see red flesh appearing. Then I thought shall I tell him he is wounded, which will frighten him, or take the risk of the harm the jolt of the elephant may do him? I looked round and noticed the legs of a man who was having backwards and dead. Then I quietly said: 'Do let me stop the procession, as I fear the man behind is dead.' (We had moved on 150 yards) He said 'Of course, we cannot go on under the circumstances.' I stopped the elephant and signed to Colonel Maxwell on the elephant in front. He ran up and the Viceroy said 'Can you do anything for the poor man behind?' And he said: 'Would you like Colonel Roberts to come? I think the Viceroy's shoulder is hurt.' Just then the Viceroy had a little convulsion and was rapidly losing consciousness. On regaining consciousness, he gave all instructions for the full carrying out of the ceremony. After this, there is nothing to tell excepting a history of the difficulties of getting him off the howdah and into the motor-car, then into the house and his clothes taken off. He was bleeding profusely from about six wounds. No one was in the house, but the staff did every thing and managed him beautifully.

The Viceroy's Health.

The following bulletin was issued at the Viceregal Lodge at 8-30 A. M., on Saturday, the 11th instant:—

His Excellency's condition is daily improving. The wounds are healing satisfactorily.

Spectators in the Punjab National Bank.

GROUND FLOOR.

1. Bharat Singh, son of Lallu Singh, Rajput, of village Paroli, P.S. Fatehabad, District Agra, orderly of the Punjab National Bank, "Lal," Delhi.
2. Bansal, son of Har Ballab, Gujar, of village Dhora, P.S. Fatehabad, Dist. Agra, orderly of the P. N. Bank, Delhi.
3. Siri Ram, son of Bhagwan Sahar, Gujar, of Sakhipur, P. S., Surajpur, Dist. Bulandshahr.
4. Channa Singh, son of Gulab Singh, Brahman, Muhalla Chira Khana, orderly of the P. N. Bank, Delhi.
5. Churahi, son of Shubla, Rajput, of Gaudi Gali, Bazar Khari Bani, Jamadar, of the P. N. Bank, Delhi.
6. Bhup Singh, son of Bajrang Singh, Rajput, of Haveli Haidar Kali, orderly of the P. N. Bank, Delhi.
7. Babu Lal, son of Narain, Kahar, of Muhalla Pan-ki-Mandi, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.
8. Parshadi, son of Budhu, Kahar, of Muhalla Bundolla, Meerut, at present Gali Kalalan, Delhi.

9. Bansal, son of Ganga, Rajput, of village Paroli, P. S. Fatehbad, Dist. Agra.
10. Ramji Das, son of Gulab Singh, Brahman, of Bhojla Pahari, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
11. Ballu Mal, son of Ishri Das, Mahajan, of Gali Bhairon, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
12. Pekar Mal, son of Parina Nand, Mahajan, of Maliwara, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
13. Birju, son of Jodhu Ram, Brahman, of Gali Pipalwali, Nai Sarak, employé of Kallu Ram Rameshwar, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Shahanshahi, Delhi.
14. Mutsadi Mal, son of Sanwali Mal, Mahajan, of Gali Anar, employé of No. 11
15. Puran Mal, son of Lachmi Narain, Bania, of Kucha Leewa, Cloth Merchant, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
16. Bhagirat, son of Jai Ram, Barber of Maliwara, Delhi.
17. Chuni Lal, son of Magan Lal, Bania, of Palanpur State (Bombay Presidency), employé of Ismail Ibrahim and Bros, Sadar Bazar, Delhi, at present Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
18. Ram Dial, son of Chuni Lal, Brahman of Muhalla Naw Ghara, Kinari Bazar, employé of Shambu Nath Nandu Mal, Katra Moti, Delhi.
19. Vishnu Dat, son of Banarsi Dat, Brahman, of Chatta Madan Gopal, Signaller, E. I. Ry., Delhi.
20. Puran, son of Munna Lala, Mahajan, of Gali Leewa, employé of Dhani Ram Kidar Nath, Cloth Merchants, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
21. Daulat Ram, son of Chuttan Lal, Brahman of Gali Miranwall, Ballimaran, employé of Sham Lal Raghunath Rai, Piecegoods Merchants, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
22. Nathu Mal, son of Mathra Das, Bania, of Chatta Madan Gopal, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
23. Munshi, son of Banarsi Dat, Brahman, of Chatta Madan Gopal, brother of No. 19
24. Madho, son of Gobind Ram, Brahman, of Muhalla Naw Ghara, Kinari Bazar, employé of Nauak Chand Suraj Bhan, Katra Shahanshahi, Delhi.
25. Tiloke Nath, son of Nathu Mal, No. 22
26. Lahori Mal, son of Sada Ram, Marwari, of Chatta Madan Gopal, employé of Hukam Chand Devi Sahai, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
27. Badri Das, son of Bilas Rai, Bania, of Muhalla Bedwara, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
28. Balia, son of Sita Ram, Bania, of Chatta Madan Gopal, employé of Baij Nath Janki Das, Katra Qutab Din, Delhi.
29. Nathi Mal, son of Mekkam Ram, Bania, of Maliwara, employé of Sanwal Das Ganesh Das, Katra Shahanshahi, Delhi.
30. Hans Raj, son of Hem Raj, Bania, of Gali Chipian, Maliwara, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
31. Gurmukh, son of Jiwan Ram, Bania, of Muhalla Bedwara, employé of Sanwal Das Ganesh Das, Katra Shahanshahi, Delhi.
32. Basanta, son of Munni Lal, Brahman, of Muhalla Naw Ghara, employé of Hukam Chand Devi Sahai, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
33. Puran Chand, son of Munshi Lal, Bania, of Katra Shahanshahi, employé of Puran Chand Raj Narain, Katra Shahanshahi, Delhi.
34. Manohar Lal, son of Ajudhia Parshad, Bania, of Muhalla Pipal Mahadev, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, with his 3 sons, Sita Ram, Madan Lal, Brij Lal under 6 years.
35. Kishan Chand, son of Ajudhia Parshad, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, brother of No. 34.
36. Sri Ram, son of Bishambar Nath, Mahajan of Kucha Dilwall Singh, Piece goods Merchant, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
37. Bhagwan Das, son of Bhola Nath, Bania, of Gali Moolidan, Kashmiri Gate, employé of No. 34.
38. Nandan Mal, son of Jat Mal, Mahajan, of Muhalla Inali, employé of No. 34.
39. Jageshwar Singh, son of Swamber Singh, Rajput, of Takhatkhal, P. S. Sarani, Dist. Rai Bareilly, at present Chowkilar of Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
40. Prem Sagar, son of L. Moti Sagar, Pleader, student 3rd middle, Govt. High School, Delhi.
41. Khushali Ram, son of L. Kottu Mall, Khatri, of Dara Ismail Khan, Manager, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
42. B. Gokal Chand, son of Shankar Das, Deputy Superintendent, Chief Commissioner's Office, Delhi.
43. Rai Gopi Chand, son of L. Nathu Ram, E. A. C., Gujranwala.
44. Rai Gobind Ram, son of L. Tilok Chand, E. A. C., Multan.
45. Rai Bahadur Sukh Dial son of Advocate, Lahore, with his
46. Servant, Sanka Ram, son of Jodha Ram, Brahman, of village Siddu, P. S. Sujapur, Dist. Kangra.
47. Mr. S. N. Gupta, son of N. N. Gupta, Editor, Tribune, Lahore.
48. Pt. Bisheshar Nath, son of Harnam Das, Brahman, of P. S. Gangoh, Dist. Saharanpur, at present Lahore.
49. Pt. Rikhi Ram, son of Pt. Ram Gopal, Brahman, New Shalimar Garden, Lahore.
50. Jiwan Mal, son of Pt. Ganga Ram, Brahman, Agent to No. 15.
51. Ram Saran Das, son of Mul Raj, Khatri, of Jallalabad, P. S. Varawal, Dist. Amritsar, Agent to K. R. Sharma Co., Import and Export Agents, Amritsar, New Market. Now at Delhi
52. Dharampal, son of Burha Ram, Khatri, of Chuni Mandi, Lahore.
53. Har-ukh Rai, son of L. Billa Mal, Khatri, Katra Mohar Singh, Aheron, Proprietor of Messrs. Shankar Das Harsukh Rai, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.
54. Amir Chand, son of Harsukh Rai, Khatri, No. 19, Manager, Shankar Das Harsukh Rai, Coy., Delhi Branch.
55. 21.-22. Children of Harsukh Rai, No. (19), under 8 years.
56. Lachmi Narain, son of Kishan Chand, Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, Bazar Sita Ram, employé of Mahtab Rai Chuba Mal, Iron Merchants, Chawri Bazar, Delhi.
57. Bhnpal Singh, son of Budh Singh, Bania, of Mahatpura, Harding Gate, Muthra, student III year class, Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
58. Ram Narain, son of Kishan Chand, Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, Bazar Sita Ram, employé of Madho Ram Budh Singh, Iron Merchants, Chawri Bazar, Delhi.
59. Gowardhan Das, son of Chuha Mal, Bania, of Kucha Daya Ram, Chawri Bazar, Iron Merchant, Chawri Bazar, Delhi.
60. Gulala Ram, son of Lala Ram, Kaisth, of Gali Roshanpura, Nai Sarak, Delhi.
61. Ram Gopal, son of Shiv Gopal, Kaisth, of Muhalla Inali Bazar Sita Ram, Clerk, P. W. U's Office, Ghaziabad.
62. Jai Parshad, son of Gobind Parshad, Kaisth, of Kucha Patti Ram, Gali Kashmirian, Bazar Sita Ram, student III year Mission College, Delhi.
63. Jai Parshad, son of Har Parshad, Kaisth, of Kucha Shidi Qasam, Bazar Sita Ram, clerk, P. N. Bk., Delhi, with a
64. Child, 10 years old.
65. Mehar Chand, son of Hanji Das, Kaisth, of Gali Datasha, Chawri Bazar, Clerk, Post Office, Kalka.
66. Maharaj Bahadur Barq, son of Har Narain Das, Kaisth, of Gali Ghuna Datasha, Bazar Chawri, Clerk, Deputy Accountant-General Post and Telegraphs, Delhi.
67. Jainti Parshad, son of Gobind Parshad, Kaisth, of Gali Mishar, Delhi Gate, Clerk, Deputy Accountant-General's Office, Delhi.
68. Jagdish Parshad, aged 8.
69. Balkishan, son of Hakim Rai, Khatri, of Muhalla Gopiwal, Bazar Haron-ka-chajja, Multan, employé of Keswar Bhan Sukha Nand, Phatak Habash Khan, Delhi.
70. Chumany Lal, son of Dogar Mal, Khatri, of Kucha Marwaha, Husharpur, Agent of S. Sujau Singh, Contractor, Pollen Lines, Delhi.
71. Umrao Singh, son of Diwan Chand, Jaini, of P. S. Bahadurgarh, Dist. Rohtak, Clerk, P. N. Bk., Delhi (Balkishan ?)
72. Bhagwati Sahai, son of Dabu Lal, Kaisth, of Muhalla Shabgan, Allahabad, Clerk, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
73. Narain Das, son of Bhagwan Das, Kaisth, of Muhalla Roshanpura, Clerk, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
74. Chunna Lal, son of Ajudhia Parshad, Jaini, of Katra Madan, Dariba Kalan, employé of P. N. Bk., Delhi.
75. Bishambar Nath, son of Jagan Parshad, Bania, of Johari Bazar, near Kotwali, Agra.
76. Brij Kishore, son of Chunna Lal, No. 41, aged 12 years.
77. Mahabir Parshad, son of Jhanna Lal, Jaini, of Muhalla Khatki-Masjid, Roshanpura, employé of Raja Chand Khatki Lal, Flour Seller, Nis Raan, Delhi.
78. Jagan Nath, son of Manohar Singh, Bania, Traffic Dept., O. R. B. on leave at Hapur, exo. L. Moti Sagar, Pleader.
79. Gopal Das, son of Seth Manohar Lal, Inspector of Post Office, resident of Saidi, Dist. Sahapur.
80. Uttam Singh, son of Humai Singh, employé of No. 41.

LOWER BALCONY.

FROM WEST TO EAST—

1. Musammat Anbai Das, wife of L. Khushali Ram, Manager, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
2. Musammat Jashoden, daughter of L. Khushali Ram, Manager, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
3. Musammat
4. Kaka Ram, son of Bhagwan Das, Khatri, of Gali Gulzari Mal, Sarraf, Wachhowali, Lahore, Accountant, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
5. Mr. Raj Krishna Gupta, son of L. Jagan Nath, Barrister, Karbal.

LEFT OF DOOR NO. 4

RIGHT OF DOOR NO. 4

DOOR NO. 4

48. Ramji Das, son of Bhagwan Das, Arora, o village Pin Saidpur, P. S., Jalalpur Kikna, Dist. Jhelum Agent of Surjan Singh, Contractor Police Lines, Delhi.
49. Ram Chand, son of Gopi Ram, Bania, of Bhiwani, Dist. Hissar, employé of Jia Ram Chotey Lal, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
50. Baij Nath, son of Rameshwar Das, Bania, of Bhiwani, Dist. Hissar, broker, Ishar Das Co., Cloth Merchants, Malihara, Delhi.
51. Basheshwar Lal, son of Dilaukh Rai, Bania, of Bhiwani, Dist. Hissar, at present employé of Hardev Das Siri Lal, Cloth Merchants, Kharaling (Dajeehug).
52. Kishan Lal, son of Mohi Das, Bania, of Bhiwani, Dist. Hissar, broker, Ishar Das Co., Cloth Merchants, Malihara, Delhi.
53. Puran, son of Ram Narain, Brahman, of Dhongra, Nabha State, employé of Ghani Ram Bala Parshad, Cap Merchants, Dariba Kalan, Delhi.
54. Badri Das, son of Mulk Raj, Khatri, of Ferozepur, at present Tahsil employé, Zeera, Dist. Ferozepur.
55. Hari Ram, son of Ram Rakha Mal, Khatri, of Ferozepur, at present Ginning Factory, Ballabgarh, Dist. Gurgaun.
56. Makhan Lal, son of Kesar Das, Arora, of village Sahawal, Dist. Shahpur, clerk, P. N. Bk., Delhi.
57. Godar Singh, son of Puran Singh, Khatri, of village Haria, P. S. Kothala Shekhan, Dist. Gujrat (Punjab), at present Agent, S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
58. Ram Das, son of Bahadur Chand, Khatri, of Khushab, Dist. Shahpur, Agent to S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
59. Pira Lal, son of Chetan Ram, Arora, of Isa Khel, Dist. Mianwali, Agent to S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
60. Sita Ram, son of Jiwan Das, Khatri, of village Tankiwala, Dist. Shahpur, Agent to S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
61. Gian Chand, son of Makhan Ram, Arora, of Dandkhel, P. S. Moch, Dist. Mianwali, Agent to S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
62. Bheja Ram, son of Chand Mal, Mahajan, of village Dadhial, P. S. Chaunukh, Dist. Mirpur (Jammu State), Agent to S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
63. Gokal Chand, son of Jesu Ram, Dhatia, of P. S. Moch, Dist. Mianwali, Agent to S. Surjan Singh, Contractor, Delhi.
64. Khali Ram, son of Het Ram, Kahar, of village Kera, P. S. Milak, Dist. Moradabad (Rampur State), employé of Shadi Ram Mangal Sam, Cloth Merchants, Katra Alla Dia, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.
45. Ramji Das son of ?

2ND BALCONY.

1. Musammat Mano, wife of Amar Singh, Beria, of Paroli, P. S. Fatehbad, Dist. Agra.
2. Musammat Tumar, wife of Bharat Singh, Rajput, of Paroli, P. S. Fatehbad, Dist. Agra—Her husband is an orderly of the P. N. Bk., Delhi.
3. Musammat Phul Das, widow of Babu Mal, Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, Delhi.
4. Musammat Champo, widow of Dawarka Das, Bania, of Dharanpura, Delhi.
5. Musammat Janki, wife of Gauri Lal, Brahman, of Gali Singh Ram, Delhi.
6. Musammat Mehru, wife of Pati Ram, Bania, of Chhoti Pabariwala Gate, Delhi.
7. Musammat Jai Dai, widow of Rattas, Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, Delhi.
8. Musammat Mahtabi, wife of Jangli Mal, Bania, of Kucha Chelan, Delhi.
9. Musammat Nauki, widow of Jamna Sahai, Brahman of Kucha Bharon, Delhi.
10. Musammat Jawahar Dai, wife of Bhajan Lal, Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, Delhi.
11. Musammat Mohru, wife of Ram Kishan, Brahman, of Kucha Mai Das, Delhi.
12. Musammat Bato, wife of Lachmi Narain (Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, Delhi.
13. Musammat Tara Dai, wife of Shumma Dat, Brahman, of Sirkialan, Delhi.
14. Musammat Ganga Dai, widow of Kundan Lal, Bania, of Kucha Daya Ram, Delhi.
15. Musammat Rajjo, widow of Durga Parshad, Bania, of Kucha Daya Ram, Delhi.
16. Musammat Dhanoo, wife of Gowardhan Das, Bania, of Gali Eshanwali, Kucha Daya Ram, Delhi.
17. Musammat Janki, wife of Manak Chand, Bania, of Dharanpura, Delhi.
18. Musammat Bhagwati, wife of Radhe Ballab, Bania, of Kucha Daya Ram, Delhi.
19. Musammat Lachmi Narain, son of Kishan Chand, Bania, of Kucha Mai Das, employé of Mahtab Rai Chhaba Mal, Iron Merchants, Chawri Bazar, Delhi.

20. Musammat Prem Dai, wife of Bhagirat Mal, Khatri Katra Nil, Kucha Dholau, Delhi.
21. Musammat Chhoti, wife of Jaggan Nath, Brahman of Katra Nil, Delhi.
22. Musammat Kalawati, wife of Chhuua, Jaini, of Katra Mashra, Delhi.
23. Musammat Joggo, widow of Jhunnul Lal, Jaini, of Dharanpura, Delhi.
24. Musammat Busanti, widow of Chhotey Lal, Brahman of Katra Mashra, Delhi.
25. Musammat Sonpi, daughter of Kula Chand, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
26. Musammat Surjan, wife of Gagan Mal, Jaini, of Chupiwara, Delhi.
27. Musammat Ram Phane, wife of Hans Raj, Sarangi, of Chupiwara, Delhi.
28. Musammat Chanda, wife of Gobind Parshad, Kaisth, of Gunaa Mishar, Delhi Gate, Delhi.
29. Musammat Sarup Ram, widow of Shiv Gopal, Kaisth, of Ghaziabad.
30. Musammat Radhe, wife of Bhagwati Sarup, Kaisth, of Ghaziabad.
31. Musammat Chand Ram, widow of Ramji Das, Kaisth, of Gali Batashia, Delhi.
32. Musammat Chandan, daughter of Chhanna Lal, Kaisth, of Gali Batashia, Delhi.
33. Musammat Papai, widow of Bhagwan Sarup, Kaisth, of Gali Batashia, Delhi.
34. Musammat Jashodan, a widow, mother of Devi Das, Kucha Bharonwali, Delhi.
35. Musammat Bhagwati, wife of Devi Das, Kucha Bharonwali, Delhi.
36. Musammat Raj Ram, wife of Mul Chand, Bania, Kucha Bharonwali, Delhi.
37. Musammat Kustari, wife Hazari Dat, Jaini, of Malihara, Delhi.
38. Musammat Lachmi, a widow, maid-servant of No 37.
39. Musammat Ganga, wife of Hunda Mal, Khatri, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
40. Musammat Jamna, wife of Vera Mal, Khatri, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
41. Musammat Bhagwati, wife of Kamji, Kahar, Katra Bataan, Delhi.
42. Musammat Shrutati, daughter of Lala Ram, Kaisth, of Roshanpura, Delhi.
43. Musammat Lachmi, wife of Lala Ram, Kaisth, of Roshanpura, Delhi.
44. Musammat Ghabi, widow of Bhagwan Das, Kaisth, of Roshanpura, Delhi.
45. Musammat Chambi, wife of Narain Das, Kaisth, of Roshanpura, Delhi.
46. Musammat Peri, wife of Hakim Rai, Khatri, Phatak Habash Khan, Delhi.
47. Musammat Jawati, daughter of Dina Nath, Bania, Kinari Bazar, Delhi.
48. Kishan Chand, son of Dwarka Das, Bania, Punjab National Bank

ROOF.

1. Musammat Nuboo, widow of Ganeshi Lal, Bania, of Bhiwani, Dist. Hissar
2. Musammat Kasturi, wife of Faig Nath, Bani, of Malihara, Delhi.
3. Musammat Chandni, wife of Janki Das, proprietor Messrs Ishar Das and Co., Cloth Merchants, Delhi.
4. Musammat Ghugi, wife of Duli Chand, Bania, broker, Ishar Das Co., Delhi.
5. Musammat Mehri, wife of Jamna Das, Bania, Malihara, Delhi.
6. Musammat Mohini, wife of Dina Nath, Bania, Malihara, Delhi.
7. Musammat Kanwali, daughter of Ram Gopal, Bania, Malihara, Delhi.
8. Musammat Bhuri, widow of Shiv Bakhs, Bania, Malihara, Delhi.
9. Musammat Singh, widow of Lachmi Narain, Bania, Kucha Leswa, Delhi.
10. Musammat Jiwan, wife of Jamna Das, Bania, Cloth Merchant, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
11. Musammat Jaria, wife of Shiv Dat, Bania, Cloth Merchant, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
12. Musammat Har Bai, wife of Rameshwar Das, Bania, Cloth Merchant, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
13. Musammat Ram Phane, wife of Puran, Bania, Cloth Merchant, Katra Chobian, Delhi.
14. Musammat Anai Dai, wife of Chhann Lal, Brahman, Gali Leswa, Delhi.
15. Musammat Vishnu Bai, wife of Khem Chand, Khatri, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
16. Musammat Rukmani, daughter of Khem Chand, Khatri, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
17. Musammat Ram Dai, wife of Mawasi, Kahar, employé of Khatri, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.
18. Mawasi, son of Bania, Kahar of Moradabad, servant of Khem Chand, Katra Dhulia, Delhi.

TETE A TETE



Ottoman Treasury Bonds.

Our readers would remember that early in the progress of the Balkan War we solicited His Excellency the Viceroy to make an announcement that the advance of a loan by the Mussalmans of India to the Government of Turkey during the war would not be against British law or policy, nor opposed to His Majesty the King-Emperor's Declaration of Neutrality. With characteristic graciousness His Excellency made this announcement in a telegram addressed to us, which we published at the time and also communicated to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. Since then we heard from the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay that his Government intended to issue Treasury Bonds to the value of three million Turkish pounds, bearing interest at six per cent., which was to be paid through the agency of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Council of Public Debt, and that they were to be redeemed in three years at the rate of two instalments per annum, and that they were secured by the revenue from the recent war impost. Since then we have been communicating constantly with the Turkish authorities to settle all necessary details. At first we were informed that these bonds would be issued with a face value of 2 (Turkish) 1, 2, 3, 5, and upwards. As the Turkish pound is the equivalent of Rs. 13 8-0, it was felt that it would be preferable to have at least a portion of these Treasury Bonds issued in terms of Indian money from Rs. 5 upwards so as to be more readily calculable and convenient for Indian purchasers. We now learn from His Excellency Djaler Bey, the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay, that it has been decided to issue bonds for one million sterling, each bond being of the value of £1 sterling or Rs. 15. Being anxious to make it possible even for the poorest Mussalman to take a share in this loan to Turkey, we have not yet given up our endeavours to arrange for the issue of some bonds with a face value of Rs. 5 and 10. But we think it will not do to wait much longer for the settlement of this question, and steps must promptly be taken to arrange for the sale of the one pound sterling Treasury Bonds. If in the course of the next few weeks we learn that our efforts to induce the Turkish authorities to issue bonds of smaller value have resulted in success, we shall publish the fact and take steps to arrange for their sale. We have already arranged with two important banks, which have numerous branches throughout India, to receive deposits from the intending purchasers of these bonds. The Bank of Bengal with its many branches has agreed to receive such deposits and effect purchases for an inclusive charge of two annas per cent., with a minimum limit, however, of one rupee for each transaction, which means that the purchaser will have to pay the Bank of Bengal a commission of one rupee for every transaction not exceeding Rs. 800, whether the transaction is large or small. But the Alliance Bank of India, which has branches at Bombay, Calcutta, Agra, Amritsar, Cawnpore, Darjeeling, Lahore, Mussoorie, Murree, Rawalpindi, Umballa, and Delhi, has agreed to do the same for an inclusive charge of two annas per cent., with the minimum limit of only two annas, so that a commission of two annas only will be required by the Alliance Bank for every transaction up to the limit of Rs. 100, whether it is large or small. Beyond the above-mentioned respective limits of the two banks, the rate of commission chargeable by them is the same. We are thankful to both these banks for agreeing to transact this business at a very moderate commission, and particularly to Mr. Dalzell, Manager of the Delhi branch of the Alliance Bank of India, Ltd., who has gone out of his way to meet us in this matter and has kept the minimum limit of commission at the insignificant figure of two annas which could certainly never pay it to effect a large number of small transactions. Mr. Dalzell writes to us as follows:—"I am prepared to reduce our charge to 2 annas per cent. for the purpose of receiving deposits at our Head Office and all our branches, from persons desirous of

purchasing Turkish War Bonds. Our minimum charge will thus be 2 annas. I trust this is now quite clear and satisfactory, and on hearing from you that you agree to our terms, I will at once arrange for all our offices to accept deposits and transfer them to this branch at par, and, on receipt of necessary instructions from the depositors, I will arrange to procure their bonds for them. I think it will be as well if you made it quite clear to all interested that when sending in their deposits either to us or any of our other offices, they should send a specimen of their signature, and at the same time give their full name, address and designation, to enable us to communicate with them direct in the matter of procuring their bonds." We trust intending purchasers of the bonds would carry out these instructions in all cases, at the same time sending the bank's commission at the above-mentioned rates, and that work which has been delayed so long for unavoidable reasons would at last be commenced with the enthusiasm and earnestness which have astonished everybody in this country and have created not a little impression abroad. Peace and war still hang in the balance, and if war is continued money alone can provide the means of war. But if Turkey has to conclude peace on account of the unquitting pressure which Europe is bringing to bear upon her weak-kneed Government, money would be still more necessary for a new start in life which the Empire of the Ottomans will have to make. War stores must have been depleted, ships must be in need of repairs and the whole organization of Government on which, even more than on the courage and numbers of the army, a nation has to depend in these days, must require to be financed. This is no small matter, but it is a matter which deserves every consideration that Indian Mussalman can show and every sacrifice that they can nerve themselves to make. Hitherto we in the East have been used to gifts and loans from Sultans and Padshahs, but Allah has honoured the Mussalmans of India by raising them to the position of those who can assist even Sultans and Padshahs. In His great assemblage all are equal, and it has been said to them as it has never been said to any other people that verily they are brothers.

نکلا پیر سی ہر دل میں رکھا دستِ وحشت فی
خدا کی شان می رتبہ ہو یہ خارِ مہیلاں کا

We trust that it will not be long before the Ottoman Treasury Bonds of the value of a million sterling are exhausted, for it must be remembered that there are seventy million Mussalmans and they are being asked to do nothing more than what they have been asked before.

مَنْ يَرْضِ اللَّهَ قَرْضًا حَسَنًا *

(Who will lend to God the good loan ?)

We wait for the response to the Divine question with hope and faith. Well may we say of this loan.

در قروغناے فاقہ متان شادی * از فکر زبان و سود م آزادی
مقراضِ محبت و یابی هستی * ابے فرض نہ تقدولِ نقادی

This course of the Peace negotiations during the last two weeks has been erratic and sensational. Every moment it has seemed as if the negotiations would be broken off and, though they pursued their intermittent course amidst general diplomatic optimism, they have at last reached a deadlock. Between the proposals of the Allies and the Turkish counter-proposals there is a large and yawning gulf, and it yet remains to be seen how the gulf will be bridged over. For the sake of a clear appreciation of the existing situation it is necessary to state the respective terms of the belligerents in a brief and simple form. According to the proposals of the Confederacy the Turks were required to renounce their sovereignty over the whole of European Turkey except a small strip of territory along the shores of the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, while Crete as well as the Aegean islands should be ceded to Greece. The Turkish counter-proposals were to cede all occupied territories westward of the vilayet of Adrianople, which would remain Turkish, subject to the ratification of the Turco-Bulgarian frontier to be negotiated between Turkey and Bulgaria alone; Albania to be autonomous, the Powers settling its boundaries and political organisation. The future of Crete was to be settled according to the decision of the Powers. The Turks further declared it to be impossible to cede any of the Aegean islands as they belonged to Asia Minor. The Allies were reported to have replied that the cession of territory westward of Adrianople must comprise all and not only occupied territory. Regarding the Turkish proposal about Albania the Allies were said to have given their assent. As to the question of Adrianople, Crete and the Aegean islands,

the Turkish delegates were requested to reconsider their attitude. They, however, remained firm. The Allies, thereupon, presented a threefold ultimatum intimating that failing a clear and satisfactory reply by Monday (6th January), they would break off the negotiations. At the Monday meeting of the Peace Conference the Turks presented proposals for certain cessions of territory northwards of Adrianople, but excluding that city, and also undertook to renounce their rights in Crete provided no other islands were demanded. The Allies, however, after a mutual consultation drafted a resolution to the effect that since the Turks had not replied satisfactorily to their last proposals they would suspend the labours of the Conference till Friday (10th January). The Conference has not met since then, and the question of peace now hangs on the fate of Adrianople. The position of Crete and the future of the Aegean islands also form the subjects of vital difference, but the final settlement would be practically reached if the question of Adrianople can be solved to the satisfaction of the belligerents. It is reported that the Turks are determined not to assent to the cession of Adrianople. The Allies seem equally resolved to secure it. The only way out of the impasse would, therefore, seem to lie in the immediate resumption of hostilities. The Turks have nothing to lose and every thing to gain if events take such a turn. If Adrianople is to be lost to the Turks, better far it should be lost on the field of battle. We trust the Ottoman Government has a clear estimate of the material and moral loss it will impose on the Empire by a timid acceptance of the terms of the Allies. By rejecting them, even in face of the most vigorous diplomatic pressure from other quarters, it would save its honour and dignity even though the material loss may have become irreparable. We hope the Ottoman Government is fully alive to the strength of Moslem feeling throughout the world on the question of peace. As to the feeling of Indian Mussalmans, we believe it is truly reflected in the following cablegram which has been sent by us to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan:—"Indian Mussalmans trust Turkey will not accept peace without honour. Help from God and early victory. Pray assure us." No one, however, can ignore the enormity of a new factor which may lead to one of the most infamous diplomatic transactions in European history. Reuter informs us that the Great Powers are practically agreed regarding the question of Adrianople and that a joint Note is to be presented to the Turkish Government urging moderation and the necessity of a peaceful settlement. It is manifest that the diplomacy of the Triple Entente is active on behalf of the Allies and the Turks are being pressed to yield on the most vital issue by the warring lovers of peace, on the one hand, and by the aggressive military demonstrations of Russia on the Armenian frontier, on the other. The Turks have often been asked to recognize the facts of the situation. One of the most patent facts is that the Allies can never hope to secure the acceptance of their extravagant demands single-handed. Any settlement of the questions on the lines proposed by them will be achieved by a cynical and unblushing coercion exercised by some of their patrons amongst the Great Powers. The Turks trust to the sense of fairplay of the great nations. That trust had seldom been justified in the past. The Moscovite is having the one chance of his life to play at his old game with loaded dice. France is merely a Russian satellite. Does England remember her old professions of friendship for the Turks and does her Government realize its imperial responsibilities? Some of the most important Ministers of Great Britain have already shown in public the true bent of their minds, and are perhaps not unaware of the impressions that their gushing sympathies for the Allies have produced in the Moslem world. At this critical stage, the Indian Mussalmans cannot but feel anxious about the possible attitude of His Majesty's Government. We trust another disappointment is not in store for them. We appeal to the Indian Government to try to let the Turks have a fair chance. It is in the name of honour, of consistency and above all in the interests of the Empire that we venture to make this appeal. If His Majesty's Government cannot assist Turkey on account of its declared neutrality, surely it ought not to have any hand in coercing her. We have never urged the British Government throughout this crisis to take up arms on behalf of the Turks, though such demands have been made in some quarters. It was one of the greatest Moslem Empire in the world. We have only urged for fairplay and justice. We know an appeal such as the one we make to-day is open to misconstruction. But it is a time like the present we will be untrue to ourselves if we did not speak our mind freely both in the interest of the Turkish Empire and our own.

Some kind friends have called our attention to a speech delivered by Mr. Mohamed Ali at Lahore towards the end of November last on the subject of the All-India Medical Mission and the sale of Ottoman Treasury Bonds in India. It appears that this speech has disturbed the meteorological conditions and even a few showers of thunder are visible, pale and lightning

can occasionally be discerned on a corner of high Olympus. The speaker is no Ajax to defy such thunder and lightning, but he believes he is safe at least this time. They are young whom the gods love, and unless there is more evidence of the love of the gods, his extreme youth, which has hitherto been his one crime, would for once shield him from harm. But we must suppress all attempts at being facetious, for we are told the great C. I. D. has never yet forgiven a joke or anything even remotely approaching banter. Whatever other test of truth it may like it certainly detests ridicule as if it were high treason. Now, we are sincerely glad that nothing more serious has yet been discovered than the Lahore speech wherewith to confound its author. He happens to be not only the editor of this journal, but also its printer and publisher, for he has no desire to involve anyone but himself in the consequences of his actions. For two years the *Comrade* has been before the public and the Government, and if after all this time it is only the spoken word that disturbs the equanimity of some officials, all we can say is that we are grateful for the relief thus unwittingly afforded to us. Now, so little was thought of the Lahore speech by its author that he read the published report at Bombay for the first time a fortnight after it had been made and then too it was only a portion of it that he could manage to read. When the sheet lightning, however, became visible on the horizon he read the other portion also in an issue of the *Zamindar* borrowed from the file of a local contemporary as our own file was incomplete. It is evident even from this belated perusal that our Lahore contemporary's Assistant Editor who wrote an account of the meeting has had no training as a writer of shorthand in Urdu like the reporters of the C. I. D. who generally act as substitutes for press reporters in Moslem meetings at Lucknow. As an effort of memory his reproduction of the speeches is certainly wonderful, but he would have been a prodigy if he had reproduced the *ipsissima verba* in the case of a speech which lasted nearly an hour. That there are many omissions is evident from the fact that the report does not go beyond three and a half columns of the *Zamindar*. But as it is, we do not see what there is in it to interest the seekers of sedition. Is it the flouting of those that have tried to frighten Europe with the "Moslem Menace" in the shape of an all-conquering army of "Pan-Islamists"? Or do they object to the expression of a wish that there may come into being a defensive alliance of Moslem kingdoms to resist the offensive Concert of Europe? If not either of this, do they feel hurt because those pets of theirs, the "leaders," have come in for some rough handling? Whatever may be their own objection to the speech, the author thereof regrets above all one chief omission and a misquotation from the message of another. In all actions for which we have been responsible during the recent troubles of Turkey we have been anxious to secure the goodwill of Government. Our Turkish Relief Fund was opened in October, 1911, with the consent of H. R. the Viceroy, and our Medical Mission has been sent to Turkey with His Excellency's cordial assistance. Similarly, before we took any steps to arrange for a loan to Turkey we requested the Viceroy to make an authoritative pronouncement on the subject. This did not evidently suit the ideas of liberty and independence of an Urdu contemporary of Calcutta which asked us satirically if we wished the Imam of every mosque to solicit similar pronouncements before delivering the *khutba* every Friday. The satire was certainly clever, but it needed no reply in the *Comrade*. At Lahore, however, Mr. Mohamed Ali tried to justify his action by attempting a description of all the elements that composed his community. For himself he could say that before he undertook the launching of the *Comrade* he had asked himself whether he was prepared for every possible consequence of reverencing his conscience as his king in performing the duties of a publicist and that his answer had been in the affirmative. But what right had he, he asked at Lahore, to presume that every Mussalman would do what his heart prompted him to do for the relief of the sufferings of his brethren in Turkey without definitely ascertaining that such action was not disagreeable to those in power? This is the justification of the *Comrade's* action, and we find in it nothing to blush for or apologise. We have never feared to criticise the policy and measures of Government when occasion demanded, and it was, therefore, due from the editor of this journal to bring prominently before the large audience at Lahore that throughout the troubles of Turkey the Government of India, unlike the Liberal Cabinet, had shown the utmost respect for the grief and tribulation of His Majesty's Moslem Indian subjects and had rendered them every legitimate assistance. All this was a single argument, but we find in the *Zamindar's* report that it has been split into two paragraphs and a clear sequel has not been maintained. But it would be an irony of fate if for our reply to our satirical Calcutta contemporary, which perhaps even in the misanthropic atmosphere of Bengal visions of a decoration of Khan Bahadurship ready to descend on us from Olympus, we should receive a no more deserved crown of "martyrdom." Which of

the top we fear, most we leave our readers to guess. So much for the opinion, and now a word about the misquotation. The *Zamir*'s report gives no indication that Mr. Mohamed Ali had brought a message to the Lahore audience from one whose past success in all that he has hitherto undertaken gives us hope that he will overcome every difficulty in creating an organisation of immense potentialities for his community. His plans are being matured and it would be better if we said no more about them at present, though we may just as well disappoint the C. I. D. now by stating that there is no secrecy about the whole affair. His message has been altogether misreported and Mr. Mohamed Ali did not say that "the time has come for all Mussalmans to arm themselves and muster beneath the walls of K'aba." The time has certainly not come, but when it pleases God that it should come, the editor of the *Comrade* will be the last to shrink from announcing it. And when he has announced it, let us be sure he will not play the sign-post and merely point the way.

We have already announced that a cablegram was received by us from Dr. Ansari about the safe arrival of the All-India Medical Mission at Constantinople, and that a later message from him informed us of the "great demand for immediate work." No further message has been received this week, but we are sure the Mission has already entered on its labour of love and mercy and is earnestly doing its duty. The All-India Medical Mission has a wide sphere of usefulness before it, and we trust the generosity of the Indian Mussalmans will be sustained in a liberal measure to enable it to do its work effectively. We may state here for the information of our readers that we had requested His Excellency the Viceroy, before the departure of the Mission, to kindly ask the British Foreign Office to lend assistance to the Mission through its Consular authorities in Egypt and through His Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople. We are grateful to His Excellency for having so readily and considerably acceded to our request. The Private Secretary to the Viceroy informed us on the 24th December, just a day after the outrage in Chandni Chank, that the request had been duly communicated under the Viceroy's direction to the Secretary of State. "A telegram was received from London on the 20th December to the effect that the Foreign Office had sent the suggested instructions to the Consul-General at Cairo and to the British Ambassador at Constantinople and had informed the belligerents of the composition of the party." The latter precaution was absolutely necessary as, in view of the "Carthage" incident during the Turko-Italian war, one could not ignore the possibility of a stoppage of the Mission by the Balkan Confederacy on its way to Turkey. Now that the Mission has safely reached its destination all must be eagerly looking forward to hear of its success. We are confident that the earnest band of workers under the able guidance of Dr. Ansari will do their duty with credit. A letter from Dr. Ansari written near Aden gives interesting details of the daily life of the members of the Mission on board the ship and shows how he had devised a complete programme of daily work which was being observed with strict regularity. "Only one day's strictness was all that was necessary," says Dr. Ansari, "as they all follow the programme religiously to the letter except when too sick.... You would see from the programme that they are all fully occupied all day. I am very strict as regards prayers and lectures.... I can say without hesitation that every man would prove helpful after the lectures have been finished." As to the spirit of the members, it will be amply manifest from the following extract which we take from a letter sent to us from Aden by a member of the Mission:—"We have already reached land, and about 10 or 11 o'clock we reach Aden. I wish we could fly over the distance or go at once to render some humble service to the Turks. Nothing will give us greater pleasure than to sacrifice ourselves for the brave and wounded Turks. You may rest assured that we shall not spare any effort to relieve the wounded of pain and to obey the orders strictly. I can say without fear that when we return to India we shall not be a disgrace to the Mussalmans of India. In Dr. Ansari you have chosen the very man for the post." The following is the programme observed on board the ship.

- (1) 5-30 a. m., Fajr Prayers.
- (2) 6-8 a. m., Coffee
- (3) 8-9 a. m., Lecture (Dr. Ansari.)

[Surgical Technique, Asepsis, Antiseptic, Preparation of patients for operation, operation theatre, wards, instruments, utensils, dressings, lotions, irrigations, hemorrhage, shock, etc.]

- (4) 9-10 a. m., Breakfast.
- (5) 12-1 p. m., Lecture (Dr. Fyze and Dr. Mahmudullah.)

[Elementary applied anatomy and a few points on Elementary physiology.]

- (6) 1 p. m., Lunch.
- (7) 1-30 p. m., Zuhar Prayers.
- (8) 2-3-30 p. m., Demonstration and Practice (Dr. Naim and Dr. Barry.)

[First Aid, Ambulance, Field-work, Bandaging and application of Splints.]

- (9) 4 p. m., Tea.
- (10) 4-30 p. m., 'Asr Prayers.
- (11) 5-6 p. m., Lecture and Practical Demonstration. (Dr. Ansari.)

[General principles of Nursing, Beds and bed-making, bathing, sponging, fomenta, compress, observation of patients, hygiene of wards, bed-litters, temperature charts, nurse's report, night report, registers, Ethics to be observed in wards and with patients in general.]

- (12) 6 p. m., Maghrib Prayers.
- (13) 6-30 p. m., Dinner.
- (14) 9 p. m., 'Isha Prayers.

THE HON. SECRETARY of the Y. M. M. A., Bombay, requests us to state as follows for the information of the Moslem public:—"A cablegram received this morning (8th January) in Bombay from Constantinople by the Honorary Secretary, the Young Men's Muhammadan Association, states that His Sultanic Majesty has desired that the Bombay Poor Moslems' Medical Mission, organised by the Young Men's Muhammadan Association and the Anjuman Izzul Islam, should proceed to Tehataldja, the seat of war, on field service, whither it will proceed this week from Constantinople. It is necessary to mention here that no Mission has been organised by Dr. Suhrawarthy, and this Mission has no connection whatsoever with Doctor Suhrawarthy, it being the first to leave the shores of India. Those who desire to subscribe to the funds of this Mission are requested to send in their subscriptions either to Mr. Muhammad Umar Haji Yousuf Sobhani at No. 9, Hornby Road, Fort, or to Mr. M. H. Mumkba, Byculla, Bombay, Honorary Secretaries to the Board of Trustees of this Mission."

THANKS to the big, distracting events elsewhere, the Fates that govern Persia have been busy spinning with more than usual vigour and startling things may happen any moment to add to the afflictions of that hapless country. Russia is actively planning the restoration of the ex-Shah whose principal agent, Saad-ed-Dowleh, has returned under the patronage of Russia and England and has made a bid for high office in Teheran. The Russian grip over the Northern Provinces is now complete and the authority of the Persian Government has ceased to exist. The point of view of the Russian Nationalists whose policy is ascendant in the Russian Foreign Office, has been frankly summed up by the Teheran correspondent of the *News Press*. He says that "Russia has full legal and moral right to occupy Azerbaijan, as a creditor has the right to sequester an estate whose owner has caused him damage." He demands that the present Prime Minister should be replaced by one "in sympathy with our interests." The correspondent concludes:—"On the whole the most effectual form of address in Persia is the imperative, and the most appropriate and profitable tone is that of an ultimatum." This Muscovite text has been frequently and freely preached by many a British Imperialist and the British Government has been often urged to occupy Southern Persia. The unfortunate death of Captain Eckford has rendered this demand more persistent and some of the recent questions in the House of Commons on this subject and more particularly the replies of Sir Edward Grey are full of ominous significance. "The Imperial Government fully realised the unsatisfactory state of affairs," said the Foreign Minister in reply to Colonel Yate, "and was urgently considering what steps could be taken." Those steps are probably foreshadowed in the *Times* article, a summary of which has been cabled by Reuters to-day. After reviewing the situation and calling it hopeless, the Oracle of the Printing House Square assumes a portentous air and hints at an "experiment" of keeping the trade routes in Southern Persia open by a military occupation. It candidly repeats the difficulties of such a step and admits that all such occupations tend to become permanent. But it salves its conscience by declaring that there is no hope of the regeneration of Persia from within. The *Times* article is, in all likelihood, the shadow that the coming events are casting in front. The British "experiment" may be tried by an early dispatch of some Indian Regiments to Persia. The Muscovite dream will come true at last at the "experiment" will be an irrevocable step towards the partition of the country. Is it possible to hope that the Indian Government may yet be able to resist a step hinted at by the *Times* which will be contrary to its old policy and may be incalculable in results?

The Shadows of Coming Events.

1st January.

The Comrade.

The Comrade.

The Muhammadan Educational Conference.

WHEN Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Muhammadan Educational Conference he felt the necessity of an annual gathering of such few Mussalmans as could then be found to be interested in the advancement of Western education. At first his own advocacy of modern education was a cry in the wilderness, but in the course of succeeding years he was able to gather round himself a number of Mussalmans partly through the confidence he enjoyed and the personal influence he was able to exercise in their circle, and partly through their own appreciation of what were then regarded as "advanced" ideas and the "New Light." But even these could hardly add anything useful to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's own ideas on the subject of Western education, and the gathering was not so much convened for an exchange of views as for the purpose of advertising Western education, and familiarising the Mussalmans with the educational ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Many resolutions used to be passed at these early sessions of the Conference as they are passed to-day. But the initiative was, in the majority of cases, Sir Syed's own. The chief, if not the only, original contributions to the work of the Conference were the poems of Khwaja Altaf Husain Hali, and there can be no manner of doubt that if Western education found a brain to conceive and a hand to execute its plans in Sir Syed Ahmed, it found a voice of great power and sweetness in Hali. The good folk who met every year in some important Moslem centre in the United Provinces or the Punjab, and chiefly at Aligarh, hardly served any purpose other than that of advertising the views of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and of carrying his ideas and the words of Hali to their respective homes.

This was the only practicable course in those early days, and anything like an organisation was out of the question. But on the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, when Northern India had become fully permeated with his ideas and shared his aspirations, it became possible to advertise Western education in the outlying provinces also, and Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Karachi were in turn visited. Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk had a large circle of personal friends throughout India, and his abounding charity of manner captivated all those who came in contact with him. The credit of carrying the Aligarh flag into distant provinces and in uniting the whole of Moslem India in its educational ideals is, therefore, due to him. But although much pioneer work was then needed in the outlying provinces, as it was needed in the North in the days of Sir Syed, the latter region could no longer be satisfied with a Conference which merely served the purpose of popularising Western education. It needed for its nourishment the strong zest of educational discussion with a view to find solutions for the educational problems which the popularity of Western education in the North was bringing into being. Here, however, the Conference failed to a great extent, because the powers that be desired to retain in their hands the educational dictatorship of Sir Syed without deserving it, and in utter forgetfulness of the change that had come since then over the surface of things in Northern India.

The Conference has in recent times made some efforts to create an educational organisation which could not have existed in the days of Sir Syed, but its chief practical work has been the financial assistance it has rendered to the Aligarh College. Since the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that college has had much difficulty to face and many problems to solve. But if one turns to the voluminous reports of resolutions passed, speeches made, and lectures delivered at no less than a dozen annual sessions of the Conference in recent years, the only idea he will get of the progress of the work at Aligarh would be that it is some mysterious concern, the sole characteristic of which is that it gathers money in every session of the Conference without ever accounting for the expenditure or stating the use which it makes of that money. We defy anybody to piece together even a sketchy report of Aligarh's progress during the last fifteen years from the voluminous literature published by the Conference, and even to-day the reports of the Joint Secretary contain hardly any reference to the revenue and expenditure of the college, the numbers of the students studying and of teachers teaching at Aligarh and the problems it has had to solve in recent times. This is not all. Some of the most important problems connected with the progress of education in India would have been wholly ignored by the Conference were it not for the persistence of some who desire to make it a real Conference of the Muhammadans of India interested in the advancement of modern education

in all its forms. Excepting, perhaps, the debate on Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill in the session of 1911, there has hardly been any educational problem in India which has been tackled by the Conference. As regards the creation of an organisation for educational purposes, the various local committees of the Conference are almost without exception moribund, and no attempt has yet been made with any success to collect information about the number, character and progress of Mussalman educational institutions and associations existing throughout India. Judged, therefore, as a deliberative Conference discussing serious problems of Indian education the annual sessions of the Conference are of little use, but judged as a bureau of information on the progress of Moslem education in India and as a living organisation stimulating educational progress throughout the land the Conference has been a dismal failure.

Almost the only item of interest in the annual programme nowadays is the Address of the President, and in this respect the Conference can boast of considerable literature of great value. But no Presidential Address of recent times has faced the various problems of Moslem education so courageously and with such determination as the long Address of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, M. D., D. P. H. (Cantab), formerly of the Indian Medical Service, who presided at the 26th annual session held on the 28th, 29th and 30th December at Lucknow. This fairly comprehensive Address in every way deserves a careful perusal, and even if every question has not been discussed in detail his passing references contain much wisdom and enlightenment. But its chief feature is a fairly close study which he seems to have made of Aligarh as it was designed to be by its Founder, as it is supposed to be to-day, and as it may or may not be in the future according to the Constitution that may be agreed upon for the proposed University into which it is to be extended.

We have much sympathy with the point of view of Major Bilgrami on the subject of the Aligarh of to-day and the Aligarh of to-morrow, and our repeated condemnation of the attitude of the Secretary of State's decisions cannot be reproached on the score of weakness. But we trust he will forgive us if we fail to agree with him in regarding the picture of Russian education before the days of Alexander II. as a suitable comparison for Indian conditions to-day. It is true that many of our pedagogues find even more comfort in the soothing word "Discipline" than a certain old dame found in "Mesopotamia," and fondly believe that the discipline of the barrack-room and the parade-ground can be reproduced in college hostels and playing-fields; but we have hardly come anywhere near the state of affairs when Colonels and Counts would become Professors of literature and policemen would lecture on Philosophy. Whatever may have been the policy of Anglo-Indian educationists in the past, and whatever suspicions may still lurk in the minds of a certain school of administrators, Government as a whole has recognised the utility of a wide diffusion of education in India and the absolute impossibility of allowing the people of this country to remain in intellectual darkness. Feeble efforts still continue to be made from time to time to devise short-cuts to loyalty through the darkness of ignorance; and a certain type of Englishmen, whom a perverse fate has doomed to be pedagogues when Nature and the catching example of the "Premier Service" have cut them out to be understudies of the *zabardast* administrator, often wish to exact from the Indian student, as Sir Auckland Colvin had put it, "full justice to English deserts" without heeding at all that he, too, must expect the English "to do equal justice to his own." But other communities in India have made it plain enough that this cannot last, and even those who wish to pursue such policies have recognised that the end is inevitable. If that is not yet so in the case of the Mussalmans it is because, during the first decade after Sir Syed Ahmed's death, the Trustees of what was designed to be an autonomous institution enjoying a "measure of self-government," and "in its administration free from interference by Government officials" did not take care to preserve its earlier traditions. What Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami deploras to-day has been deplored long before by others; but even though their judgment was less severe, they had not his advantage of seniority and were left to cry in the wilderness alone. It is some consolation to them now that even if their lack of years still continues to be a reproach to them, they can no longer be charged at the same time with a lack of "sobriety" and "moderation." Major Bilgrami's Address provides them with a unique justification, and the candid admiration of Sir James Meeson supplies their own frankness in criticism with a *legitimation* which they must greatly value.

Major Bilgrami has criticised the compromises of the Constitution Committee unsparingly, but he has followed the traditions of polite controversy in sparing the members of the Committee themselves. We respect his scruples, but we would equally respectfully point out that it is not practical wisdom to judge the creation without taking into consideration the character and motives of the creators. The Constitution of the University as drafted by the Constitution Committee is a curious mosaic made up of many small pieces put

in by one or other of its members, or by the Government of India, against the wishes of a minority opposed to their finding a place in the Constitution. We have already pronounced our own benediction on it as a whole, in view of what we know of the composition of the Committee and the creative process which resulted in that Constitution. But we can perhaps point out many more defects in it than arrested the attention of Major Bilgrami if we had ourselves to do the framing of an ideal Constitution. Even now we shall be glad to assist him in having some of its more prominent defects removed, but it is necessary that he should first understand the conditions which have produced a defective constitution and then set himself the difficult task of removing those conditions.

In the first place, we fear Major Bilgrami's long absence from India has led him to translate in imagination some of the conditions of freedom existing in England—which we here must envy him—into the order of things that have ever been possible in India. But where his idealism has soared quite out of the reach of our realities is that he believes the Aligarh of to-day, which "shall cease to exist as a separate corporation and shall be incorporated with the University," to be the same institution which was "the ideal of Sir Syed and of Syed Mahmood." No illusion could be greater or more misleading. That Aligarh ceased to exist even in the days of one "Who succeeded them in the leadership of the community," and if it still continues to exist as the ideal of some Mussalmans in the realm of their own imaginations, spurring them on to work for its translation into the realm of reality, they are charged by such members of their own community as have personal axes to grind with conspiring to destroy discipline, and their efforts to reclaim the Aligarh of an earlier day are represented as dimensions of which the price will be nothing short of Aligarh itself.

Major Bilgrami rightly fears that clause 5 of Chapter III of the Statutes in the Constitution of the University, which goes beyond the provision in section 41 of the Rules and Regulations of the Aligarh Trustees, would have "the effect of making our 'Supreme Governing Body' supremely ridiculous." But is he sure that even under the existing provision of the Trustees' Rules the Governing Body of the College governs any more than an Indian Chief immured in his medieval palace who has made his Minister the keeper of his conscience, but shrewdly suspects both the conscience and the keeper thereof to be the sport of a Rule-Britannia Resident? Major Bilgrami rightly apprehends that the University "will in practice be altogether a Government affair run by the experts of the Educational Department." Does he realise that the so-called experts of the Educational Department, who were kept at arm's length in the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan when the Government grant-in-aid bore a much larger proportion to the revenues of the college than it does to-day, now ride astride the situation, and Mr. do a Fosse-prenomes to direct instruction at Aligarh as authoritatively as in Allahabad.

Major Bilgrami justly regrets that Government wishes to assign to the Trustees in the proposed University "a position of responsibility without power." But does he not ignore the fact that what he calls "a most uneasiable position" has long before this been assigned to the Trustees of the College mainly through the same acquiescence of some of their own number who have been and to some extent still are in authority at Aligarh? He rightly expresses the apprehension that the Mussalmans may find a member of their own University staff "exercising the veto and assuming full control of the policy of the College, if he happens to have influence in high quarters or a friend well placed in the Educational Service." Would it surprise him to know that this is exactly what had consistently been done for more than a decade after Sir Syed Ahmad's death? Sir Theodore Morison has frankly enough admitted this, but has attempted to justify it on the ground that in his opinion he knew the Mussalmans better than the Secretary of the Trustees, and that they had greater confidence in his wise benevolence. But whether this justification be accepted or not, and whether his successor may or may not have attempted the same justification and played the part of the Stuarts after the Tudors, what after all, we ask, was the reason of the differences between Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk and Mr. Archbold except Mr. Archbold's attempt to exercise such a veto and Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's courageous refusal to permit such an encroachment on the powers of the Trustees? Very late in the day, but even then not too late, the Trustees, compelled by public opinion, rallied to the support of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, and with becoming dignity accepted the resignation of Mr. Archbold. Even so masterful a Lieutenant-Governor as Sir John Hewett was impressed with the determination of the Trustees to be masters in their own house, and they had an excellent opportunity of making sure that their new Principal had grasped the full significance of the unfortunate but, under the circumstances, inevitable differences and their settlement. But even when theoretically determined to have their rights and position respected, the most resolute among the Trustees have failed in safeguarding these in practice. The next few months will show unmistakably whether

Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk was wise in following the advice of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and appointing as Mr. Archbold's successor one who had taken a leading part in threatening the Trustees with Government interference, and who had not withdrawn a letter twice condemned by Sir John Hewett before the Principalship was offered to him. Such tactics as a rule put a premium on insubordination and breach of discipline, and those who fondly believe that they can win over their subordinates by such methods fully deserve to be blackmailed. Mr. Towle acted as Principal *sub. pro tem.* for two years and during this period did not, to our knowledge, indicate to the Trustees in any manner that he was merely nursing his grievance. He has not yet been made permanent because of the University which has now long been in sight, but the Trustees have recently assured him of a permanent salary equal to that which he now draws. We hope he will not act as his predecessor had done and force upon the new Lieutenant-Governor any intervention such as an administrator of the type of Sir James Meeson would be the last to undertake in a hurry. But if Mr. Towle provokes such differences, would not Aligarh history be repeating itself once more and with equally unfortunate results?

To our mind it will be in the highest interests of an institution like Aligarh if it works without the recurrence of differences between its Trustees and the European staff, and if no Patron of the college finds himself in the delicate position of a mediator. But if this cannot always be possible, can the Press be condemned to silence on the subject of these differences? Nobody regrets more than we do the necessity of our occasional adverse comments on the state of affairs at Aligarh. But in view of our inside knowledge of these affairs, added to our love for the institution and our abiding belief in its immense possibilities, we could not leave Aligarh affairs undiscussed without a clear dereliction of duty. However dangerous these public discussions may appear, we have already noted that sometimes even stern disciplinarians cannot avoid a public reference to them so long as these differences exist between the Trustees of the college and its staff. The real difficulty begins when we have to deal with the grievances of the students and their teachers' complaints of their behaviour. For it is not possible to discuss these in such a manner that students may not overhear the voice of the public critic, and there are times when it is positively dangerous to withhold public criticism. Much as we deplore the awkward situation created by the necessity of such a discussion, is it possible for us to indulge in anything but stage whispers which are bound to reach the ears for which they are never meant? To-day, when it appears from the recent speech of Sir James Meeson at Aligarh that Mr. Towle and at least some of his colleagues are not satisfied with the discipline of the students, we are compelled to ask whether all is well with the attitude of the Professors towards the Assistant Professors—who are after all their colleagues—and the students to whom they stand *in loco parentis*. Major Bilgrami has dealt in his Address with the alleged decline in the veneration due from pupil to teacher and has himself offered an adequate explanation of the change in the commercialism of the pedagogy of to-day. But he admits that the reverential spirit "still exists in this country under modern conditions where the right kind of teacher and the right kind of pupil get together." Does not this bring to mind an ineffaceable picture so simply depicted by Hali?

نه دیکھی ہوں جنہوں نے شفت و طاعت کی تصویریں

وہ یک اور اس کی شاگردوں کو بام م سخن دیکھی

(Those who have not seen the pictures of Affection and Obedience should see Beak and his pupils conversing together.) Major Bilgrami rightly believes that "to obtain the best result a certain amount of warmth of heart" in the teacher is necessary, among other conditions, and if it is true that the students' minds have not properly been disciplined at Aligarh, is it not pertinent to ask whether it can still be said of Aligarh that "the students have not been looked upon as mere mechanical toys to be made to assume any desired posture or perform any given action by the pressing of sundry buttons or the winding up of certain springs?" Is it true that they are treated "always as human beings with all their feelings, sentiments and passions, joys and sorrows, virtues and vices, merits and foibles?" We shall not dwell much on this aspect of the question, but in the interests of the future it is impossible to close this book and say we shall look into it no more. Aligarh is certainly not in a state of ferment such as existed in 1907, and such as would have justified the alarm of Sir James Meeson. But we confess a certain malaise had lingered after the violent distemper of six years ago and a sullenness seems to brood over the place. This is, however, inevitable so long as there is an absence of candour and frankness in the relations of the Trustees and the staff on the one hand, and of the European staff and their Indian colleagues and students on the other.

The Indian National Congress.

"A CONGRESS VETERAN" has made some frank admissions in a Behar paper about the position of the Congress to-day as well as the quality of its work in annual session. He is considerably alarmed at the thought that it is fast losing its hold on the affections of the educated Indians and that its deliberations have of late been marked by much less vigour of thought and argument. He particularly deplores the meagre attendance of the delegates at Bankipore—about 200 in all—and recalls the days when the Congress aroused far greater popular enthusiasm and annually drew as many as 1,800 delegates from all parts of the country. "The spectacular show needs to be given up," concludes the "Veteran." The Congress inspiration is obviously on the wane and its causes are not far to seek. The movement in its infancy was bound to arouse popular interest as it held forth a new and inspiring political ideal before the people. Much of its early work was of a missionary character and its ranks grew every year as its gospel of nationalism and political self-realisation moved men with a new-born zeal of conversion. The work of propaganda, however, could not last for ever, while a certain impatience for the Promised Land was bound to manifest itself soon amongst the converts to the new creed. The very widespread familiarity with the ideals of the Congress gradually led to a slackening of the popular zeal. The followers of its early days began to grow indifferent, as they felt year after year that the Congress with all its strenuous energy of debate and fine political philosophy was still barren of practical results. The fast-awakening political consciousness of the people panted for fresh fields of activity and this is the one thing that the Congress has failed to provide. It has no doubt furnished much useful criticism during its career for the guidance of India's rulers, and part at least of the policy embodied in the Reform Scheme of 1908 is due to the aspirations that the Congress movement had created and made vocal. But the people now demand a more practical and constructive effort. The constitution of the Congress has not improved beyond that of a big debating society; and its annual sessions will continue to grow less attractive and useful as long as theory-fed politicians are suffered to bulk large on its platform.

The Bankipore session was not a very brilliant affair even as regards the redelivery of "the first principles"—an achievement that the orthodox type of the Congress orator has been taught to regard as the crown of his political career. The net result was the passing of a number of Committee-made resolutions, plus a new access of dignity to the *unmot proprio* of Behar. The Presidential address was, as usual, a heroic effort to restate the political faith, hope and destiny of India in terms that even one does not seem to stale. The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar is a staid and experienced Congressman and his utterance does not lack in practical sense, useful criticism and laudable aspiration. But it does not crystallise into some live issue that would call forth fresh energy of battle, even into some illuminating hint or gesture that would solve existing doubts and clear the path ahead. After reviewing the aims of the Congress, the recent troubles, the new era, the progress achieved, the change in the spirit of Government, which has led to the birth of a new ideal of "Provincial autonomy," the President fastens on the "defects in Council Regulations" with evident relief and points to "separate Muhammadan electorates" as the one evil that threatens the political future of the country. "Nothing," says the President, "is more calculated to retard the concord and harmony between Muhammadans and Hindus, to obstruct the intellectual and political advancement of the Muhammadans themselves, and the growth of a sturdy catholic public spirit and the amongst them, than these watertight compartments of separate electorates." Arguments or rather judgments like these serve to emphasise the garrulous futility of the parrot-cries and catchwords that have hitherto done duty for thought on the Congress platform.

It has been a conventional belief professed by every Congressman that the Indian national unity would best be promoted if the Mussalmans ceased to think for themselves. All serious differences of tradition, history, creed, temperament and outlook are lightly brushed aside by a perfunctory appeal to non-existent patriotism in the name of the nation that is yet to be. Even from the Indian Nationalist standpoint such strenuous use of a sterile sentiment defeats the very objects that it claims to serve. One cannot help sighing for some bold, rebellious spirit—a political heretic if you will—who would break through the fetters of cant and convention and fearlessly look facts in the face. The old winners who have dwarfed the big problem of nation-building to the simple theme of fixing the mode of elections to the Legislative Councils of the country have thereby declared themselves bankrupt—at any rate, intellectually. Like the ostrich

they bury their heads in the sands of sentiment and refuse to admit that the situation is what it is. They do not seem to know that they are trifling with the gigantic problem which they apparently do not understand and are certainly unfitted to solve. The Congress politician who hammers away at "Separate Electorates" for hours together and holds them responsible for the birth of what he calls "the Hindu-Moslem question" is exactly the person that is thwarting the growth of Indian nationality. If the Mussalmans had no separate interests to safeguard in daily life, there would have been no separate electorates. Even if the Mussalmans had insisted on separate representation of their community in sheer spite of the Hindus, or through some strange perversity, the root problem would still have been there to solve—the problem of removing the prejudices, the animosities and the discords, which keep the Indian communities apart, so that they may ultimately attain national unity. The President of the Bankipore Congress says that "the undesirability of these separate electorates is acknowledged by several of the leaders of the Muhammadan community, by some of those very persons who were elected to represent its interests in the Viceregal and Provincial Councils." We trust the Hon. Mr. Mudholkar has had enough political experience and we presume he is able to understand the real feelings of the Moslem community as a whole. Even "the leaders of the Muhammadan community" who differ from the mass of Moslem opinion in their views about separate electorates and who subscribe to the Congress creed, know perfectly well that they are "leaders" without a following. The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque, whose address as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Bankipore Congress was a remarkable utterance in many ways, was frank enough to acknowledge that "it is an undeniable fact that Mussalmans as a community have kept themselves aloof (from the Congress) and those who joined have joined in their own individual capacity." As long as the Mussalmans feel that they have certain special interests to safeguard, no amount of specious reasoning and fine talk will induce them to give up special political organisations, or cease to demand separate representation in the Legislative chambers of the country.

When once the necessity of separate electorates is recognised in case of the Legislative Councils it is illogical and inconsistent to oppose the extension of the principle to local bodies. The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque, however, seems to be unaware of the absurdity of his position in regard to this question. Perhaps his view of the matter is that Hindus and Mussalmans should, without communal distinction, be thrown together at some stage in the public life of the country and that it would be best to preserve such association in local bodies which deal with matters of common concern in daily life. This attitude, however, utterly ignores the principle underlying communal representation. The broad, ultimate interests of Hindus and Mussalmans are in their nature identical, otherwise it would be a silly pastime even to idealise about United India. Separate electorates have been found to be necessary at this stage exactly because there exist at present distinct and well-defined Hindu and Moslem standpoints in regard to the common, immediate and every day affairs of Indian life. And the public bodies that have been created in the past and may be created in the near future to deal with these affairs should be constituted on the basis of providing full and adequate representation of these standpoints. The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque indulges in cheap sneer at people who "have the notion that by writing vigorously and strongly on a few nominations of municipal commissioners they are championing the cause of justice." In the name of all that is ridiculous, what other "cause" should interest men of common clay, of the very earth earthy, who have never been blessed with vision of Wonderland hung with stars and who must needs concern themselves with such "petty things" as roasting a family on moderate income, keeping their physical surroundings tolerable, or ensuring an equitable distribution of the burden they have to bear for the luxury of corporate existence in society. And, after all, do not these self-same "petty things" lie at the root of the Hindu-Moslem question? The public men of India who brush them aside in lofty disdain as things of no account perhaps know not what they do. If they do so knowingly, then they really stand in need of truly "higher ideals" and should "try to achieve them."

The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque dealt at length with the question of Hindu-Moslem co-operation in public affairs and strongly exhorted the Mussalmans to join the Congress. We hope the Hon. Mr. Haque knows as well as any other public man of India what keeps the two communities apart in the political life of the country. He holds very sound and inspiring ideals about India's future and about the union of diverse races in the service of the motherland. And we are sure he equally knows that the cause which he has so much at heart will not be appreciably advanced merely by eloquent exhortations based on sentimental grounds. When he talks of the "national assembly which knows no distinction of class or creed, no distinction of Hindu or Mussalman" one involuntarily feels as if the millennium were at hand. In that case we think there is hardly any need for "a joint conference

of Hindu and Mussalman leaders at an early date." Clear thinking is, we presume, still a valuable asset in all discussions, and more so in politics where it is so difficult to draw the line between fact and aspiration.

About "the inequalities of the franchise" both the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Congress advanced some valid opinions. It must, however, be remembered that Lord Minto's ideal was communal rather than individual franchise. Still, it is advisable that every electorate must be fairly large and for each requisite qualifications must be fixed to get the proper number.

The President dealt with some questions of public interest in an able manner and his views in regard to Indians in South Africa and other Colonies, the Civil Service question, Commissioned posts in the Army, and Decentralization and Local Bodies would command approval and sympathy. Now that the Public Service Commission has commenced its labours in Madras the whole question within the scope of its inquiry will naturally give rise to considerable public discussion. We will have shortly to examine in detail various matters of immense public importance arising out of the inquiry and would only remark here that the Hon. Mr. Mudholkar's observations in regard to the position of Indians in the Higher Services are eminently sane and deserve the fullest consideration of Government. His opinion that local bodies should be entrusted with larger powers and greater initiative and should be "effectively popularised" equally merit attention. We, however, fail to see how the creation of "Divisional and District Advisory Boards" will add to the efficiency of district administration. The real need is not so much to "give help to these representatives of Government (District Officers and Commissioners) with advice" as the greater inclusion of Indians in the Bureaucracy, for, in the last resort, only the trained Indian administrators of high character and capacity can really serve the ends of true efficiency.

The Hon. Mr. Mudholkar made a sympathetic reference in his address to the troubles of Turkey, which we are sure will be appreciated by his Mussalman fellow countrymen. A few of the Hindu papers have taken exception to such reference and one of them—a not very candid critic of the Indian Mussalmans—has even hinted that the selection of the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque as Chairman of the Reception Committee was ill-advised, as he devoted a considerable portion of his speech to a description of the present state of Moslem feeling in India, which was absolutely out of place in a session of the Indian National Congress. This view gives us a true measure of the position that some of the Indian Nationalists would like to assign to Mussalmans in their schemes of India's future. We hope that the future of Indian Nationalism has not been compromised by a frank expression of the feelings of an important section of the Indian people on the Congress platform. Be that as it may, the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque made some very pertinent remarks about the grave situation in Moslem India, produced by the indifference of some of the most responsible Ministers of Great Britain towards the feelings of His Majesty's Moslem subjects. Luckily, however, as the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque said, "at this critical juncture two factors came in, which soothed the ruffled susceptibilities of the Moslem community. We have now at the helm of the Indian Government a Viceroy who grasped the danger and at once handled the situation with tact and sympathy. His subscription to assist the fund of the Red Crescent Society greatly conciliated public opinion. . . . The latest instance of this sympathy is the opening of a subscription list by her Excellency Lady Hardinge to enable the Indian ladies to subscribe. The Moslems of India can never forget all this kindness."

We have prefaced our remarks on the Lucknow session of the Congress by some general observations on its present position and on the quality of its work. We are glad to note that the President himself was conscious of the comparative sterility of result and vaguely felt the necessity to which the whole movement was drifting. He thinks that with a change in other directions a corresponding change in the methods and procedure of the Congress has become desirable. This is a refreshingly wise and practical counsel. Our only hope is that it has fallen on receptive soil and will bring forth early fruit. The work before India's patriot is, in all conscience, enormous; and he cannot any longer afford to let his intellectual and moral resources run to waste. As the President said—

So long as the masses remain steeped in ignorance and the depressed classes are regarded as unclean so long as the mothers of families and the mistresses of households are kept without knowledge in the seclusion of the purdah, not capable of participating in intellectual pursuits or public matters, so long as class is divided against class, caste against caste, race against race, and classism and sectional selfishness away the action of the different communities, so long as true brotherly feeling and devotion to duty do not become the main guiding principles of our life, so long shall our aspirations remain mere dreams.

CORRESPONDENCE



Indian Mussalmans and Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Events in India have been happening pretty fast, and Indians in foreign countries are having quite a time in keeping track of them and doing their respective work. Reading the Mussalman papers of India one would think that the fate of the Indian Mussalmans depended on events in Persia or Turkey. It is very well to sympathize with, and send Medical Missions to, the wounded and injured Turkish soldiers. That is humanity, and no sane-minded person can take exception to that. But when it is proposed to send volunteers to fight for Turkey or subscribe for a Turkish "Dreadnaught" we are compelled to investigate the matter more thoroughly before we go on further with it. We sympathize with our co-religionists in different countries, but it would be sheer folly to help them with men and money. First it would make the position of the British Government more embarrassing and, secondly, we would be showing undue favour to a friend from whom we can expect nothing. Look to another side of the picture. The Turk has shown himself entirely unworthy of modernizing his government. The same bigotry, the same fanaticism, exists in his government now as it did years ago. The Armenians in order to build a Church in some town in Armenia have to get a sanction from the Government in Constantinople, which by the least computation takes six months! Such are the facilities under Turkish rule. Examples like this can be given *ad infinitum*. We in India can scarce realize it, living as we do under a modern government and enjoying at least the outward semblance of civilization. Take any of the Turkish Empire and compare it with Egypt or the newly-created monarchies in the Balkans. There is a world of difference. Then again, what business have we with Turkey or Persia? May I inquire, how much money was sent to India by Turkey or Persia during the last great famine? Their hearts were not so full of overflowing with the spirit of Islam, as ours is. They knew as well as any civilized country about the sufferings of the Indian Mussalman royals. My point is, we need all the money we have and more, and all the energy we have and more, for fighting our own battles. We do not want Persia or Turkey—we want India. The money we plan to spend for the Turkish Navy might very usefully be employed for Indian education.

In this connection, I want to point out one fact. Hindus of India are stealing our more march over the Mussalmans. They are going to foreign countries by the scores. While the Mussalmans are seemingly more busy with Balkans and Persia, than the development of India as a whole. Of the 300 Indian students in United States of America only 2 per cent. are Muhamedans. Does that show anything or prophesize anything? And when it will be too late we will be soliciting Government to make some special rule on account of our "political importance."

I know I am open to controversy on what I have said. I know as fully that there would be thousands to dispute my points. I have not the time to enter into a long controversy on this subject, nor do I wish to abuse the hospitality of your columns. I have placed my views before my co-religionists and it is for them to consider it.

State University of Iowa,
Iowa City, U. S. A.
November 20, 1918.

Obediently,
KARIM ANSARI.

[In sending this letter for publication, the writer tells us in a covering letter that "although I differ from you, I hope you will not deny me the hospitality of your columns." He is right in both and has gauged his opinion and our hospitality equally correctly. We publish his letter exactly as it was received. Ed., Comrade.]

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Jan. 3

THE Ambassadors recommenced their deliberations with regard to the Balkans at the Foreign Office yesterday.

The *Times* says: "There is reason to believe that the garrison of Adrianople is very hard pressed and that negotiations have even been opened for its capitulation." In a leading article the *Times* says: "The big words of Dr. Daneff will not disturb the belief of well-informed persons in the success of the Conference on the basis of honourable compromise. Most friendly conversations have notoriously been proceeding daily behind the scenes of the Conference."

The representatives of the Albanian Provisional Government have arrived in London and have submitted a memorandum for the consideration of the Ambassadors advocating the inclusion in Albania of a large extent of territory, including Prevez, Janina, Monastir, Uckah, Prishtina, Mitrovitza and Ipok. The three Albanian delegates to-day conferred with Sir Arthur Nicholson at the Foreign Office on the subject of the future of Albania.

London, Jan. 4.

Owing to the Turkish delegates being again without full instructions the Peace Conference only met at six o'clock on Friday evening. The Allies presented a three fold ultimatum dealing with Adrianople, Crete and the Aegean Islands. They intimated that failing a clear and satisfactory reply thereon by four on Monday afternoon they would break off the negotiations. The Turks suggested four on Saturday afternoon and the Allies agreed. The Turks' reply is regarded as ominous and as indicating that they feel a rupture to be inevitable.

Later

It was the Turkish response to the demand made by the Allies at the last meeting for definite proposals that led to the ultimatum. The Turks proposed a boundary starting near Adrianople and leaving that city to Turkey, thence following the river Arda westward and then to Lagos Bay eastward of Thessalonica. As regards Crete the Turks proposed to renounce Turkish rights in favour of a great Power who would determine its future régime on condition that the cession of no other island was demanded.

The Allies replied regretting that the Turks ignored the result of the war, which would justify the Allies in breaking off negotiations forthwith, but as a proof of their conciliatory spirit they requested the Turks to make proposals on Monday relinquishing their rights to the Allies and ceding the Islands of the Aegean and the town of Adrianople. Otherwise negotiations would be broken off. The Turks replied as stated above.

The papers are of opinion that the Powers are bound to intervene if the Conference ends in rupture.

The arrival of M. Jonescu, Rumanian Minister of the Interior in London, has drawn attention to the relations between Bulgaria and Rumania, which are regarded at a serious factor in the crisis. It is thought possible that the Turks are speculating on the intervention of Rumania, but Bulgarians in London regard such intervention as impossible as it would inevitably embroil the Powers. M. Jonescu, who conferred with Dr. Daneff yesterday, in the course of an interview with Reuter said: "We have hitherto made sacrifices to keep peace, but we cannot give a pledge for the future." He declined to discuss reports regarding the territory Rumania had demanded from Bulgaria.

A Bucharest message states that the officers of the reserve have been ordered to prepare to join the colours at any moment. King Ferdinand, replying to an address from Sobrance, said that he still hoped that a definite understanding would result from the negotiations, but he added: "Should inevitable Divine Will decree otherwise we shall not hesitate again to resort to arms to extract from the enemy satisfaction corresponding to our just claims."

The Turkish garrison, numbering two thousand, on Chios has surrendered to the Greeks.

Reuter learns that the Turkish delegates are absolutely determined not to yield Adrianople or the Aegean Islands come what may. A rupture at to-day's Conference now seems certain.

The *Times* states that as a result of the conversations between Dr. Daneff and M. Jonescu it is believed that the Bulgarians on the advice of Russia are willing to concede a slightly rectified

frontier, following a straight line through Silistria to the Black Sea. The Rumanians want much more, but do not contemplate a resort to arms.

London, Jan. 6.

Reuter learns that well-informed circles believe that war will not be resumed. It is felt that the Powers will and must intervene.

In an interview with Reuter's representative Dr. Daneff said that the relations between Bulgaria and Rumania were of the best. There was no reason to suppose that any question, for instance, the rectification of the frontier, would not be satisfactorily settled at the end of the war.

The Turkish fleet sailed on Saturday morning with formal order for a decisive engagement with the Greeks. A battle began off Tenedos.

An Athens telegram states that the Turkish warships *Medjidyek* and *Hamidye*, which were recently torpedoed in the Black Sea, left the Dardanelles on Saturday morning with six destroyers. The two former engaged the Greek destroyers off Tenedos, but all withdrew to the Dardanelles on the approach of the Greek fleet.

The interference of officers at Constantinople is again threatening a political crisis. It is stated that a deputation representing 150 officers from Tchataldja has arrived there to urge the appointment of Izzet Pasha, Chief of the Staff, as Minister for War in place of Nazim Pasha.

The conferences among the peace delegates and diplomatists on Saturday and Sunday have apparently had the effect of inducing a calmer frame of mind all round. The Turks will to-day propose new concessions, and the negotiations will continue.

Both the Turkey and Allies equally appreciate the fact which the Powers have emphatically urged upon them that a resumption of hostilities will entail most dangerous complications.

The Powers will not intervene until Adrianople surrenders, which it is expected to do at the outside in ten days.

It is believed that the Turkish Government is desirous of relieving itself of responsibility before its own people by perforce yielding to united Europe.

London, Jan. 7.

The Peace Conference sat for an hour on Monday and then adjourned. The Turks presented proposals for certain cessions of territory northwards of Adrianople, but excluding that city, and also undertook to renounce their rights in Crete provided no other islands were demanded. The Allies thereupon consulted together and drafted a resolution to the effect that since the Turks had not replied satisfactorily to their last proposals they would suspend the labours of the Conference. Subsequently a general conversation occurred during which it was explained that rupture was not intended, but suspension until a more satisfactory reply, more consistent with the Allies' terms, was received. The Turks left perturbed and excited. The Allies state that there would certainly have been a rupture but for the advice of the Powers. The Balkan delegates are of opinion that the adjournment over the Orthodox Christmas will afford the Turks time to consider and submit more acceptable proposals at the next meeting, which will probably be held on Friday and possibly Thursday. In the meantime it will be possible for private negotiations to be resumed between the delegates on both sides.

The Ambassadors met at the Foreign Office to-day to consider the position arising from the indefinite postponement of the negotiation. Reuter learns that the Ambassadors are awaiting instructions with a view to settlement between the belligerents by united action. It is believed that the Powers are not opposed to the cession of Adrianople to Bulgaria.

London, Jan. 8.

In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey announced that the question of action by the Powers in the event of the failure of the Conference was receiving the attention of the Powers, but he was unable to make a statement as to their views or decisions until it could be made by common consent. There have been no developments regarding the Peace Conference since Tuesday. The atmosphere in diplomatic circles continues to be eminently pacific, the Powers appearing to be agreed as to the necessity for smoothing over the difficulties both between Turkey and the Allies and between Bulgaria and Rumania. It is semi-officially stated in Berlin that the Powers have decided to take immediate action in the cause of peace, and that ident-

local representations will be made simultaneously in Constantinople and to the Turkish delegates in London with the object of preventing a renewal of hostilities. In an interview with Reuter's representative Dr. Dapell said that he was confident that the Allies' demands would be accepted and peace preserved. Arrangements were concluded in London yesterday for the issue of a small short loan to relieve the immediate needs of Turkey. This is considered as indicating that the prospects of peace have improved. Nazim Pasha and Nourulughian Pasha proceeded by special train from Constantinople yesterday to meet the Bulgarian General Savoff. They returned in the evening. Reuter learns that the conversations between Bulgaria and Rumania with reference to the rectification of the frontier are not progressing. It is understood that the Powers are exerting themselves to prevent the outbreak of a conflict. It is semi-officially denied in Sofia that an agreement has been concluded between Bulgaria and Rumania ceding to the latter a strip of territory from Olenitz to Cape Gulgud on the Black Sea, or that Bulgaria undertakes to pay an indemnity covering Rumania's military expenses. The Council of Ministers met at Constantinople yesterday and discussed the question of conferring high commands on Enver Bey and Kethi Pasha in the army at Tchataldja. The tension between the Cabinet and the Young Turkish military is acuter than ever, the latter being anxious for a resumption of hostilities. Pronouncements are given in Rome to a telegram from London saying that the diplomatists believe that the Powers constituting the Triple Alliance will support the idea of the Islands of Chios, Mitylene, Kos and Rhodes in addition to the islands near Dardanelles remaining under Turkish sovereignty in order to avert the grave question of the balance of power in the Mediterranean.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE eagerness expressed by Bulgarian statesmen to be the peculiar friends of Turkey after peace is made shows how speedily they have thought themselves into the place of Russia. As long ago as 1802 Koutchoubey, the eminent Russian statesman, said "There are no neighbours more tranquil than the Turks, and the maintenance of these natural enemies of Russia should henceforth be the fundamental rule of our policy." Some seventy years later Bontseiff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, put the same idea even more epigrammatically. "Our rôle at Constantinople is much simpler than is usually believed. It consists in being always the best friend or the worst enemy of Turkey." The Bulgarians pretty clearly now see themselves the heirs of Russia where Turkey is concerned. They have been Turkey's "worst enemy," and, faithful to the inherited tradition, they are turning to the part of "the best friend."

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, Dec. 16.

King Victor Emmanuel has sent the following autograph letter to Signor Giolitti, the Premier —

Dear President, —

I have just given my assent to the Bill approving the Peace of Lausanne, which confirms us in the possession of Libya. I have observed with heartfelt satisfaction as an Italian and as King the admirable proof given in this memorable year by our country of its concord in its aims, serene in its faith.

In trying times you, as head of the Government, have carried out your task with a clear insight and indefatigable activity. Your grateful country renders you well-deserved honour.

Happy to express these sentiments, I press your hand with a full heart and remain,

Your affectionate cousin,

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople.

Reports from Constantinople allege that a Cabinet crisis is impending and that the establishment of a military dictatorship under Nazim Pasha, Mahmud Sherket Pasha, and Isat Pasha is probable. Kiamul Pasha is stated to have lost all his influence and the Committee of Union and Progress to be struggling successfully to regain lost ground. Nazim Pasha is alleged to have said that the war is only now beginning.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, Dec. 18.

A telegram from Aleppo says that the new sections of the Baghdad Railway from Aleppo to Hadjon, in the Armenian Mountains, and from Aleppo to Djerabulus, on the Euphrates, were opened to traffic yesterday.

The Naval Engagement.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, Dec. 18.

CAPTAIN PERSIUS, commenting in the *Tageblatt* on the naval engagement off the Dardanelles, declares that the Turkish navy is stronger than the Greek. The fact that it has only now ventured to leave the Dardanelles proves that, like the army, the navy was not ready for war, a fact which is especially astounding as regards the ships in commission, which included Turkey's three ironclads. "The training of the Turkish navy," the writer continues, "lay in the hands of British officers, who, indeed, seem to have been as little able to make head against Turkish mismanagement and indolence as the German army instructors."

On the other hand, Professor Ballod in the *Tägliche Rundschau* proves with the aid of a forest of technical arguments that the 92m. guns of the Greek warship "Averoff" are much more effective than the old Krupp 11in. weapons carried by the two Turkish battleships that formerly belonged to the German navy. Professor Ballod points out that as the guns of the Greek warship can fire four times in a minute, while the Turkish guns take two and a half minutes to reload, the "Averoff" alone, with proper handling of her guns, ought to have sunk the entire Turkish fleet in a quarter of an hour. That the fight lasted an hour and a half, he says, the Turks owe to the complete incompetence of their opponents in gunnery. In conclusion Professor Ballod declares that the Greek fleet and its British instructors have therefore in any case given proof of remarkable incompetence in modern naval fighting.

Turks Claim a Victory.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Dec. 16.

The following official despatch has been received here:—The commander of the Ottoman fleet telegraphs that a Turkish squadron went out from Dardanelles at 8-20 this morning and came into contact with the naval forces of the enemy. The squadron exchanged shots at distances varying from 3,500 to 4,500 yards. Both officers and crews displayed great resolution and exemplary courage in the fulfilment of their duty. During the fight, which lasted an hour and a half, three or four of our projectiles struck the *Georgios Averoff*. Her 24-centimetre guns in the bow and her starboard 19-centimetre guns were silenced. The enemy's other vessels made for the open sea after firing a few shots without result. The battle then went on with the *Averoff* alone, but she, too, finally joined the other ships, fleeing in the direction of the Piræus. Thanks be to God, our ships sustained no damage.

The Peace Conference.

Statement by Reshid Pasha.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Dec. 18.

M. POINCARÉ this morning saw M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, and afterwards received Reshid Pasha, the chief Ottoman delegate to the London Conference, who was accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, Rifaat Pasha.

Reshid Pasha has given a statement of his views to a representative of the *Temps*. He said that the Turkish delegation was going to London with a sincere desire to conclude peace and put an end to a useless effusion of blood; but they were determined not to conclude peace except upon honourable terms. The military strength of Turkey was daily increasing. They had at present at Tchataldja 170,000 men abundantly supplied with ammunition, and the sanitary conditions were daily improving. He called particular attention to the fact that the cessation of hostilities was merely based upon an armistice, and that fighting would inevitably be resumed if one of the two parties attempted to impose too onerous conditions upon the other. He could not state at this stage the terms which Turkey was prepared to accept. The Ottoman Government, however, was ready to recognise in given circumstances the autonomy of Albania under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but he could not at present say anything further.

Reshid Pasha laid special stress upon the inability of Turkey to negotiate with Greece so long as Greece had not concluded an armistice on the same conditions as her allies. There was no solid basis for negotiations with Greece while a state of war continued. Engagements might be fought on land or sea which would any day alter the situation. Turkey could not be expected to treat with a State which was counting upon the chance of war to improve its diplomatic position.

TURKEY AND THE POWERS.

Turkey hoped and desired to negotiate directly with the Balkan Allies and to conclude a treaty of peace without its being necessary for the Great Powers to intervene in the discussion. If, however, the demands of the Balkan Allies were such as to make a direct agreement appear impossible, and if the Great Powers in these circumstances manifested a desire to take part in the conversations, Turkey would accept this method of procedure. He regretted that the resolute attitude of Turkey had in some quarters in France been attributed to the advice of certain Powers. In matters so grave as those with which Turkey now had to deal she could only consult her own interests, and he could give the assurance that she had not yielded and that she would not yield to any solicitations of a foreign origin. It was deplorable that these attempts were being made to discredit Turkish policy in the eyes of the French nation by representing that policy as not very friendly to France.

Demands of the Allies.

London, Dec 18.

Dr. Danef, president of the Bulgarian Sobranje and chief plenipotentiary of the Bulgarian delegation, received a London representative of the *Manchester Guardian* at the Ritz Hotel this evening and discussed with him a few of the chief points that will come before the Conference within the next few days. In granting this interview—the first that he has given to an English newspaper—Dr. Danef expressed his appreciation of the services rendered by the *Manchester Guardian* to the cause of liberty in the Balkans. The *Manchester Guardian*, he said, "is known throughout Bulgaria as the paper which has always been foremost in protesting against the cruelties of the Turks, and I am glad to see that it is still upholding its tradition."

Referring to what had taken place at the Conference to-day, he said that what had happened had simply been that the Turkish delegates had not received the necessary credentials from Constantinople allowing them to meet the Greeks. The Turks stated that they expected to receive the necessary instructions to-morrow, and accordingly, at their request, the Conference was adjourned until Saturday.

"We have been delayed in getting to the real business of the Conference," Dr. Danef said, "owing to these essential formalities—essential because we insist that the Allies shall conduct the negotiations *en bloc*. When this difficulty is got over, as I anticipate it will be without any trouble, the Bulgarians, of course with the united support of the Allies, will proceed to present their demands to Turkey. These demands may be presented on Saturday. If not, we shall have to wait until next week. If Turkey accepts our demands, all will be well. If not, the negotiations will be broken off and the war will begin again. In that case, probably, the Great Powers will find it advisable to make their recommendations to both parties. I must emphasise the fact that while the Bulgarian demands will be laid down as soon as the difficulty of credentials is settled, there will be at the same time general demands in the interests of all the Allies. We shall find a formula which embraces all the wishes of the Allies."

"The most important of our demands will be with regard to the possession of Adrianople. We shall insist upon the possession of Adrianople. We must have it, and we shall not move from our demand."

Asked whether he thought that Turkey was likely to concede Adrianople, he said that it was possible she would not be willing at first, but that eventually she would have to give way. For the present Turkey might make a strong bid for the retention of Adrianople.

Asked whether he had any information as to the length of time Adrianople was likely to hold out, Dr. Danef said that he had means of estimating the further resistance of Adrianople, but he was not able to divulge it.

Another member of the delegation who was present at the interview interposed at this point and said that they did not think that Adrianople could last much longer.

Dr. Danef went on to say that the next demand would have reference to the delimitation of the frontier between Turkey and Bulgaria, which would be eastwards from Adrianople—at this point Dr. Danef broke off and said he could not at present go into further details on that matter.

"The question of Albania," he went on, "is a question rather between the Allies and the Greek Powers than a matter of discussion between the Allies and Turkey. On this point we shall endeavour to work in concert with the Allies, while doing our utmost to remain in full accord with the Great Powers, an essential object with us, while of course our first duty is to support the demands of the Allies."

Asked to express an opinion on the points of controversy between Bulgaria and Greece, he said that for the present the Bulgarians were *en bloc* with the Greeks. When the general terms of peace have been decided with the Turks, then undoubtedly other questions between the Allies themselves would come up for discussion. "And I have not doubt," he continued, "that we shall be able to arrive at an amicable settlement."

"Throughout the whole controversy," he added, "we have worked together harmoniously with the Allies. Bulgaria is the centre of this action of the Allies, and Bulgaria, having entered into this common action with the other Balkan States, will continue on the same course until peace is concluded. But the first business, to which every thing else must be subordinated, is the conclusion of peace with the Turks on lines which will satisfy the Allies. 'You may say,' he added, 'that the rumour in some of the newspapers that the Bulgarians have any intention of deserting the Allies in order to join the Triple Alliance is not true.' It is an absurd report."

Arrangements at St. James's Palace.

The rooms in St. James's Palace in which the Peace Conference is to be held are now ready for that purpose. The delegates will be accompanied by their secretaries and military and legal advisers, and altogether those who will be concerned, directly or indirectly, in the negotiations number about 40. While the Conference lasts they will live at various hotels in London, but arrangements have been made to provide lunch and tea in the Palace on each day of meeting.

An opportunity was given yesterday, through the courtesy of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, of making an inspection of the rooms. The delegates will confer in the Picture Gallery. From its walls the Kings and Queens of England, from Henry VIII, the founder of the Palace, to Queen Victoria, look down upon the long table where the questions at issue are to be decided. Upon this table portfolios will be arranged for all the delegates, each of them bearing the Royal Arms and stamped "St. James's Palace," and the Privy Council have lent six massive silver inkstands which were presented to that body by Charles II. A Tudor fireplace, with the ancestral bearings of Queen Elizabeth, is one of the chief ornaments of the room, but otherwise it lacks the handsome furnishings of the other apartments, and wears at present a business aspect well fitted to the purpose for which it is to be employed. It is the most secluded apartment in the Palace, side tables are provided for clerks and shorthand writers, and large easels have been placed at one side for the reception of maps of the disputed territories.

Two other rooms, the Armoury and the Tapestry Room, have been reserved as subsidiary conference rooms, to which delegates may retire in order to discuss questions of special interest to their particular group. The walls of the Armoury are covered with suits of armour and old weapons, and the Tapestry Room, which contains some fine Morlake tapestries of the period of Charles II, is interesting as the room whence the Sovereign is proclaimed and presented to the public. The secretaries of the delegates have been apportioned a large room overlooking St. James's Park, known as Queen Anne's Drawing Room, the walls of which are hung with paintings by Reynolds, Lely, and Van Dyck.

The remaining rooms of the suite are reserved for relaxation. Adjoining the Picture Gallery is the Banqueting Hall at the Palace, now very rarely used for festive purposes, where the delegates and their advisers will take luncheon. Its walls are hung with old battle pictures. On the first day of the Conference luncheon will be served in the Entrance Room which is also set aside as a drawing room, and tea will be served here. This apartment, which gives access on five days to the Throne Room, is one of the handsomest rooms in the Palace. It looks on to St. James's Park, the carpet and walls are rose-red, and the pictures include portraits of famous admirals by Reynolds and Hoppner, and a painting of William IV. in State robes by Sir Martin Archer-Shee. — *The Times*.

The Young Turks.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *St. Petersburg Retik* recently paid a visit to Haladjian Effendi, the Young Turkish ex-Minister of Public Works, at the prison of the Ministry of War, where he was confined together with a number of his colleagues and leaders of the Committee. The interview was a prolonged one, and was attended by several other inmates of the prison. Most of the ex-Ministers viewed their arrest philosophically, and described the charge of conspiracy which was levelled at them as preposterous.

"The court-martial," they said, "consisted exclusively of members of the Military League, who were bent on destroying

the Young Turkish party. Only three days previously it had been decided to exile all of them to Konia. When the prisoners applied to the Minister of the Interior for a public trial the reply they got was that he knew nothing of the affair, which was within the competence of the military authorities. On the whole the attitude of the civil authorities was decidedly sympathetic. At first the idea was to get up a ceremonial trial, and an examining magistrate was charged with the duty of taking the prisoners' evidence. The magistrate in the course of the examination frankly admitted that he was only discharging his duty, having personally nothing against the prisoners. The examination supplied no basis for a legal trial. Thereupon the court-martial took the affair into its own hands, and decided to transport them to Konia. But in the course of those three days circumstances changed radically. The arrests of the Young Turks caused great commotion in the army. The officers openly proclaimed their intention of abandoning the Töhtaldja trenches and marching on Constantinople should the prisoners not be released. Nazim Pasha himself severely condemned the policy of the old gang and the Military League. The Government realised that the army was still in favour of the Young Turks, and that to destroy the leaders of the party would not mean the destruction of the movement itself. Thereupon it issued an order dismissing the old members of the court-martial, with the exception of the president, and appointing new members in their place who did not belong to any party. The president came to the prisoners and stated that their case, in his opinion, had been unduly 'inflated' wherefore he hoped that their release would soon be ordered. The date of the letter is not given by the *Reich*, but all the Young Turkish leaders have now been released.

The correspondent states that the interview lasted till evening. At last an officer entered, and respectfully stopped at a distance. Haladjian Effendi looked at him. The officer courteously observed that the gates were about to be closed, and that he would be obliged if the interview could be brought to an end. "In a moment, sir," said Haladjian. "I am not your sir," observed the officer, "I shall be the first to rejoice when you are let out."

"It is characteristic," writes the Constantinople correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, "of the change of feeling at Constantinople in favour of the Young Turks that the ex-General Sherif Pasha has decided to go back to Paris, as his agitation against the Young Turks has no prospect of success. On Saturday Talaat Bey, who the day before had been arrested by mistake and then released, had a long interview with Nazim Pasha, and then Enis Avni, a former officer and a much-respected leader of the committee, who had likewise been imprisoned was invited by Nazim Pasha for consultation. These meetings are very significant and cause considerable comment."

Kiamil's Power Failing.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* states that the Porte is determined not to yield Adrianople and Kirk-Kilissah, and that it will insist on the autonomy of both Macedonia and Albania under Ottoman Governors General. The view both at the Porte and in the European Embassies is that the London Conference will soon arrive at a deadlock, and that a renewal of the war is almost inevitable. Hence the busy military preparations on the part of the Turkish Government and the delay of the Great Powers in withdrawing their warship from the Bosphorus.

The correspondent adds:—"In the midst of this tension the domestic factors are working with increasing force. The star of the Grand Vizier Kiamil is beginning to pale. Kiamil is unable to keep his promise, and the failure of British help is one of the most bitter disappointments of his life. His temper is now despairing. He has frequent quarrels even with most intimate friends, such as Jamal-ed-Din, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and the attitude of the Generalissimo, Nazim Pasha, is contributing towards the rehabilitation of the Opposition party—that is, the Committee. It is to the progressing weakness rather than to a sense of justice that the fact must be attributed that almost all the Committee leaders have now been released from prison. Should the Government not exhibit sufficient backbone in the course of the London negotiations it will speedily be set aside by the military party. Already Mahmud Sherkes and Ismet Pashas are regarded here as the coming men."

The Problem of Salonica.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Nov. 16.

RELATION between the Bulgarian and Greek armies are far from amicable, and the fact that more serious developments have not

occurred is due to the pacific intervention of M. Stancioff, the Bulgarian Minister in Paris, who is attached to the suite of the Crown Prince Boris.

It was not until November 7 that the Greeks commenced their serious advance, the army proceeding along the railway from Kirdjalar to Tekeli. While their headquarters remained at Topsin the Seventh Division by 2 p. m. on November 8 arrived at a point five miles from Salonica. At 5 p. m. the same evening two Greek officers and ten men entered Salonica, but the actual entry of the Greek troops occurred at 10 o'clock the following morning.

In the meantime the Bulgarians in three columns were approaching Salonica from the north-east. At 8 p. m. on November 8 the Bulgarian infantry and artillery commenced a battle with the Turks near Aivali, which continued until 9 p. m. At 2 a. m. on November 9 they advanced in two columns and occupied Aivali. At 9 a. m. the Turkish artillery opened fire and the battle continued until 3 p. m., when the Bulgarians had pursued the Turks up to a point less than two miles from Salonica. An envoy was then sent to demand the surrender of the city, but it was found that the Greeks were already in possession.

The Greeks now refused to allow the Bulgarians to enter the town with the result that the Crown Prince Boris and his brother Prince Cyril were obliged to sleep under the bridge of Aivali. An ultimatum was then sent to the Greeks, who were given to understand that the Bulgarians intended to enter the town by force, with the result that the Greeks abandoned their opposition. The Bulgarians together with a Serbian contingent came in directly after King George, having been kept outside for 24 hours. It will be observed that the Bulgarians were fighting the Turks on Friday evening; this was undoubtedly the cannonade heard that evening which was attributed to the Greeks. There was a further engagement on the morning of the 9th. This seems strange in the face of the Greek assertion that the Turks capitulated on the 8th, but Hassan Tahsin Pasha informs me that the draft only was prepared on the evening of the 8th, and that the capitulation was signed on the morning of the 9th. Further proof that the capitulation was not a *fait accompli* until Saturday is supplied by the fact that during the night of Friday the Turks were still digging trenches for the defence of the town.

The Greeks express discontent with the action of the Bulgarians in the town after the occupation by them, but the Bulgarians claim that they were on the spot and could have entered at the same time as their allies had they not been kept outside. They also complain of the action of the Greeks in hoisting only the Greek flag, in issuing proclamations in the name of King George only, in ignoring the Bulgarian language in proclamation, and in not providing barrack accommodation—in short, in acting as if the town belonged to them.

The incidents between the two armies are too numerous to recite in a telegram. Relations were further complicated by the action of the Greek authorities in seizing a locomotive while it was being driven from Seres by a Bulgarian officer and in placing sentries to guard the railway to Seres, which town was occupied by the Bulgarians. In consequence of these proceedings the Bulgarians addressed an ultimatum to the Greeks demanding the release of the locomotive and the recall of the sentries under threats of disarming the sentries by force. The Bulgarians suspected the Greeks of endeavouring to interfere with their arrangements for transport and food supplies and thus compel them to give the Greeks an excuse for requesting the retirement from Salonica owing to difficulties of commissariat. Eventually the Bulgarian regiment returned to Kukush.

Another incident arose from an attempt of the Greeks to seize the mosque of Saint Sofia, of which the Bulgarians had taken possession in order to provide accommodation for their troops. The Greeks interpreted this as indicating a desire on the part of their allies to dedicate the mosque to the Bulgarian church. The Bulgarians were forced on two occasions to drive the Greek troops away. The Bulgarians declared that they were not here to seize mosques or churches, but to defeat the enemy, and that they considered the ultimate right to occupy them a question for diplomacy. Further annoyance was caused them by the appointment of Prince Nicholas as Military Commandant *de place*. The Bulgarians for their part recognize only the authority of their own general. Their army of occupation here is 30,000 men with 108 guns, and the Greek forces are about equal.

Bulgarian Movement.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Dec. 11.

The report that the 30,000 Bulgarian troops which were recently despatched on board Greek transports to Thessalonica are to return here has caused grave concern among the population. The misfortunes attending the previous concentration in Salonica of enormous masses of troops are not forgotten, and it is earnestly hoped that the Bulgarian Government will be able to find a more convenient resting place. There is no suitable accommodation

available, and it is further feared that the troops may bring cholera with them, which, in view of the present over-crowded condition of the town, would be a fearful calamity.

The proposals for the return of the refugees into the districts now occupied by the Bulgarians have fallen through owing to the opposition of the Bulgarian authorities who, I understand, have decided that no Mussulmans shall be allowed to return to those villages.

Further Greco-Bulgarian friction has arisen owing to the appointment of the Bulgarian *Komstadi* Damboulakoff as Governor of Langaza. It appears that the Bulgarian troops passed through on November 26, but did not occupy the town or hoist their flag. On the following day Greek troops entered the town and formally occupied it. On November 29 Damboulakoff arrived at the head of Bulgarian troops and ordered out the Greeks. On this point it is probable that Greece will have to give way. There is continual friction between the two States over a variety of incidents, some important, others unimportant. The Bulgarians do not mince matters, with the result that the Greeks find themselves consistently obliged to give way in order to avoid serious trouble.

Greek Accusations Against the Bulgarians.

Athens, Dec. 13.

The following Greek semi-official telegram from Salonica is published here:—

The detailed inquiry with regard to excesses and crimes committed by the Bulgarian army shows that they constitute a cause for the disturbances reported during the first days after the surrender of Salonica. According to this inquiry the excesses of the Bulgarians can be divided into three categories—1, damage to property; 2, crimes against the life and honour of private persons, especially Turks; and 3, offences—and these were the less frequent—due to misconceived political interest.

In the majority of cases Bulgarian soldiers and peasants gave themselves up to pillaging. At Vassilika, Agiaparaskovi, Apostola, Alibattalar, Seros, Langada, Ayestohri, Bararitzza, Tohandi, Karaburnu, Vardar, Doiran, and Salonica pillaging and thefts of all kinds were committed, the stolen articles including horses, goats, sheep, barley, hay, jewels and other articles of value, large sums of money, carpets, furniture, clothes, and arms. Attacks were made on Austrian subjects, and the Austrian Consulate in consequence lodged an energetic protest. Unspeakable outrages were committed at Seros and at the other towns and villages mentioned above. At Doiran, despite the protests of the municipality, the Bulgarians seized and imprisoned the rich Turkish residents, who, after having secured their liberty by the payment of enormous ransoms, were ambushed by the Bulgarians and massacred, 60 of them being killed.

The political crimes were of little importance, as the greater number of the Bulgarians ardently desire the maintenance of the Balkan Alliance, especially a Greco-Bulgarian Entente, safeguarding their political interests.

King Ferdinand's Visit.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Dec. 18.

Considerable mystery surrounded the arrival of King Ferdinand to-day, every attempt being made to keep dark the approaching visit. Even the Greek Royal Family were ignorant until yesterday evening that his Majesty was coming. No greater precision marked the time of arrival. King George was at the station to receive the Royal guest at 8-30 in the morning, when the hour of arrival was put back until 5 p. m. At 2-30 I received an intimation from a highly-placed personage that the Bulgarian Monarch would arrive between 4 and 6. As a matter of fact, the train bearing his Majesty arrived in at 3 o'clock, when no member of the Greek Royal Family was present. A guard-of-honour was provided by the 14th Bulgarian Regiment. King Ferdinand immediately proceeded in a motor-car to the Bulgarian Consulate, now the residence of Prince Boris and Prince Cyril, and met the Greek Crown Prince and Prince Nicholas en route. On arriving at the Consulate he was received by the Bulgarian Archbishop, who pronounced a short discourse and then presented the leading members of the community. Afterwards the Greek Prince, who followed up the carriage, had an audience. King Ferdinand, who will maintain a strict incognito during his visit, is expected to remain here four or five days.

Dec. 19.

King Ferdinand called upon the King of the Hellenes yesterday evening, and the visit was returned this morning. The conversations were marked by the cordiality customary on such occasions, but no discussions of political importance have yet occurred.

According to information from a well-informed source, considerable discord continues to exist between the Veskoviats, who claim Macedonia for Bulgaria, and the party whose cry is "Macedonia for the Macedonians," the latter of which includes Sandanaky and numerous Macedo-Bulgarian officers. In the Melnik region a clash between the two parties is anticipated after the declaration of peace.

The Albanian Problem.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Dec. 17.

THE question of Albania is now arousing lively interest in Vienna and Budapest. While the idea of creating a neutral and independent Albania is warmly supported in some quarters, the acceptance of an international guarantee for Albania is vigorously criticized by writers like Baron Louis Doczi who was one of Count Andrassy's secretaries at the Congress of Berlin. Baron Doczi demands that Austria-Hungary should act in defence of her interest on her own account without regard for other Powers.

Alluding recently to the prospects of the meeting of Ambassadors in London, an experienced Ottoman diplomatist observed that the crux of the meeting will lie in the extent to which Austria-Hungary will support the idea of a big Albania. Some Albanians tend to claim as Albania a part of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar and the territory included within a line drawn from Mitrovitzza to Priishtina, Uskub, and southwards to Monastir. Any such boundary would naturally exclude Servia from the greater part of Old Servia and would cut a considerable slice off the territory allotted to Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano. The idea of a big Albania possesses at least historical importance, inasmuch as attempts to realize it are believed to have decided the Balkan States to hasten their action against Turkey. They seem to have feared that recognition by Turkey of Albanian autonomy in accordance with the principles of decentralization recommended by Count Berchtold's proposal to the Powers might prejudice the claims of Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro to the eventual acquisition of Turkish territory. The riving among the Mussulman Albanians of the North-East last spring, the meeting of the tribesmen at Priishtina and their march southwards to Uskub together with the acceptance of most of their demands by the Ottoman Government seem to have convinced the Balkan Governments that no time was to be lost if the Balkan question were ever to be solved in accordance with their desires. Hence the rapid conclusion of their alliance and their victorious onslaught upon Turkey.

THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES.

Although Balkan victories appear to have placed the formation of a big Albania beyond the scope of practical politics there remain the grave questions of the delimitation of Albania and of its organization as a separate polity. Until the boundaries of Albania are fixed at least roughly principles like those of Albanian independence or Albanian autonomy can have little practical meaning. Without definite geographical boundaries and without administrative and financial organization there can be no Albanian State. At present no such organization exists save perhaps embryonically in the provisional Government established by Ismail Kemal Bey and his associates. Under the Turkish administration the Albanian vilayets were always a charge upon the Exchequer. For some years to come it is probable that this deficit will continue. Whether the cost of administrative organization be met by loan or by annual subsidy from the Great Powers it is evident that the smaller the area of autonomous Albania the lighter will be the charges both upon its population and upon the foreign sponsors of the new State.

There remain the intrinsic difficulties of finding a form of government acceptable alike to the Gheg-speaking Catholics and Mussulmans of the North and the Tosk-speaking Mussulmans, Bektashes, and Orthodox Albanians of the South. The great mountain range, Mali-i-Grabe, that runs East and North-East through the centre of Albania divides the country so completely that there is practically no communication between South and North except along the strip of coastland between the mouth of the Shkumbi and Durazzo. So complete is the segregation of the various categories of Albanians that some authorities favour the creation of three, if not four, separate autonomous. Others again urge that to create a Catholic autonomy in the North would be merely to establish a sort of Albanian Montenegro under Austrian influence, while to create an Orthodox autonomy in the South would be to prepare a special sphere of Greek influence. Italian interests would then demand the exercise of Italian control over Avlona and the central Albanian coast. The likelihood of local discord and of international rivalry would therefore be greatly increased. It is therefore suggested by travellers acquainted with the whole of Albania that the least undesirable solution of the problem would be the establishment

of some central authority over a restricted Albania, situated rather in accordance with geographical features than with ethnic considerations.

The limits of such an Albania would, according to these authorities, lie between the mouth of the White Drin below the Giovanni di Medua on the North and the mouth of the River Kalamas opposite the island of Corfu on the South. Its southern boundary would follow the course of the Kalamas inland and run North-East to the Grammos Ridge. Thence, following the watershed between the lake of Ochrida and the Adriatic, it would strike the Drin south of Dibra. The course of the Drin would constitute the remaining boundary. It is urged by the partisans of an Albania thus delimited that it would confine the Albanian problem proper within practicable limits. It would, moreover, permit the definition of the principle of Albanian independence in such manner as not to confine with the legitimate claims of the Balkan Allies.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION.

As regards internal organization it is urged that the first necessity would be the establishment and maintenance of order. For this purpose an efficient Gendarmerie would have to be created under officers not belonging to any Great Power. The employment of Italian and Austro-Hungarian officers would inevitably lead to friction; and, like the Austro-Prussian condominium in Schleswig-Holstein, might end in war. It appears, indeed, desirable that the Great Powers should refrain from direct management of or interference with Albanian affairs, and should exercise their control vicariously, possibly through subjects of neutral States.

The construction of roads and railways is an indispensable condition of Albanian development. As far as railway routes have been surveyed, it is stated that the least impracticable would run from Durazzo to the mouth of the Mat River, whose course it would follow to the source, whence through a tunnel it would reach the Zeta, a tributary of the Drin, and descend the Zeta to Dibra. Thence the line would follow the Radika to Gollitshuk, and from Gollitshuk would follow the Vardar to Uskub.

The problem needs to be approached in a practical spirit and with a determination to expose the "most interested Powers" to as little temptation as possible.

British Red Crescent Society's Appeal.

THE appalling number of Turkish sick and wounded that have come back from the front or are lying on the battlefield, are taxing to the utmost the Turkish Hospital arrangements, with the result that many are left untreated; and even if the war ends within a reasonable limit of time, they will need all possible help to alleviate their sufferings. His Majesty's Minister at Sofia also informs the British Red Crescent Society through the Foreign Office that there are many Turkish sick and wounded lying at Sofia and Philippopolis.

Only those who know Turkey can form any sort of conception of the enormous amount of suffering the present war is involving on thousands of helpless and innocent families: it is not the soldiers only who suffer, but even the inhabitants of the districts where war is raging feel the homes all over the empire whence all the men and boys have been taken to fight their country's battles. It seems hopeless to make any adequate attempt to deal with the vast amount of suffering—suffering that the approach of winter, when most of the country is under snow, renders all the heavier, but it is incumbent on us in the name of humanity to do all that lies in our power to mitigate it in however small a degree.

The British Red Crescent Society has already sent to Turkey one Hospital under the direction of Colonel Surtees, C.B., M.V.O., D.S.O., consisting of two surgeons, three doctors, six beds nurses and four orderlies; and proposes to send another as soon as funds permit, to attend to the sick and wounded and to relieve to some extent the general distress and destitution.

The undersigned on behalf of the Committee of the Society earnestly appeal to all who have pity for human suffering, for further funds to carry out the work of mercy in which it is engaged.

Donations may be sent to the Bankers of the Society, Messrs. Coutts & Co., 440, Strand, W.C., or to the Honorary Treasurer Mr. A. S. M. Ark, 9, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.

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The Aims and Policy of Serbia.

A CORRESPONDENT IN NEW YORK WITH THE SERBIAN PRIME MINISTER telegraphed to the Times as follows:—

I am authorized by Monsieur Pashitch, the Serbian Prime Minister, to communicate the following statement:—

At this time, when there seems so much misapprehension concerning the aims and policy of Serbia, I think that it is very necessary that the people of England should know exactly how things really are and thus be able to avoid being deceived by the efforts of ill-informed or unfriendly persons. Serbia desires especially that England should know the true situation, since that country not only helped Serbia to obtain her independence, but has always been the model upon which the liberal and democratic institutions of Serbia have been created and developed. I feel certain, therefore, that England better than any other nation will be able to appreciate Serbian policy and Serbian national necessities.

While we are anxious to preserve the most friendly relations with all other nations, near or far, we cannot depart from the principle that national needs must always dominate the policy of a Liberator nation anxious to develop normally. International concessions, and even friendships, must never be allowed to destroy the possibility of accomplishing the national destiny. The past has shown us that independence of trade and economic liberty are necessary for Serbia's development, and even for her existence. Since the moment, some years ago, that our economic independence was partially secured, the progress of the country has been so marked as to leave no doubt possible in our minds that Serbia must have complete economic independence and an outlet to the sea which shall be under no control save her own, after the sacrifices which she has made and which she may still be called upon to make.

It is the obvious truth that Serbia's desires are based upon no exaggerated ideas of possible aggrandizement nor can they in any sense be regarded simply as a basis for compromise. Serbian arms have conquered far more territory than Serbia intends to retain, but Serbian policy has established a minimum of territorial expansion which does no more than cover her national and her national necessities. For this minimum Serbia is prepared to make every sacrifice, since not to do so would be to be false to her national duty. No Serbian statesman or Government dare betray the future welfare of the country by considering for a moment even the abandonment of this minimum. Serbia's minimum requires to her national development is economic independence, save, possibly, in so far as regards a Customs union with her allies and a free and adequate passage to the Adriatic Sea on the Adriatic coast. It is essential that Serbia should possess about 80 kilometres from Athens to Durazzo. This coastline would be joined to what was formerly Old Serbia approximately by the territory between a line from Durazzo to Ochrida Lake in the south, and one from Athens to Djakova in the north.

History might be cited to show that Serbia's claims extend much further southwards. Indeed, Albania belonged to Serbia formerly until conquered by the Turks. The anarchy prevailing in Albania would seem to indicate that the whole country would be better off under the liberal regime of an established Government; but we do not ask for anything more than our national necessities demand. The future of Albania south of the Durazzo-Ochrid Lake line can well be left to the Powers to decide its destiny, although we feel strongly that it will be in the interests neither of the Albanians nor of Europe if autonomy be insisted on. The reports of Austrian and Italian Generals and of travellers such as Hahn, Steinhilber, Barbarich whose testimony cannot be suspected of Serbian leanings, show a deplorable state of affairs existing in Albania. The percentage of deaths by violence in Albania ranges from 80 to 75 of the total population. Europe may condemn the Albanians to continue in this state, but Serbia has a very manifest duty to alleviate Serbians from a continuance of such conditions. In the territories between Djakova, Athens, Durazzo, and Ochrida live about 10 per cent. of the 150,000 inhabitants are Serbians. More than half of the Albanian inhabitants are Christians, including the Mirdites. Austrian and Italian observers such as Hahn and Steinhilber admit that the Albanians in this district are of ancient Serbian origin, and to-day they possess many purely Serbian customs, such as the laws and blood brotherhood. Under Serbian rule they will enjoy the fullest liberty, schools in their own language, religious freedom, and security for life and property to a degree they have never yet known.

The communal laws of Serbia, which will come into force in the new regions acquired and apply to Albanians and Serbians alike from the most democratic system of local government known in Europe. Not only are minorities adequately represented in government and council, but the communal authorities in the judicial courts are the majority of minor classes. In regard of religious liberty in

Servian territory to-day the Muhammadan priests are better treated than were the Orthodox, since the former receive from the State a fixed salary, whereas the latter's revenue varies considerably. It is probable that, so far from the Albanians in Servian territory being forced to emigrate, numbers will come in from Southern Albania. To-day in Servia Muhammadans and Albanians live peaceably and happily, and in the newly acquired territories, although these are fresh from the passage of the victorious Servian armies, all races and religions are settling down peaceably and contentedly under the new administration. The reforms set forth and promised in the Berlin Treaty, which were a dead letter until the present war, are now more than accomplished in the new Servian territories. In a few weeks there need, therefore, be no anxiety as to the future welfare of the Albanians, who will become Servian subjects in the accomplishment of Servia's national necessity of an outlet to the Adriatic Sea.

Not only will the Adriatic outlet enable Servia to have freedom of export and import, it will give her new neighbours, since every maritime nation will then be Servia's neighbour as much as Austria is to-day. This is especially true of England, and Servia rejoices that the period of lack of direct contact with England and English institutions will now come to an end. From Servia's new and growing ports steamers will go to the established ports of England, weaving closer every day the web of friendship and mutual advantage between the two peoples. This point of contact with England, secured by England's command of the seas, realizes for Servia one of her deepest and most lasting desires, which will enable her to develop freely and liberally, encouraged and stimulated by the freedom and justice of England. It is this desire for future and increasing relations with the nations of the West, and especially England, which makes it impossible for Servia to consider even for a moment the giving of any special economic advantages to any specific nation. To do so would not only prejudice her economic future, but would force Servia to place England and other nations at a disadvantage. This Servia will not consent to, any more than she will abandon her just outlet to the Adriatic. Servia cannot conceive that her settled determination on these points, which she is prepared to defend by all means in her powers, can be considered by any foreign Government as other than necessary for the well-being of Servia and dictated by a very real desire for permanent European peace and equal opportunities for all nations desiring to enter into economic relations with her.

Friendly with all nations, the enemy of none, but before all things true to her national needs and consistently following out those liberal ideas learned from England, Servia does not fear criticism and will not draw back before interested threats. Although at war, Servia has never proclaimed martial law, nor has there been any check upon the freedom of the Press in this democratic land. It is open to all to criticize freely and to declare to the world whatever they may think wrong in Servia's policy, but we do not with all this unfettered criticism see anything which can make us alter our settled conviction that Servia's cause is national and just. I am convinced that all nations whose eyes are not obscured by interested desires will be with Servia in her determination to achieve her legitimate development.

NICHOLAS PASHICHEV.

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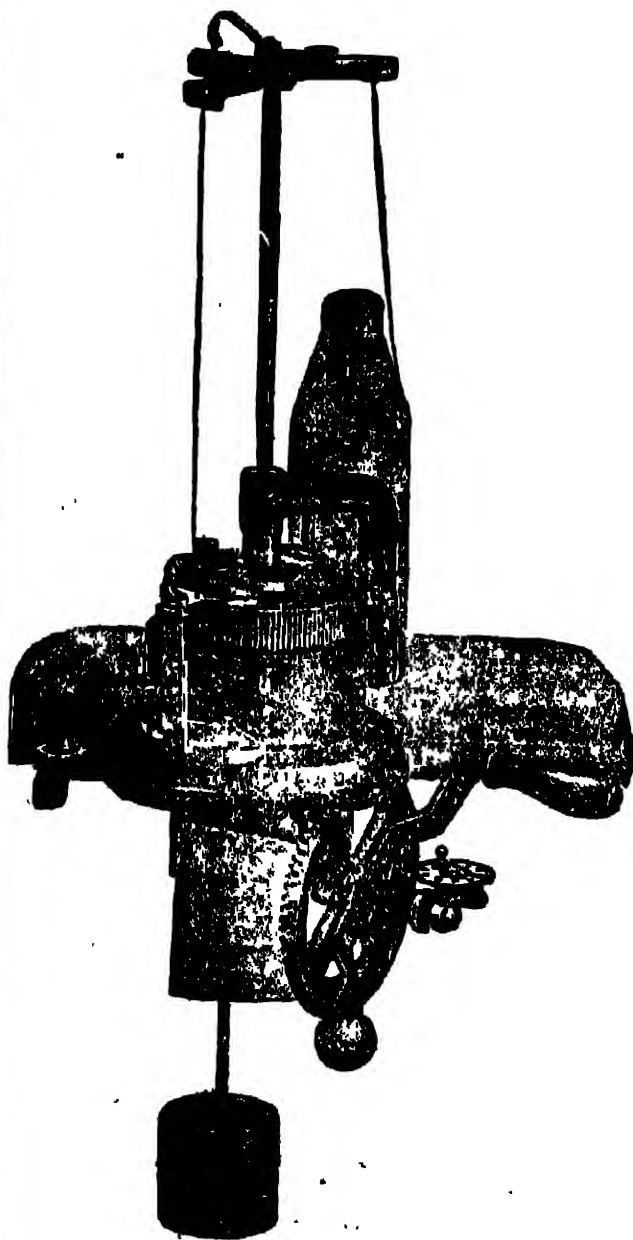
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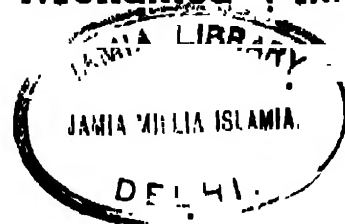
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if Britain lent money freely and gave all possible support to the Persian Government and Swedish gendarmery.

"Nobody understanding the risks of direct intervention has the slightest desire to see a move made while a European crisis is still pending except under the most imperative necessity. In any case a punitive expedition is not the way to deal with the difficulty. A British force entering Persia would have to go, not to chase elusive freebooters in a welter of mountains, but to keep open roads and hold the main centres of population. It could not soon withdraw and possibly never. Remembering the heavy task of holding India with a force none too adequate, the prospect is one from which the stoutest heart may shrink, but if Britain declines to tackle South Persia, some other Power will do the work we reject. We can not expect for ever to keep the Gulf inviolate by empty declarations. We do not say the time has finally come to undertake such responsibility, that is for the Government to decide, and we fear any intervention may have a tendency to spread, but it is just possible that a limited experiment might have substantial result. Those knowing the country believe that if Britain decided to keep open a single road from the coast to Shiraz and Isfahan, the whole of Southern Persia might become quieter and tribesmen elsewhere might cease depredations lest they also should feel the weight of British power. One thing is certain, that Southern Persia cannot long continue in its present state and there is not the slightest hope of regeneration from within.

London, Jan. 13.

The Persian Foreign Minister visited the British Minister at Teheran on Saturday and said that Government was sincerely anxious to improve the trade routes of Southern Persia, but that the embarrassments of the finances paralysed its efforts.

The murder of Captain Eckford had furnished Government with a fresh incentive to finish once and for all the question of policing the routes, and he submitted to the Minister a scheme drawn up by Colonel Hjalmarsen, head of the Gendarmery, to organise besides fixed posts for gendarmes flying columns to be stationed at Bushire, Dorasjun, Kazerun, Shiraz, Dehbid and Yazdikhast.

The scheme suggested the organisation and maintenance for three years of a force of 1,796 men at an estimated cost of £850,000, only half of which would be needed immediately. He asked the British Minister to obtain an advance from Britain of the money, which would be placed entirely at the disposal of Colonel Hjalmarsen. The Gendarmery would thus encounter no financial difficulties in the execution of the task.

The Premier, Sainssam-es-Sultaneh, had definitely resigned, and the new Cabinet of Ala-es-Sultaneh, not containing the Bakhtiari element, will assume office as soon as the Regent's authorisation arrives.

London, Jan. 15.

Replying to Mr. Hoare in the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey said that he was well aware of the difficulties of the Persian

Persia.

News of the Week.

London, Jan. 9.

Baroness to Mr. Morrell in Commons, Sir Edward Grey said that it was improbable that powers would be willing to make a loan to Persia in the absence of a strong, stable Persian Government. Therefore the British and Russian Governments were striving for the formation of such a Government, but the attempt of Shed-ed-Dowleh to form a Government were not being encouraged.

Colonel Yate drew attention to the outrages on British subjects and property in Persia and suggested the formation of a strong body of Persian levies under British and Indian officers to assist the Swedish gendarmery.

Mr. Grey replied that the Imperial Government fully realised the unsatisfactory state of affairs, and was urgently considering what steps could be taken, though there were difficulties, financial and otherwise, in adopting at present the course which was suggested.

London, Jan. 10.

The Times in an article on the situation in Persia says: "Things are going from bad to worse, and will continue so even

gendarmerie owing to the irregularity and insufficiency of its pay. The Imperial Government had advanced a further sum of £15,000 in December for the requirements of the Government of Persia.

Sir E. Grey said that he was now considering what more could be done to assist the Gendarmerie, reports of whose efficiency owing to the direction of the Swedish officers had impressed Government favourably.

The Murder of Captain Eckford.

REPLYING to British representations regarding the murder of Captain Eckford, Persia has expressed her boundless grief and has promised to make adequate reparation. The Governor-General of Persia has sent a long telegram to his Government explaining the circumstances of Captain Eckford's death. He admits that the party went out with his consent. The road had been safe for two months and there was no reason to anticipate what occurred. Captain Eckford was shot while riding between the advanced guard of gendarmes and a caravan, which his party had overtaken. The caravan itself appears to have been the main object of attack. The Governor suggests that the Governor of Behbahan, who is a Bakhtiari, should be sent with two thousand followers to punishing the guilty.

Great Britain has officially requested reparation for the death of Captain Eckford, and severe punishment of the guilty. If Persia is powerless it will be incumbent on Great Britain to take steps to obtain reparation.

The Persian Minister in London has been instructed to convey the sympathy of his Government to the relatives of Captain Eckford.

The Swedish officer commanding the gendarmerie at Shiraz reports that the gendarmes escorting Captain Eckford behaved excellently and eventually saved the situation. He adds that this view is shared by Captain Eckford's English companions. The Swedish officers in Teheran are expediting preparations to send a force to Persia.

The Persian Minister called at the Foreign Office to-day. It is understood that he conveyed his Government's deep regret at the Eckford outrage.

The Persian Minister called on the 17th December on Sir Arthur Macpherson, Captain Eckford's nearest relative in England, and expressed his condolences. The Persian Government thoroughly realises the gravity of the situation, and officially declares that it will spare no effort immediately to suppress brigandage of the Bushire-Shiraz route. It is understood that the Bakhtiari chiefs will defray the expenses of the expedition and the Bakhtiari Governors of Isfahan and Behbahan have been ordered to place themselves and their men entirely at the disposal of Mukhtar-us-Sultaneh, who is confident, if allowed a month to complete his preparations, that he will succeed in executing signal vengeance on the Boorah Madis.

The Consul-General for Persia in Calcutta has received the following official communication from the Foreign Office, Teheran, regarding the murder of Captain Eckford:—

"The road had been quite safe for the last two months, order prevailed, and caravans passed unmolested. Two English officers, with a number of Indian sowars, were accompanying a caravan, which was under the charge of a number of gendarmes cavalry, troops and guns on a shooting excursion. Between Khamzanjan and Deshtarian, Captain Eckford, one of the two officers, left the caravan and proceeded in advance and was shot by robbers who intended looting the caravan.

"The Persian Government has expressed its regrets and sorrow to the British Minister at Teheran and the Cabinet is doing its best to make due preparation. A large force has left Shiraz to punish the culprits. Stringent telegraphic orders have been sent to Sirdar Jung and the Governor of Kozilore to surround the marauders from all sides in order to give them proper punishment."

The Woes of Persia.

THE Honorary Secretary to the Persia Committee, Mr. Frederick Whelen, has sent the following communication to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:—"At a meeting of the Persia Committee, held at the House of Commons on Monday, I was desired to draw your attention to the persistent attempts which are being made under Russian inspiration to overthrow the existing form of Government in Persia and to bring about the restoration of the ex-Shah. In this connection I have the honour to enclose two documents containing information which

has reached this Committee from reliable sources. The first has reference to the steps which are being taken to restore the ex-Shah, and the second contains some account of the antecedents of his henchman, Saad-ed-Dowleh.

"My Committee feel that there can be no improvement in the condition of Persia while these repeated and determined attacks upon her Government and institutions are being organised under the protection of her powerful neighbour on the North. The Persian Government is a Constitutional Monarchy, and both Great Britain and Russia have given to that Government pledges of the most solemn and binding character that they will do nothing to hinder it in the task of internal re-organisation. Yet not only are suggestions made to the Persian Government that the summoning of the Mejlis, which is long overdue, would create the worst impression in Russia, but the authority of the Ministers who are faithful to the Constitution is being constantly undermined. Under circumstances such as these it can scarcely arouse wonder if the country is drifting into anarchy.

"I have the honour to submit, on behalf of my Committee, that any delay in dealing with this precarious situation may lead to results disastrous to vital British interests. The Parliament is such an important factor in the Persian Constitution that the machinery of Government cannot function while it is in abeyance. The obstacles which have been raised to the summoning of a new Parliament, as provided by law, should therefore be removed at once. Whatever may be said for or against the past action of Parliament, it would be difficult to deny that it has proved itself a jealous guardian of the liberties of Persia as a nation. If the Russian Government or that of Great Britain, having important interests in Persia, should desire to suggest changes in the Constitution of a nature to provide for its more harmonious operation, we feel sure that the Parliament, which alone has power to introduce such changes, would, when convened, carry them into effect, provided that they did not reduce the Parliament to practical nullity in the important affairs of State.

"The continued presence of the Russian troops in Northern Persia, in spite of pledges given to His Majesty's Government that they would be promptly withdrawn, is a further cause of disorder and unrest. The revenues of these important provinces are withheld from the Persian Government, and the condition of the provinces themselves is going from bad to worse.

"When the Mejlis has been convoked in accordance with the Constitution, my Committee trust that His Majesty's Government will do all that lies in their power to facilitate a loan to the Persian Government on reasonable terms and subject to such conditions as regards the expenditure of its proceeds as may be considered desirable."

Saad-ed-Dowleh.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, Wednesday.

It is reported here that England and Russia are now agreed that Saad-ed-Dowleh is not the man for the situation, and that he is advised to leave Persia. The report has given universal satisfaction. There have been two *coups d'état* in Persia during the last few years, and the principal agents of both of them were Saad-ed-Dowleh and Enir Bahadur, who is now at Vienna; it is for that reason especially that the return of Saad-ed-Dowleh has caused so much uneasiness.

It is not thought to be certain that the Regent will give his consent to the new electoral law proposed by the Commission which has been examining the question. The Constitution does not provide for legislation by commission, and the alteration in such a manner of a law passed by Parliament would seem to be unconstitutional. The return of the Regent is generally desired here.

The Record of Saad-ed-Dowleh.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

SIR,—According to news received from a trustworthy source, the Russian papers are freely discussing the probability of the ex-Shah's return to Persia. The *Russki Slovo* says that the ex-Shah has sent his *tahsil-dar* Mirza Abu Tharab Khan of Kashan, entitled Mukhtar-ud-Dawla, one of his most intimate favourites and courtiers, to discuss through the Persian Minister at St. Petersburg, who is untrustworthy, the question of the ex-Shah's return with the Persian Cabinet. The latter were almost persuaded to accede to this under certain conditions, but differences arose which for the moment put an end to the negotiations, and Mukhtar-ud-Dawla again returned to Odessa. It is said that

Russia prepared, with Saad-ed-Dowleh's concurrence, to leave the question of the ex-Shah's return to power to the decision of the Persian nation (!) and that the two Powers shall not intervene save in case their interests are threatened by disturbances; in other words, they will intervene if resistance is offered by the Persian people to the return of this perjured and discredited tyrant!

So far Saad-ed-Dowleh has not succeeded in forming a Cabinet, for Samsam-us-Sultaneh, the actual Premier, refuses to resign, and, though Saad-ed-Dowleh is supported by Russia and England, no respectable statesman is willing to serve under him. He is therefore endeavouring to induce some of the weaker members of the Cabinet to resign or to bring about a Cabinet crisis by abstaining from attending its meetings, so as to compel Samsam-us-Sultaneh to resign; but the Cabinet has ready a list of other candidates approved by the Regent (with whom they maintain constant telegraphic communication at Paris) who could take the places of any such defaulters. The Regent, who is on the worst possible terms with Saad-ed-Dowleh, encourages and supports the present Cabinet in their action.

The following brief account of Saad-ed-Dowleh's record, which will explain the disfavour with which he is regarded by his countrymen, may be of interest to your readers. His name is Mirza Jawad Khan of Tabriz, son of Hajji Mirza Abdu, of Khuy, the merchant. In his youth he succeeded in winning the confidence and favour of the former Mukhbir-ud-Dawla (who was then Minister of Posts and Telegraphs), and finally married his daughter and was appointed Controller of Telegraphs at Tabriz; but soon afterwards he offended his patron, and thereafter became a most bitter enemy of him and all his family. The importance of this is that he includes in this hatred Mukhbir-us-Sultaneh, who is now Governor of Fars and is said to be an excellent Governor, and who will certainly be driven to resign if Saad-ed-Dowleh becomes Prime Minister, or, worse still, Regent.

Saad-ed-Dowleh next entered the Foreign Office, and in due course became Persian Minister at Brussels, after the Austrian Government had refused to accept him in this capacity. He was responsible for engaging Messrs. Nans, Pien, and other Belgians, who were brought to Persia to superintend the Custom-houses and Exciise. M. Nans, after his arrival in Persia, recommended the purchase of four or five gunboats to patrol the Persian Gulf ports, and a sum of 300,000 francs (= £12,000) was transmitted to Saad-ed-Dowleh by the Persian Government in part payment for these. This sum disappeared, and Saad-ed-Dowleh declared that the bank in which he had deposited it had burst, so a fresh payment of this amount had to be made by the Persian Government.

About 1905, a year before the Constitution was granted, Saad-ed-Dowleh returned to Teheran and became Minister of Commerce. During the agitation of the merchants of Teheran against M. Nans, he fell foul of the latter and supported the agitation, in consequence of which he was banished to Yazd by 'Ayn-ud-Dawla. Then he escaped from custody, and took refuge in the British Telegraph Office, but returned to Teheran in the autumn of 1906 after the proclamation of the Constitution. He was subsequently elected a member of the First National Assembly for Teheran. The President, Sams-ud-Dawla, was obnoxious to him, and he opposed him so violently that finally he aroused the indignation of all the deputies and was compelled to leave the Mejlis about June, 1907, during the Premiership of the Amin-us-Sultaneh. Thereupon Saad-ed-Dowleh attached himself to Muhammad Ali (the ex-Shah), and began to work against the Mejlis until he became an object of suspicion and dislike to all its members and supporters.

After the assassination of the Amin-us-Sultaneh (August 31, 1907) Mejlis-us-Sultaneh became Prime Minister (which post he held until after the *coup d'etat* of June 25, 1908), and he appointed Saad-ed-Dowleh Minister of Foreign Affairs—an appointment so unpopular that within a fortnight all the employees of the Foreign Office went on strike until the obnoxious appointment was revoked. Saad-ed-Dowleh, greatly incensed at this, determined to seek revenge, and took an active part in organising the abortive *coup d'etat* of December, 1907. The Constitutionalists, having detected this conspiracy, demanded, amongst other things, the banishment of Saad-ed-Dowleh, who, however, took refuge at the British Legation, when the Dutch Minister, on account of his personal acquaintance with M. Hartwig, the then Russian Minister, afforded him protection. There he remained until after the *coup d'etat* of June 25, 1908, when he came out, rejoined Muhammad Ali, the ex-Shah, and became one of his chief advisers.

Some months later he was again made Foreign Minister by Muhammad Ali, and M. Lavolky, in the "project" which he communicated to the British Foreign Office, specially mentioned him as a suitable candidate for office. After the intervention of the two Legations in April-May, 1908, and the dismissal of Mejlis-us-Sultaneh

from the Premiership, Saad-ed-Dowleh became temporary President of the new Cabinet (May 10, 1909). He supported the retention of the Russian troops at Tabriz, or at any rate of a minimum of 600 in the city and 400 more between there and Julfa, on the frontier. He sought to terrorise the Constitutionalists by means of the Russian troops, and said on one occasion, "If Rasht and Khurasan do not keep quiet I will send Russian troops there too." His arrogant and unconciliatory conduct was one of the principal factors in bringing about the advance of the Constitutional armies on Teheran. At one time even Muhammad Ali Shah was disgusted at his arrogance, but a reconciliation was effected, and he was supported by the Legation. When the Constitutionalists entered Teheran in July, 1909, Saad-ed-Dowleh telephoned to M. Barranovski, the Dragoman of the Russian Legation, "Il faut bombarder la ville," and two or three hours later the bombardment was begun, but the Legations remonstrated with Muhammad Ali, and stopped it. After the capture of Teheran by the Constitutionalists, Saad-ed-Dowleh remained at Gulahok under the protection of the British Legation until he finally left Persia for Europe a few days after the departure of the ex-Shah. During the "Lesser Autocracy" which lasted from June 29, 1908, until July, 1909, he held for 100,000 timans (about £20,000) a commission for a monopoly in lamb-skins to a Russian commissioner, which the Mejlis subsequently quashed.

If the chance be given him, he will become a second Samad Khan Shuja-ud-Dowleh on a larger scale. He is regarded by all patriotic Persians as a Russian tool and as a man totally devoid of patriotic feeling and honesty.—Yours, &c.,

December 11.

EDWARD G. BROWN.

Saad-ed-Dowleh.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

THE recent statement of Sir E. Grey in the House of Commons that he is informed that Saad-ed-Dowleh has not declared himself a partisan of the ex-Shah is surprising. Sir E. Grey evidently had not seen the account of an interview which the Baku correspondent of the St. Petersburg *Boss Gazette* had with Saad-ed-Dowleh and which was reported in the *Times* of November 22. The remarks made by Saad-ed-Dowleh at this interview could leave no doubt as to his true feelings. In this interview Saad made misleading statements, and said that the Persians were not opposed to the return of the ex-Shah and that England's objection was the only obstacle to his return. Apart from the utterances of Saad at Baku, is it forgotten that he was the ex-Shah's Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and generally his right-hand man after the *coup d'etat* of 1908, and that when the Nationalists victoriously entered the capital in June 1909, Saad took refuge at the Russian Legation with the ex-Shah? Saad's name figures largely in the protocol of 1909, which provided that certain staunch partisans of the ex-Shah specifically named were to be banished, never to return.

Saad-ed-Dowleh's recent return to Persia is the result of a deep-laid plot to bring about the restoration of the ex-Shah. Many attempts in this direction had failed, and the British Government faithfully adhered to their declared policy of not recognising the ex-Shah under any circumstances. It was evidently thought that a practical way of solving the difficulty would be to secure the presence of someone who would work in the interest of the ex-Shah and be the means of bringing about his restoration. Who could be better than Saad-ed-Dowleh, who had been Muhammad Ali's right-hand man not only in Persia but also in Europe—in Geneva, where he carried on active propaganda in favour of Muhammad Ali, and where his house was the meeting place of all the reactionaries, exiles, and followers of Muhammad Ali? It must be confessed that his activity and resourcefulness as a man of his age (for Saad is over 80) were remarkable. From Geneva he directed many of the agitations which have taken place without success in favour of the ex-Shah, and he made all the diplomatic and other arrangements in connection with Muhammad Ali's incursion of the year before last. And it is a well-known fact that he persuaded Prince Salar-ed-Dowleh to go to Persia in order to help Muhammad Ali's cause and raised funds for him.

The details of the plot for bringing back Saad-ed-Dowleh were arranged in St. Petersburg, where Saad's cousin is Persian Minister. M. Klemm, head of the Asiatic Department at the Russian Foreign Office (who is about to succeed M. Poklevski as Minister at Teheran), was the chief promoter of the scheme and visited Saad-ed-Dowleh at Geneva, and the latter on his part paid several visits to St. Petersburg. It still remains a

mystery as to how the intriguers succeeded in inducing the Prime Minister to invite Saad to come to Persia. The explanation given by the Prime Minister himself is a very plausible one—it was an act of generosity and kindness, a desire to let this old man spend the remaining few years of his life in the bosom of his family and at home. But the mere fact of Saad's return produced the greatest excitement and indignation among the people, and protest meetings were held, and the Prime Minister was attacked on all sides for permitting Saad's return. Time has shown that the people were right, for proofs have come to hand that Saad was determined to repay the Prime Minister's act of generosity by executing a well-thought-out plan for bringing about a revolution and the restoration of his master.

His statements in Baku, to which reference has already been made, throw a good deal of light on what was concealed in his mind. For he had arranged (as his own statements at Baku prove it) for the ex-Shah's wife to go to Tabriz, where there would be no opposition, seeing that that city is under the *de facto* governorship of Shuja-ed-Dowleh, the notorious servant and supporter of Muhammad Ali. Shuja-ed-Dowleh, it will be remembered, has been kept in Tabriz by the Russian authorities in spite of strong objection on the part of the Persian Government. He wields great power, as he has the support of the Russian authorities and can depend on the Russian troops. The next step was for the ex-Shah's wife to proceed to Teheran (after the ground had been prepared by Saad) and there to induce her son, the present monarch, to abdicate in favour of his father. The ex-Shah's wife is actually in Tabriz, but Saad's plans have so far failed. Soon after his arrival in Teheran he set to work to bring about the downfall of the present Cabinet and to form a party of his own, but he has utterly failed, as everyone has refused to co-operate with him. He is now, there is reason to believe, doing all he can to start an agitation in the provinces and thus involve the Persian Government in difficulties.

The other members of the clique in St. Petersburg are doing their part of the work in order to bring pressure from the Russian side and to secure the appointment of Saad, if not as Regent or Prime Minister, at least as Minister of the Interior. The *Novos Vremya* recently stated openly that the Bakhtiari are opposed to the appointment of Saad-ed-Dowleh and that the Bakhtiari have the support of Great Britain, and that the failure of Saad to get an appointment is a defeat for Russian diplomacy. But the truth is that the chief obstacle is the expression of Persian public opinion against Saad—the most unpopular, the most unscrupulous man in Persia. The Bakhtiari are neither pro-Russian nor pro-English, but have the best interests of their country at heart. Their deeds during the past few years prove this. They are now, it may be added, on excellent terms with the Regent, Nasir-ul-Mulk, in whose ability and disinterestedness they have the fullest confidence.

Affront to the Persian Treasurer-General.

Teheran, Dec. 25.

M. MORNAUD, the Treasurer General, who is a Belgian, was a victim yesterday of a hostile demonstration on the part of the Bakhtiari. In the afternoon M. Mornard was requested to attend at the Premier's house, and on arriving there he found the courtyard and garden full of armed Bakhtiari who adopted a menacing attitude. In the Premier's house there were assembled the Ministers, excepting the Foreign Minister. After some discussion concerning the financial situation, in which M. Mornard pointed out the impossibility of obtaining funds unless the railway negotiations were brought to a conclusion, the Premier asked if any money would be available for the Bakhtiari, and M. Mornard replied in the negative.

The Minister of War, who is a Bakhtiari, then left the room, and almost immediately afterwards a terrific uproar occurred in the garden among the tribesmen who seriously ill-treated M. Mornard's coachman and his escort of gendarmes. Two of the Ministers at once protested against the unprecedented demonstration, and the Premier, going to the door, endeavoured to stop the uproar. However, it was not until the Minister of War, who had in the meantime returned to the council room, again appeared before the tribesmen that the din ceased.

The incident has caused a most disagreeable impression everywhere. The Belgian Minister has protested in the strongest terms to the Government against the insult offered to M. Mornard, and the British and Russian Ministers here have also made strong representations to the Premier, who has promised to mete out severe punishment to the demonstrators.

TETE-A-TETE



MANY months ago Mr. Abdul Wali Khan wrote to us stating that he was on his way to Tripoli; but beyond a letter from Egypt and one or two communications from Constantinople we heard nothing from him. We reproduced extracts

Afghans in Tripoli.

from his letter sent to us from Egypt, but the Constantinople letters generally supplied information which had already been published in our columns. We received from him last week a more interesting letter, dated the 20th November, 1912, addressed to us from "Ghazi Enver Bey's Camp, Derna, Africa;" and the cover bears the postage-stamp of the Ottoman Government without any postal impression as well as two Egyptian postage-stamps with postal impressions showing that the letter left the Cairo Post Office on the 18th December. It appears from this letter that at least a small number of Afghans has reached Tripoli, and that they are pluckily assisting their Arab brethren who have not yet accepted the sovereignty of the King of Italy, in spite of the peace concluded by the Ottoman Government. This is fully confirmed by a photograph of some Afghan *mujahideen* in Tripoli published by the *Shahhal* of Constantinople. Mr. Abdul Wali Khan describes "the extraordinary pluck and coolness displayed by a handful of Afghans under heavy shell fire against two battalions of the Italians at Syed Abdullah," where they defeated their adversaries and captured their positions. He says that the encounter lasted nine hours during which the Afghans were shelled with cannon and were met with a hailstorm of bullets. They replied with their musket fire, each of them spending four hundred cartridges. Although only twelve in number they determined to fight to the last. They felt their position to be quite secure, though it became impossible for them to extricate themselves from a perilous situation, as they were surrounded by heavy odds on three sides in three large columns. "We were divided into three sections of four each," writes Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, "and fought desperately. It is unbelievable, but I write it on oath that it is solemnly true that the cowardly Italians retreated hastily, leaving thirty dead in the field, and thus through a sheer piece of good luck and our dogged resolution and resistance we won the day instead of falling prisoners. . . . We advanced further, secured the thirty rifles and ammunition, which we brought into the camp, and hoisted the Turkish flag on the conquered position. This complete rout of the enemy and our miraculous but glorious victory was watched by our popular and heroic Commandant, Ghazi Enver Bey, and the General Staff from a commanding hill, and on our return . . . we were heartily cheered for our determined resistance and ultimate success. This small piece of good work has made our brethren the Turks and the Arabs look upon us Afghans as belonging to a glorious and valiant race. Everywhere we are being hailed for our valour and the good Commandant himself complimented me in his Darbar Tent on the 15th instant in the presence of Arab Sheikhs and Turkish officers, remarking that 'the extraordinary bravery of you Afghans will ever remain uppermost in my mind and I am proud to have such volunteers in my camp.' He offered to each one of my men five Turkish pounds as a mark of recognition for their signal deed. This kind offer was at first thankfully declined, but at the Commandant's instance I persuaded them to accept it as 'tobacco money.' They reluctantly obeyed me and have again returned to their position facing the Italian 'blockhouse' or trenches. I shall also be going there after the 1st prayers. We have been photographed by the Ghazi himself and shall receive a few copies when they are ready." Mr. Abdul Wali Khan also describes the ceremony of the presentation of colours on the evening of the 15th November, when Enver Bey delivered a short address explaining the object for which they had assembled and invited the Standard-Bearer to unfurl the new flag of green silk with 'holy verses embroidered thereon. Arab soldiers marched in sections, kissed the cloth and then repeated the holy oath, vowing solemnly to defend their country and their faith against all non-Muslims. The troops then marched past

In quarter columns, but before they dispersed they drank in sherbet to the honour of Islam and the health of Ghazi Enver Bey. Mr. Abdul Wali Khan confesses that his acquaintance with Sennoussi does not extend beyond eight weeks, but he says that "during this time he has learned enough to be able to say that Sheikh Sennoussi holds spiritual sway from the Aden Hinterland to the Sna, and the Atlas mountains in Morocco, and from the French Sudan and the whole of Egypt to Benghazi and Tripoli and in most other parts of the African Continent. He says he has intimate relations with some of the Sheikh's followers and their piety and simplicity recalls the memory of the *Sahaba*. There are large numbers of Sennoussi Mujahids in all the Turkish camps. A young Turkish officer, who had travelled very extensively in the East and the West, told Mr. Abdul Wali Khan in their mess that he had three interviews with the great Sidi Ahmed Shareef, and that he was convinced beyond doubt that here, at any rate, was a real Saint possessed of all the virtues of a true leader of Islam, and absolutely free from all religious affectation. Mr. Abdul Wali Khan closes his letter with the soldier's longing "to have another go at the Italians" in which he trusts he will not be disappointed. It appears from news received here since this letter was written that Enver Bey is now in Constantinople. We have yet to see whether this remarkable Turk has reached his fatherland in time to prevent the conclusion of a humiliating peace which would reflect even more discredit on the Kiamil Ministry than their conduct of the war. It is gratifying, however, to note that the roving Afghan has managed to wander from the North-Western Frontier right up to Africa in quest of war and to fight for his brethren and his faith.

WE HAVE great pleasure in giving prominent insertion to the following appeal and statement of the progress of her scheme for a Girls' School for Delhi which that enlightened and patriotic lady, H. H. the Begam Sahiba of Bhopal, has sent to us:

"My proposal for the establishment of a Girls' School in Delhi, in commemoration of the auspicious visit of Their Imperial Majesties, was published in the *Comrade* and several other papers sometime in April last year. I now take the opportunity, through the courtesy of the columns of the *Comrade*, publicly to thank the Begams, Maharajas, Ranis and other prominent ladies for their kind support of my scheme in the shape either of financial help or of entire sympathy with the cause. I would, however, invite the attention of most of the Princesses and ladies who have not up till now made any response to my proposal, and I earnestly appeal to them to think over the matter which aims at the amelioration of their own sex and which is connected with the auspicious name of our beloved Queen-Empress Mary. I need hardly reiterate that the success of the scheme depends entirely on the united support of the Maharajas, Ranis, Begams and the ladies of rank in India. The names of those who have kindly promised financial help are given below:—

H. H. the Nizam	...	Rs.	50,000
H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior	...	Rs.	50,000
H. H. the Dowager-Maharani of Gwalior	...	Rs.	1,50,000
H. H. the Begam of Jajpura	...	Rs.	3,000
H. H. the Rani of Rajgarh	...	Rs.	2,000
H. H. the Rani of Naraingarh	...	Rs.	3,000
H. H. the Rani of Dhar	...	Rs.	5,000
Qaisar-ul-Jahan Sahiba of Bhopal	...	Rs.	7,000
Shahryar Dulahin Sahiba of Bhopal	...	Rs.	5,000
Shah Bano Begam Sahiba of Bhopal	...	Rs.	5,000
Sir Valentine Chisolm, of the <i>Times</i> , London (£5)	...	Rs.	75
Myself	...	Rs.	1,25,000
"BEGAM OF BHOPAL."			

Those who have had occasion to see Bhopal when Her Highness first took over the reins of government and have also seen it at different times since then, and have compared the conditions of to-day with those of a little more than a decade ago, could not have failed to mark the progress made in such a short interval of time. To us it is a source of pride that Her Highness has provided for an unbelieving world an indisputable justification of the social laws of Islam, for Sultan Jahan Begam has not kept watch and ward throughout her extensive dominions by departing in the least from the canons of her faith. Her love for her fellow-beings is immense, but she has never forgotten the claims of her own sex. Throughout the long ages Man has been the Hunter, the Tamer and the Slave-driver, and what passes to-day by the name of civilization has only altered the form of the chase and has covered with gold and jewels or velvet and satin the swart galley-marks of the slave. Is it not a matter of shame to the "superior" sex that it is a woman, once more,

who has sought to emancipate her sex in the only effective manner, and to offer it the only true liberty—the freedom of the soul? We trust even at this late hour of the day the men of India would come forward to make an atonement for their neglect of the claims of those who are as necessary for the existence of the world and its progress as they themselves. But we also trust Her Highness would once more justify the ways of God to Man and Woman by seeking to give salvation to her sex as she herself has found it. The price of a great woman is great, but the price of a good woman is above rubies, and we trust that when the scheme of Her Highness comes to be formulated a little more definitely, it will be manifest that her School would be the nursery for women who are good as well as great.

The sympathy aroused in Moslem India by the troubles of the Turks has been considerable and has yielded some practical results. Its most gratifying feature has been the spontaneous response it has evoked amongst hundreds of Moslem ladies in the country, some of whom have given away everything they had to help their suffering brethren abroad. The circumstance marks a welcome stage in the awakening of the Indian Mussalmans. Organisations like the Women's Branch of the Red Crescent Society, Punjab, which has been able to collect about Rs. 4,500 in Lahore and Amritsar in a short time and is pushing on its work with vigour, have a reassuring significance about the future of the community. But, though the growth of communal consciousness amongst the Moslem women in India has been marked and unmistakable, it only serves to show how much still remains to be done to create in the Mussalmans of India,—men and women alike—a sense of responsibility in full measure and a unity of purpose and endeavour. The energy and enthusiasm with which the Egyptian Moslems have been sending help to Turkey have been remarkable. Egypt with a population of ten millions has already sent sixty lakhs of rupees to Turkey, besides providing for refugees who have been brought to Egypt and fitting out several Medical Missions for Tripoli and Turkey. What is, however, still more noteworthy is the fine spirit of sacrifice and patriotic devotion displayed by Egyptian women. A recent example of such devotion has come to our notice which, we trust, will not be without its lessons in Moslem India. As the story of the misfortunes of Turkey became known, the wife of Hassan Rashdi Pasha could no longer remain at home and hear of the sufferings of her brethren in Constantinople. Since the beginning of the war she had no thought but one about its victims—though she shed no tears for the wounded and the helpless in Turkish hospitals. Having obtained her husband's permission, she at last left on November 8th for Constantinople where she has been working as a nurse in one of the military hospitals. From early morning till sunset she is with her patients and only leaves them for a few hours in the night when she goes away to Jalal Bey, her father. She has been sending weekly accounts of her doings to her husband. "I could have," she writes in one of her letters, "never dreamt of what I am doing here. The gaping wounds are not a sight that I can see without moving a muscle. But only one thought sustains me in my weak moments—the thought that the men received their wounds when fighting against their enemy in defence of their honour and their fatherland. The thought inspires me with new life and I rise every morning more than ever resolute in purpose and full of fresh energy for my work." In her latest letter she says—"I came across three men who had bullet wounds in their backs. I thought they were not the Turks, for the Turk always faces the fire and never receives bullets in his back. In spite of my utmost efforts I could not get rid of the feeling and consequently could not persuade myself to attend to the unfortunate men."

An Egyptian Lady and the War.

Not long after the war between Italy and Turkey broke out we suggested that some efforts should be made to collect and publish from time to time as accurate and comprehensive information as possible about the assistance rendered to Turkey by the Mussalmans of India and when no other plan was suggested we offered to publish this information ourselves if those responsible for the Relief Funds started in different parts of India took the trouble of supplying us the necessary information in a tabulated form, a specimen of which we published at the time. Much to our regret little was done to make this plan a success, and, although we received information from the Aligarh College somewhat fitfully for several weeks, even that was not supplied to us later on, and Karachi's was the sole Red Crescent Society which continued to comply with our earnest request. Had we had more time at our disposal we would have addressed our request privately to the authorities of every Turkish Relief Fund in India. But we did not feel justified in undertaking this task in addition to others which we had imposed upon ourselves in this connection at the

Consolidated Report of Turkish Relief Funds.

expenses of our readers, whose genuine grievances we have not ignored, even though we have not yet been able to remove them. In this difficulty we suggested to the Secretary of the Moslem League, which in our opinion could have legitimately undertaken this task, to utilise the fairly expensive staff of his office and collect the necessary information. But for reasons which were not given, nor are yet intelligible to us, the Honorary Secretary of the League, who was willing enough to adopt our suggestion, was not allowed by some eminent members of the League assembled at Lucknow three weeks ago to take up this work. We have, therefore, to fall back on our original suggestion that the authorities responsible for the various Relief Funds should supply to us the information which we desire regularly, week after week, in the subjoined form which should be filled every Sunday or Monday, for the seven days ending on the previous Saturday, and posted to us. Where the authorities of these Funds cannot fill the forms in English they should do so in Urdu, and should there be a sufficient demand for such forms in English or Urdu we shall be prepared to supply them to the various Funds, for ten weeks at a time, free of cost. We shall co-ordinate all this information and publish it every week in the *Comrade* for the information of a very large number of people anxious to know the true extent of India's assistance to Turkey. When commencing to supply information for the current period, we trust the authorities of these Funds would let us know the amounts collected previously and the manner in which they have been disbursed, stating separately what amounts had been sent for the relief of the sufferers of the war in Tripoli and the war in the Balkans. We received sometime ago a communication from the Secretary of the Madras Red Crescent Society, who supported this and wished us to issue a consolidated report of the work of all such Societies in India, and had promised to offer us all possible assistance in the compilation of such a report, including part of the expenses of such a compilation and its publication. This is a very necessary work, and we shall be glad to undertake it if the authorities of the various Funds come forward with similar offers of help. We may also mention here that on the return of the All-India Medical Mission we hope to issue a report giving details of its organisation and work. Dr. Ansari has taken with him a complete set of printed forms and registers for his field-hospital which would give us excellent data and we have supplied him, and the Assistant Director and the Manager as well, with diaries and note-books wherein they have been requested to enter all the necessary particulars of their daily experiences. In addition to this, we are keeping a regular file of all the letters received from the members of the Mission, everyone of whom has been requested to include us in his weekly correspondence. We trust these two reports would give to all those who are interested in the work of relief most valuable information. Once more we appeal to them all to render us all assistance in their power.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS IN INDIA.

Statement for the week ending on Saturday the.....1918.

[illegible]

It will interest our readers to learn that Khwaja Hasan Nizami, of Delhi, sent a charm to H. E. Lady Hardinge for the speedy recovery of His Excellency. The following letter was received by him in reply from the A.-D.-C. to H. M. the Viceroy —

"I am directed by Lady Hardinge to answer your kind letter and to say how very much she and His Excellency the Viceroy have appreciated the kind sympathy and the prayers of the members of the All-India Sufi Conference. I am further to tell you that the shawl which you so kindly sent has been framed and hung over His Excellency's bed. Her Excellency is much touched by your loyal sentiments."

WE ARE asked to state that the Orient Bank of India, Ltd., Lahore, have now received the formal receipts from Constantinople for the sums of Rs. 24,000 and Rs. 25,905 which were cabled to Turkey.

Fund and Peshawar Muslims respectively. The receipts are duly signed by His Highness Kiamil Paasha, Grand Vizier, and other officials of the Ottoman Government and have been forwarded to the parties concerned. These sums were previously acknowledged by the Grand Vizier by telegrams.

“Rumours” and the Delhi Outrage.

a foul and wicked instrument. Vigorous efforts are being made to track him down, and we fervently hope they will be crowned with speedy success. As long as he remains at large, every Indian jealous of his country's honour and of the good name of his people will continue to hang his head down in humiliation and shame. Much speculation has been rife as to the class and community from which the assassin may have sprung. Much of it must, however, be mere frivolous and idle gossip while the identity of the culprit remains in the dark. The Indian Press has on the whole kept a calm and judicious attitude under the shock of the terrible crime, but a few of the less responsible newspapers have been indulging in curiously loose and wild talk. It is amusing to watch some of them carrying on a shady traffick in "rumours" for the edification of their clientele. The *Nayat*, a Bengalee newspaper published in Calcutta, seems in some mysterious way to have lighted on the "rumour" that "two Aligarh boys were under arrest in connection with the bomb outrage at Delhi." The "rumour" has been authoritatively declared to have been unfounded. We would, however, very much like to know how the "rumour" travelled all the way from Delhi and reached the extremist organ of the Bengalee Nationalists. Perhaps it was made to order to ward off the contingency of a more plausible "rumour" getting abroad about the *Nayat* fraternity. People have not yet forgotten the soil where the bomb has mostly flourished, nor the class of men who have been the most zealous exponents of the cult. And even if they were likely to forget it, the report of the Inspector-General of Explosives which shows that the composition of the Delhi bomb was much the same as that of the bomb thrown in Dalhousie Square, Calcutta, and of the one only recently thrown against the house of a witness in the Midnapore Case, is sure to refresh weak memories. Aligarh and those it represents must equally share with every other section of the people the humiliation and shame of the outrage till the culprit is brought to book. Everything is possible in this world where facts are sometimes more startling than fiction. One need not, however, lose one's dignity even under the stress of a trying ordeal. A Mussalman's pride that he has always been free from the taint of anarchism is as much beside the point at this moment as the loud professions of calm and pacific temper on the part of a Bengalee Nationalist. A foul crime has been committed and the culprit is still undetected. The stain of the crime is for the time being on every Indian and it is ludicrous to fling loose hints at creeds and nationalities. We can well understand why protestations of innocence have been rather excessive in some quarters. It is quite natural that some of the persons who were found in the building from which the bomb is considered to have been thrown should declare that they saw it coming from the opposite direction. It is equally natural that the *Nayat* should hear of "rumours" which may have to be contradicted officially. The officers of the C. I. D. under Sir Charles Cleveland have no easy task set to them, but it is not likely to be made easier by "rumours." Nothing could be less difficult than to produce evidence against an innocent person, for those who can create a secret organisation of terrorists and manufacture bombs, can create and manufacture a good deal more. But would it, or could it, satisfy Government to take an insignificant life for the life that was sought to be taken? It will not, in fact, be enough to capture even the real culprit, for there must be many more behind him whose well-planned assistance made the assassin's attempt all but successful. Unless the whole plot is discovered and the whole brood of terrorists is hunted down to the lair, the members of the C. I. D. would be all but worthless. We are confident that Sir Charles Cleveland and his assistants have realized all this and can afford to treat the "rumours" according to their deserts. What distresses us, however, is that "An Anglo-Indian Correspondent" should have deemed it wise and helpful to write to the *Manchester Guardian* in the following manner: "We may anticipate that explanations of the Delhi outrage will take two forms. It will be argued that the bomb is evidence of the continued existence and activity of the Hindu Nationalist

organisation, to which the Anarchist crimes of 1908-9 were attributed, or, alternatively, that it was thrown by a Moslem fanatic maddened by recent events in the Mahomedan world. Certainly neither is inadmissible, and there are plenty of other possible explanations. Upon one point there is no room for difference of opinion. Lord Hardinge has been from the day of his arrival in the country personally popular with all the Indian communities. Such opposition as was aroused by the administrative changes announced a year ago by the King came from a section of the European community entirely in Bengal. But it is obvious that general popularity or approval is no safeguard against the individual bomb-thrower, whether actuated by a personal or imaginary grievance or by a simple hatred of the alien ruler." Now much of this was far too obvious to explain, and, if anything, the explanation was wanting in fullness, for "Anarchist crimes" have not been confined to 1908-9. As we all know, they have continued without any very marked interruption from the day when the first terrorist attempt was made. But the attempt of this Anglo-Indian Correspondent at enlightening a wofully ignorant public in England is likely to create in that country suspicions for which no basis in fact exists at the present moment and may react unfavourably on the nation's attitude towards Turkey. What is, however, far worse, its effect on Moslem youths in India could not be of a beneficial character. For obvious reasons we shall not dwell on this aspect of the question, but we hope that *sancta simplicitas* among Sherlock Holmes would rather seek the ear of the C. I. D. if it cannot suppress its ambitions, and at least not publish such crude efforts at scenting guilt in the public Press or proclaim them from the house-tops.

We are glad to publish the following communication from Capt.

Lady Lowther's Fund.

A. A. Tod, A.-D.-C. to H. E. the Viceroy who is the Honorary Secretary of Lady Lowther's Turkish Relief Fund in India:—

"In addition to the list of subscriptions previously published, the following amount have been received for Lady Lowther's Turkish Relief Fund:—

	Rs.	as.	p.
H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad ...	15,000	0	0
H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad ...	2,000	0	0
Collected in Ajmer by Munshi Muhammad Abdul Samad Khan ...	2,000	0	0
W. Pancee, Zamindar, Karatiya, 2 donations ...	2,000	0	0
Collected by H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad...	1,000	0	0
Bilayat Ali, Shillong, 2 donations ...	982	12	0
Subscriptions from Dilduar, Mymensing, per the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi ...	510	0	0
H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala ...	500	0	0
Sanamganj Muhammadans, per Muhammad Faz Ali ...	500	0	0
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Ali Nawab Chowdhuri ...	495	0	0
Syed Abdur Rab, Faridpur ...	300	0	0
The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khuddus Balsha Sahib, Madras ...	300	0	0
Maulvi Abdul Karim ...	250	0	0
Colonel Archer, C. S. I., C. I. E. ...	150	0	0
Lieut.-General Sir Percy Lake, K. C. M. G. ...	100	0	0
E. E. Moqui, Secretary, Red Crescent Society, Chittagong ...	100	0	0
Najim Nath Biri, President, Muslim Association, Tirul ...	78	0	0
Mrs. Archer ...	50	0	0
A. E. Lawson, Esq., Madras ...	50	0	0
Maulvi Muhammad Hamid ...	30	0	0
S. F. Rahman ...	45	2	0
Azadullah Hussain Sahib, Tarikere ...	5	0	0
Total ...	28,460	14	0
Subscriptions previously published ...	52,998	6	0
Total ...	79,459	4	0

"Of the above total Rs. 60,000 have been forwarded to the British Ambassador, Constantinople.

"Further subscriptions should be sent to Capt. A. A. Tod, A.-D.-C., H. E. the Viceroy's Camp, India; or, to the Agent, Alliance Bank of Simla, Delhi."

We mentioned sometime ago that terrible accounts had reached us of the sufferings of Moslem refugees in Salonica and Monastir. Although it may never be confessed, it is a fact that in war time there is hardly any form of crime which is not committed by victorious soldiers against the civil population of the defeated country, and whatever may be said to the contrary in public, military authorities make no secret of it in private, that such crimes practically

always go unpunished. The extent of criminality, however, varies in different armies according to the discipline enforced in times of peace. That some of the worst crimes known to humanity would be perpetrated by the victorious armies of the Allies went without saying, and it was also certain that they would remain unpunished. But we, who live in this country, can have little idea of the miseries of Turkish men, women and children after the victories of the Allies. The pent up passions of five centuries, which had been roused from time to time by the stirring up of the Balkan Christians by several European Powers, have now been let loose, and the pandemonium now existing in the Balkans can hardly be imagined by people used to peace and security. We have reproduced elsewhere some evidence of the guilt of the Allies, but it can easily be imagined that a full account of the horrors will never see the light of day. We have not hesitated to reproduce from the columns of the *Times*, which has not yet published any allegation against the Allies, an account of the alleged outrages of the Kurds in Galipoli. Apart from a desire to be fair to both the parties, we felt nothing could illustrate the attitude of a large section of the British Press like the silence of the *Times* about the outrages of the Allies and its prominent insertion of allegations made by a non-descript correspondent who had taken upon himself the task of investigating the alleged excesses of the Turks. Even these allegations are a unique comment on the attitude of such papers, for on the face of it mountains have been made of molehills, and mere suspicions and insinuations have been pressed into service for want of actual proof. The Porte, according to a Constantinople telegram of December 25th, has had to repeat the demand made to the Powers a month ago for Consular enquiry into the atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Allies in the occupied territory, and it yet remains to be seen whether the Powers return any other answer to this demand except repeating the favourite phrase used in the case of the horrors of the Omas of Tripoli—"military exigencies." Naturally the Muhammadans inhabiting the villages in the occupied territories have sought refuge, where they could escape the massacre, in large towns like Salonica and Monastir where their miseries and afflictions can at least come to the notice of European Consular authorities. But if these afflicted people have escaped death from bayonet thrust and dishonour worse than death in their own villages, they are now face to face with death from starvation and exposure for want of the wherewithal and in the absence of their household gods all of which they had to leave at home when they rushed to places of greater security. In view of this, and particularly because it appears that the Allies do not recognise the Ottoman Red Crescent in the occupied territories, we have been persuaded to apply to our own Government for arranging for the relief of these sufferers, particularly at Salonica and Monastir. We at first requested His Excellency to arrange through the London Foreign Office for the transmission of £100 to the British Consul-General at Salonica, and of a similar sum later on if food could be locally procured. Our request was conveyed to His Excellency only a day or two before his attempted assassination, but it was instantly communicated with His Excellency's own recommendation to the Secretary of State for India, and we have great pleasure in learning that the Secretary of State has already placed on our behalf £100 at the disposal of the Consul-General at Salonica, and we have now been asked what we intend to do as regards further remittances. In view of further details about the sufferings of the refugees, we have decided to send £900 more to Salonica and Monastir, and we are very grateful to His Excellency that, in spite of his state of health, he has had a telegram sent to the Secretary of State recommending that £500 more should be placed at the disposal of the Consular authorities at Salonica and £400 at Monastir. We believe we have been right in expressing on behalf of thousands of contributors to our Fund a request that at both these places the British Consular authorities should notify to those in need of relief that these amounts have been placed at their disposal by their brethren in India, and that the numbers of the persons thus relieved may be noted. We fear keeping detailed accounts in such a state of affairs as prevails at these places would be more than could reasonably be expected, but, while desiring that more attention should be paid to immediate relief of such distress, we have requested that a rough account should be kept of the disbursements of the Funds. We take this opportunity of thanking Sir James DuBoulay, K. C. I. E., Private Secretary to His Excellency, for his readiness to assist us in such matters in spite of the congestion of work in his office and the anxiety entailed by the attempt on His Excellency's life. Acts like these cannot go unrecorded on the minds of Indian Mussalmans, and it is a relief to find that the British nation is composed not only of Liberal politicians, but also of truly liberal gentlemen and statesmen.

The Viceroy's Health.

Bulletin 8-30 A. M., Saturday. "The Neuritis reported a few days ago in the Viceroy's right arm is improving. His Excellency's general condition is quite satisfactory."

The Comrade.

Conventions.

Des Cartes' scepticism had made short work of every cherished belief, but he came at last to the bedrock on which he constructed his whole philosophy. "I think; therefore, I am" became his basis of construction. But if that should lead humanity to boast of its thinking powers it has only to study the conventions of various countries and civilizations to disillusion it. Nothing seems more difficult for mankind than to think; for the majority of human beings prefer others to do their thinking for them. How many of us derive any portion of our stock of wisdom from any source other than proverbial philosophy? The wit of one becomes the wisdom of many, and the beaten track is furrowed with such deep ruts that it becomes impossible for the crowd trudging along it to notice the vastness of the land and the multitude of its ways. Even when someone more courageous than others clears a new path for himself he is derided as a fool for his pains, because he has taken the trouble to justify Des Cartes' basis of belief that man is a thinking animal.

Conventions exist in all countries, but it is reserved for an island to be ruled by the narrowest and the most numerous conventions. Not that great individual thinkers are not born in islands. Genius is a law unto itself, and flouts both heredity and environment. For were it not so, all the wisdom of the world would have gone to continental countries leaving little for the guidance of the world's islands, such as England and Japan which can pride themselves on the splendid achievements recorded in their island stories. To compensate them for the scarcity of original thought, these convention-ridden sea-girdled lands possess a remarkable conservatism which helps them to make the best use of the contributions to original thinking which their philosophers have made. So much indeed do they think of their conservatism that they would not exchange it with the sum total of the world's original thinking, and although the existence of too many insular minds is bound to reduce the pace of a country's progress, there is this justification for their pride that they are immune from the constant changes which a too rapid rate of thinking entails.

The question, however, is not so much whether conventions have their use and value as whether insular conventions and great empires can go together. It is a matter for no little pride that a small island of the Far West has the largest Empire in the world and controls the destinies of hundreds of millions in many parts of the distant East. But this Empire, which owes its existence to the conservative instincts of Great Britain, is after all a recent creation, and it will not be amiss to pause and consider whether it can last even half so long as the other empires of the world, and particularly in the East, if for its continuance too much dependence is placed on England's insular conventions. We raise this question in no spirit of hostility to the Empire, for we have said it often enough that to us in the East it has brought manifold blessings and its continuance is essential for our progress. For us British conventions have all the novelty of original thought, and with such avidity have we fed on the viands of the West that many of us in India have become as insular in their tastes as any convention-ridden Briton. For us England has opened new vistas of life and thought, and has linked us not so much with a little island as with a new world. But while Europeanising and Angloising us with marvellous rapidity, England seems to have remained almost as circumscribed in her own conventions as in the days of Queen Bess when the East India Company was first formed. In ideas and customs, in speech and manners, in food and dress, an Englishman in India is but little removed from an Englishman in England, and instead of being liberalised by actual contact with the East he has a tendency to get more and more confirmed in his own insular prejudices. We do not know whether many Anglo-Indians would plead guilty to this charge; but even if they do, they would most probably suggest that their insularity is the secret of their success, for they preserve thereby the traditions of their own island home which has helped them to achieve greatness abroad. In the historic struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, Hildebrand insisted on maintaining the monastic aloofness of the clergy in order to dominate a debased laity. But in spite of his efforts, the Catholic Church has lost its worldly power, and the international position of the Pope to-day is a travesty of the claims enforced by the Papacy at Canossa. Hildebrand's phrase, "Non Romano sumus" would perhaps be as famous in history as Rome's verdict, "Dilectus est Constantinus," and it would be possible to justify the methods and policy of Hildebrand in the governance of the British Empire only when a few centuries have rolled over it and left it as mighty and strong as it is to-day. Like the longest lived empires have been those which have

been founded by an alien people who themselves suffered a sea-change in the process of changing the face of conquered countries; and when British statesmen assemble in the panelled rooms of their council-chambers it would repay them to consider this general question rather than debate too carefully whether this political concession or that would hold together a vast Empire of dissimilars.

In the governance of India the Mussalmans have suffered far more than others by the insularity of British conventions. One of these conventions is that blood and race provide the only lines of cleavage in the world, and when to this is added the convention that not only two hands are better than one, but that the result of their cogitation is invariably in the interests of the third, it is apparent that the Mussalman, who is much less familiar with the idea of divisions based on differences of blood and race, and themselves constitute a minority, must wear the badge of their tribe and suffer. In a book recently published by Mr. Wavell, F.R.G.S., under the title of "A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca," he makes the following observations which deserve the attention of British statesmen to-day:—

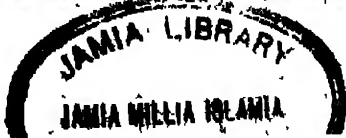
The Western school of statescraft rests on the axiom that the primary division of mankind is determined by racial and geographical considerations. The peoples of the earth group themselves into nations which, for purposes of government, form States. The State, in dealing with its neighbours, acts as a corporate body and in accordance with the code of morality incumbent on each separate individual belonging to it. Patriotism—that is, the allegiance and devotion of the individual to the State—is accounted the highest virtue.

In the Near East, however, these ideas are not accepted as axiomatic; quite the reverse. There the inhabitants of the world are classified according to their religious beliefs. The unit is no longer the nation but the "millah." The Oriental, be he Moslem, Christian, or Jew, regards his co-religionists as his compatriots irrespective of racial or territorial considerations. The Ottoman Empire, in view of an Eastern Christian, is merely an expression meaning those countries in which the Moslem "millah" at the present time dominates and governs the others. To the Moslem Turk, Greek, Frenchman, German, and Armenian all fall in the same category. They differ, he says, in many ways, but all are equally Christians and to him equally obnoxious. When Germany comes near war with France, "Good," says the Turk, "the Christians are quarrelling among themselves." When Russia invades Persia, "Here," says he, "is another attempt on the part of the Christians to injure Islam."

The British connection with India is now three centuries old, and for half of that period the British have ruled a daily increasing portion of India. And yet only the other day an Englishman, whose duties as a teacher of the young brings him in daily contact with Indians, asked a Mussalman why he and his co-religionists had any sympathy with the Turks in their misfortunes. The Turks were not of the same blood and race as Indian Mussalmans, and it could not enter into his philosophy that some three hundred million people, constituting a sixth of the world's entire population, were united together by a bond which was not that of blood and similar ethnic origin, nor yet of physical contiguity and territorial patriotism. Some have, however, begun to realize this, but seek for its existence an explanation in the past history of Europe. They regard the bond of religion, which unites Mussalmans in the twentieth century, as a stage of social and political evolution which they have themselves left far behind them in the Middle Ages. It is enough for most people to condemn an idea or a system if it can in any way be called medieval. But even if religious fraternity was a medieval system, does it deserve condemnation merely on that score when in conservative England some of the most cherished institutions bear the unmistakable stamp of the Middle Ages?

That, however, is another story. In European politics religion may not play to-day the same part that it did in the Middle Ages, but there is nothing to prove that even in Europe it has now ceased to play an important part. The main difference, however, between the Middle Ages and modern times is this. In the Middle Ages the creed of the king became the creed of the country; but to-day the creed of the country is imposed on the king as his own. Would a Catholic King be tolerated in England or a Protestant Queen in Spain even in these advanced times which make such a parade of toleration and emancipation? It is true that when the Spanish Armada threatened the freedom of England, English Catholics fought for the Protestant Queen—if, indeed, Elizabeth was a Protestant. For the synthesis of a World-Empire and a World-Religion had now been substituted different States, with divergent and often conflicting interests, and National Churches with differences of dogma and ritual. But can it be said that if England had been divided into Christians and Buddhists living in subjection to a Buddhist Queen, instead of merely Catholics and Protestants owing allegiance to a Christian albeit a Protestant sovereign, and if the King of Spain had sent the Armada, English Catholics would have opposed it in the same manner? That would not be a difficult speculation, but it relates to a remote period of time. Let us, therefore, judge the force of religion to-day by reference to less remote conditions, and it would not be amiss to reflect a little on the Dreyfus Case in France, particularly in Russia, and to Mormonism throughout Christendom.

It may be said that the intolerance of Mormonism is not the intolerance of a faith, but of a family system, based on polygamy.



We have a great temptation to ask in return if it is more intolerable to have many wives than to have many gods? But such a contention is just the admission which we seek to obtain from those who argue that the fraternity of faith is a relic of the Middle Ages. The bond of Islam is not the bond of a dogma or a ritual such as held together the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, and provides Christian clergymen with a theme for a seasonable sermon just at present. It is the bond of a common culture and a social polity that is the same in Morocco as in China, in Cabala in Cairo and Constantinople.

Mankind has evolved in the course of centuries certain customs and laws, systems and institutions which are the outward expression of its culture and civilization, and as different groups of men have different cultures and civilizations, their customs and laws, systems and institutions also differ. The lines of cleavage which divide man from man have generally been, as in the case of all other animals, those of race or country, and thus differences of heredity and environment have created differences of laws and institutions. But when patriotism is commended to us as the highest virtue even in these civilized days we must examine what it means. Could it mean merely a feline love of the environment, or is it only a love of one's own kind which all animals share alike? And yet when an Englishman says his country is better than the Fatherland of the German or that the Anglo-Saxon race is superior to the Celtic and the Slav, is he in reality so very superior in his affections to the animals with whom he would resent comparison? If patriotism has a rationale surely it can be nothing else but the similarity of culture and civilization—whether due to similar ethnic origin, geographical unity or identity of historical associations—expressing itself in similar laws and institutions. Now the rationale of the Brotherhood of Islam, or "Pan-Islamism," is exactly the same as the rationale of patriotism, with this difference, however, that the Islamic fraternity has not achieved an identity of laws and institutions through the identity of ethnic origin or geographical unity, but has received it as a direct gift from God. Customs in India may and do differ from customs in Turkey or Morocco, and the laws governing the Afghans may not tally in every particular with the laws governing the Egyptians. But in the main the principles underlying the social synthesis are the same throughout the Islamic world, while they are not so and have never been in Christendom. It is not only one God, one Prophet and one K'aba that the Mussalmans of the world have in common, but in every degree of longitude and latitude they hold the same views of the relations of husband and wife, of parent and child; of master and slave and of neighbour and neighbour. They observe in every country the same sumptuary laws and the same rules for physical purification. They follow among all races, whether Arab or 'Ajami, Turk or Tajik, the same laws of marriage and divorce and of succession and endowments. And they do this in the twentieth century of the Christian era exactly as they did in the sixth and hope to do so to the last syllable of recorded time. Baghdad may be sacked, the Moors may be driven out of Spain, or the Turk may turn again home to Asia Minor. The Afghan may be ruled by one of his own faith, the Central Asian may be subjected to a ruler of an alien creed, and the Chinese Moslem may own allegiance to a Manchu King or to a Republic composed of four other elements besides his own. But there is still the One God to worship and the one Prophet to follow, and through calm or storm there is always the one unaltered and unalterable book to soothe and to stimulate and the one K'aba to act as the magnetic Pole for all True Believers from all points of the compass. But this spiritual unity would have been of no avail if it did not provide a social unity, and as it has been decreed that in all essentials the Mussalmans of all ages and all countries will have a common social polity. This the code of Christ, as understood by Christians, did not provide even in the Middle Ages, with the result that in spite of the advance of civilization the hand of every Christian nation is against its neighbour, and each recurring Christmas sees not the dawn of peace on earth and goodwill to all mankind but an armed camp, and the substance of man is devoted year after year not so much to the uplifting of his kind as to perfecting the instruments of his own domination. And yet a common civilization such as this which Europe has united it against the Moslem interloper in Christian Europe, but it is incomprehensible to Europe how those can share each other's sorrows and miseries who share the common heritage of Islam and all that it signifies in this world and the next.

Cont.

HARDLY less dark than the thick mist in which conventions envelope the truth about the extra-territorial patriotism of the Mussalmans is the mist which throws a veil over the face of reality. Before the Allies declared war on Turkey they had demanded from her "return to Macedonia in the spirit of Article 23 of the Treaty of London under the control of the Powers and of the Balkan States." The conditions of the continuance of peace which the Allies sought to impose on Turkey were considered to be such as all could not

accept without losing all honour and prestige, and when Sir Edward Grey was asked in Parliament whether he would have recourse to arbitration if the action of the Powers desiring peace did not result in success, he replied that he would rather not contemplate failure. Such a declaration could by no means be construed into an admission that it was just and reasonable for the Powers to compel Turkey to accept the terms of the Balkan League. And yet it was a colleague of Sir Edward Grey who, while admonishing the more bellicose of the Great Powers for their desire to plunge Europe in the horrors of Armageddon, declared his belief that there never existed a better justification for war than in the case of Turkey and the Balkan States. Believing for a moment that the pacific optimism of Sir Edward Grey was not the cant of one who welcomed war while he talked angelically of the virtues of peace, how can we avoid the conclusion that in that case it was Mr. Winston Churchill who wore the mask of a canting hypocrite?

Both are Right Honorable gentlemen, and both share alike the responsibility for the governance of the British Empire. We have no desire to judge between them and shall be content to leave the matter at that. But even the First Lord of the Navy would concede that if the Turks had accepted the conditions sought to be imposed upon them by the Balkan League, his clear case for war would have no longer existed. The Balkan States appeared to have been convinced that the Turk was unfit to rule over the Christians of Macedonia, and its autonomy was, therefore, necessary in order to extend, in the words of a third and perhaps the most important Minister of the British Crown, "the area of freedom and good government." And yet we do not know if the colleagues of Mr. Lloyd George had at any time before the war wished to alter the boundaries in the Balkans, whether of good government or of evil, for we have the public declaration of the Powers that the *status quo ante* would be preserved. In view of this additional contradiction, what are we to believe? Are we to understand that British Ministers had decided among themselves that if the evil government of Turkey succeeded better in war than she had done in peace, and held a parade of its soldiers at Sofia, they would virtuously interfere in order to preserve the *status quo*; but that if she was found to have been caught unawares and lost on the field of battle, British Ministers would equally virtuously come forward to extend the area of freedom and good government by giving autonomy to Macedonia?

But the cant of Europe does not end here. Had the Turks tamely submitted to the demands of the Allies and conceded autonomy to Macedonia, the Balkan States could not have found in that decision anything to which they could object. The Turks did not do so, and had to pay the penalty of their refusal on the stricken field. But what is the autonomy of Macedonia to-day? We publish elsewhere a letter from a presumably Christian correspondent of the *Near East* in Salonica. He would very much like to know in what country he is living. The heterogeneous character of Macedonia is not only known to the Chancelleries and the council chambers of Europe, but has become a byword even in its kitchens. Whether such a mixture of races and creeds and languages could ever develop that communal feeling which Aristotle deems to be essential for an independent polity is very much open to question. But now that the Turk is out of Macedonia it is doubtful if that question will ever arise. The Greek army was the first to enter Salonica and is now in possession. But the Bulgarian *komitadjis* are not so ready as the Turks to recognise the claims of Greece to be the ruler of Salonica, even if Bulgaria's Tsar is willing to let this important port of the Aegean go to Greece as the price of their alliance. But whether Greek rules Macedonia or Bulgar, it appears for the moment certain that the Allies have no thought of the Treaty of Berlin and Article 23. As we said in the issue of the 9th November, the liberation of Macedonia was no more the motive power of the war than the fanaticism that moved Peter the Hermit. The miracle of the union of Greek and Bulgar, Serv and Montenegrin was no more worked by the banner of freedom than by the sign of the Cross. With all the garnish of the phraseology of Christianity and humanity it was impossible to disguise the real dish that had been prepared out of sheer desire for expansion and territorial aggrandizement. Did not M. Chedo Miyatovich, a former Serbian Minister in London, confess to a representative of the *Central News*: "War was inevitable. It is quite true that the Turks were bad administrators and they have not governed their European Christian provinces as they ought to have been governed. But let me assure you that even if the Turks were the very best administrators, if they had introduced liberties and reforms in Macedonia, we would still have taken the very first opportunity of trying to liberate our brethren from Turkish rule." Asked what in the hour of victory "liberation" may mean, did he not say: "I can assure you that all the talk of no territorial results following the victory of the Balkan States is quite beyond the point. Now there is no talk of autonomy; now we are fighting for territory." Is there no publicist or statesman in Europe who can soar above the cant and hypocrisy of "liberation" and say that only the claims of Macedonia and

her Christian population can be recognized by Europe and not the territorial ambitions of the King of Greece or the Tsar of Bulgaria?

It would, perhaps, be some consolation to Mr. Lloyd George to know that the area of freedom and good government has at last been extended and the Jews of Salonica, whose treatment at the hands of the Greeks is described by Europeans themselves and published elsewhere, are having a foretaste of that freedom and good government. The Salonica correspondent of the *Near East* writes that the Greeks' "want of tact, of administrative adaptability, and even of commonsense, is so amazing that one is quite disheartened when contemplating the future of this particular town should it remain under its present control." But this is not all. He writes of the "feeling of insecurity owing to the nature of the Greek license prevailing throughout." "A cock and bull story is got up against the Jews and in the most senseless manner several are arrested and thrown into prison. . . . Some low class Greek accuses a Jew of having stolen his horse, his watch, his umbrella, even on a rainy day, his—whatever article he covets for himself; whereupon the Jew is tried up and 'run in' and the Greek is allowed to go off with what he wanted. . . . The hopeless part of all these cases—and there are far too many such—is that when the authorities are appealed to about them they seem helpless, express all manner of regrets and piteously ask, 'But what are we to do?' The fact is they do not seem to have any idea of organisation or of impartial and just government. . . . If what is rumoured be all, or even partly, true, there is nothing to choose between the Balkan Christians and the Turks."

If we turn to the record of the Bulgarians it is if anything, dyed a deeper colour in the gore of the victims. From Salonica itself comes a telegram of the Press Association which states as follows: "A Bulgarian band chief named Dumbulakoff is terrorizing, pillaging, and murdering the Greeks and Turks alike in the Nigrita district to the north-east of Salonica. . . . Dumbulakoff took the Turkish villagers of Ligovan outside the village and made them a target for the rifles of his band, the Greek military authorities not daring to interfere because they were too weak and they have been ordered to avoid quarrels with their allies. Six Mussalmans (four men, a woman and a child) were found murdered on Saturday morning just outside Salonica." A correspondent sends to the *Near East* the account of another Bulgar band at Cavalla which we reproduce elsewhere. He relates the story of 150 victims from among prominent Mussalmans and leading Jews called away from their houses and led to a lonely spot in batches of two and threes. They have never related what passed within the building to which they were escorted. "But," writes this correspondent, "their bodies, pierced through and through with bayonet thrust, lie heaped up in that ditch and tell eloquently what their lips can never say." A Greek official telegram from Salonica has been published in Athens in which the excesses of the Bulgarians such as "damage to property and crimes against the honour and life of private persons, especially Turks," have been enquired into in several places. It states that "unspeakable outrages were committed at Seres and at the other towns and villages mentioned above. At Doiran, despite the protests of the municipality, the Bulgarians seized and imprisoned the rich Turkish residents who, after having secured their liberty by the payment of enormous ransoms, were ambushed by the Bulgarians and massacred, sixty of them being killed." The *Daily Chronicle* publishes similar accounts of the massacres of Moslem Serbs on the testimony of an eye-witness. This is good government with a vengeance, and the most afflicted Turk and infuriated Indian Mussalmán could not wish the Right Honourable Mr. Lloyd George the enjoyment of greater freedom or a better government than this to which men of his own faith have reluctantly borne such ample testimony.

When Mr. Amer Ali wrote to the *Spectator* complaining of the attitude of the Labour Party, who, "will not tolerate even the association of anyone connected with them with the work of charity to relieve the destitute and the starving of this afflicted nation," and appealed to those "who welcomed the slaughter and suffering as ushering in the millennium in Eastern Europe at least to raise their voice against the cruelty and barbarism of the policy which seeks to extend the area of freedom and good government. . . . in those regions by the extermination or expulsion of their inhabitants, whose only sin is that they profess a different faith from the invaders," the Editor of the *Spectator* responded to the appeal with the following remark:—

We cannot believe that any body of Englishmen desires the extermination of the Turk, or even his expulsion from Europe as an individual. What we and many Englishmen desire is a very different thing—the putting an end to the government of Christian European provinces by the Turks. For such a task they have proved themselves utterly unfitted. When in reply to this the Secretary of the London Moslem League asked "whether in the millennium that has been ushered in in Eastern Europe the Turks as a community are banned and it is only permissible for individuals to enjoy Europe's hospitality," the Editor of the *Spectator* was still more determined to indulge in the cant of freedom and good government and replied as follows:—

We meant and mean that Turkish rule in Europe (except for a time in and around Constantinople) is over; that it is well that it should be over, and that all well-wishers of the Turks will rejoice to see their rule confined to Asia. The history of the Ottoman Turk in Europe shows him utterly incapable of successfully governing European and Christian races. It is a great mistake for the Jewish Moslem League to allow Muhammadanism to be identified with the Ottoman race. The Moslem faith is in no sort of way bound up with Turkish supremacy.

It would be interesting to learn from this organ of the Tories when exactly its party discovered the Ottoman Turk to be "utterly incapable of successfully governing European and Christian races." But what we would like to know more particularly is why this utterly incapable person is to be entrusted with the rule of Europeans and Christians "in and around Constantinople." Even if the *Spectator* had not put in the saving clause indicating that this arrangement was merely temporary, there was no likelihood of our ignoring it. Has not Europe yet discovered a more capable governor for the capital of the Byzantine Empire, the city named after the first Christian Emperor of Rome? The Ottoman Turk has ruled in Europe for many centuries; but it seems that the lesson taught by his history of the governance of Europe, learned after the lapse of all this time by the *Spectator*, has not yet been fully grasped, and he would, therefore, be permitted to continue his misrule over some European and Christian subjects not only with the permission but at the explicit desire of Christian Europe itself. If this is not cant, by what other name are we to call it. What have the jealousies of the German and Slav to do with the "liberation" of European Christians? Again, what concern has Serbia with a port on the Adriatic, or Austria with the economic condition of Serbia? Are not all these hopelessly irrelevant when the only "Cause" for which the war was waged, was the liberation of Europeans and Christians from the yoke of the Mussalmans and the Turks?

But the most amusing bit of all the cant is which Europe has yet indulged in the diplomatic struggle now going on between Bulgaria and Rumania. Tsar Ferdinand marched on Tsargrad in order to assist the Christians of Macedonia in throwing off the yoke of the unspeakable Turk who worshipped a God other than his own. Christian Rumania certainly failed to take a hand in this pious enterprise, but it could not be that she did not rejoice in the success of the piety of her neighbour at Sofia. What is it then that we hear of compensation? Should the Bulgarian liberator of Christian Macedonia do penance for his piety and receive flagellation at the hands of his Christian neighbour of Rumania?

One more instance of the cant of Europe and we have done. The Editor of the *Spectator*, who must, we suppose, be counted among what he calls the "well-wishers of the Turks," will rejoice to see "their rule confined to Asia." It was no other than the greatest leader of his party who obtained a guarantee from Europe of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire at the Berlin Conference. But when a Tory journalist rejoices that Ottoman rule would now be confined to Asia, can we expect from the shadow of Gladstone to obtain from Europe a guarantee of Turkey's Asiatic Empire at the Conference of London? France has already spoken through the mouth of M. Poincaré about French "interests" in Syria. Need we wait long then for the revival of the Frank Crusade for Christian possession of the Holy Sepulchre? The grievances of Armenia are not likely to remain embedded in the pigeon-holes of Europe's Chancelleries, and the Muscovite has already proclaimed his firm intention of marching his Cossacks into Armenia "to prevent disorders" as he has been preventing them in Northern Persia. How long, we ask, is this cant to go on? Time was when kings and nations took up arms in order to extend, not "the area of freedom and good government," but the boundaries of their own empire, and let loose the dogs of war for their own glorification. But that was barbarism. Modern civilization, when it marches forward in the wake of ancient savagery, utilizes for its purpose not the crude and ineffective weapons of ancient days, but makes use of instruments of destruction fashioned with the aid of science and perfected through the organization of its industries, and, calling the war a mission of mercy, "liberates" people who never realized before its advent that their necks were sore with the yoke of tyranny.

We in Asia have much to learn from Europe. Its science and its organization of industry provide for us a lore which can be of incalculable use to us. But we pray to the All-Merciful God that He would keep the book of Europe's effective cruelty and its cant closed and sealed and hidden from our eyes. To us, who have sat at the feet of one of Europe's greatest Powers, it is a matter of deep regret that our lesson should be of such a mixed character. But if a Mussalmán tries to free the British nation from its narrow conventions and exposes the cant of its public men, he is labelled as disloyal. When he warns the powers that be of the rocks ahead, his warnings are considered as threats. But for our part we are prepared to continue in the path we have deliberately chosen for ourselves, undisturbed by suspicions and hopes of the future.

Verse.

MORNING.

Fair smiles the Morn and lo! all Nature's proud
To wear the livery of Dawn's roseate light,
E'en from the far hills' sky-embosomed height
To yon low shrub with head in reverence bowed!
Hark! from yon drifting mass of golden cloud
Outflows a thrilling strain of wild delight,
And mead and grove, with dowy blossoms bright,
Send back an answering strain as sweet and loud.
'Tis Nature's joyous hymn that mounts above
To the Great Source of Light and Life and Love:
The same as on Creation's Primal Morn
Burst from the thrilled heart of the Universe,
When the quick-glancing shaft of Light new-born
Bade the Dark dregs of Chaos to disperse.

EVENING.

How sweet and peaceful is the evening hour!
All toil and strife, all jarring accents rude,
And murmurs of the bustling multitude
Have ceased. There breathes around a mystic power,
As the calm heavens their holy influence shower
Upon the silence and the solitude!
A soft breath steals, by Zephyr's wings pursued,
From yon lone rose that nestles in her bower.
The mighty heart of Nature heaves a sigh,
A smile of love comes o'er her placid face,
As, bending o'er the Earth, the azure sky
Enfolds her form within his soft embrace;
And voiceless hymns of joy ascend on high
To the great Source of Love and Peace and Grace.

NIGHT.

Night rests in hallowed beauty!—'Tis the hour
To gaze into the eyes of heaven above
And read in them the quenchless light of Love
And drink deep rapture from their mystic power.
The eager soul now scorns her earthly dower
Of mortal passions, and aspires to prove
Her essence of the Eternal Powers, that move
The Universe to Life and Light and shower
Celestial beams of Loveliness around.
At such an hour, when Heav'n its infinite store
Of Love and Light reveals, she spurns the ground
And on unfagging pinions seeks to soar
Back to her God, enfranchised and unbound,
As ere the garb of mortal life she wore!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

Muhammadian Art.

THE exhibition of Muhammadian Art held two years ago at Munich amply demonstrated the antiquity and the comprehensive range of that very interesting art which Moslem culture has given to the world. The richness and variety of this important phase of Oriental Art in its various ramifications in Egypt, Spain, Sicily, Poland, Russia and India are not generally realised. The influence of Muhammadian Art on the arts of Western Europe is also very vaguely recognised. The influence of Western Art on the arts of Persia is more emphasised by Western art-critics than the cross-influence of Islam which made itself felt in Europe. Dr. Martin has recently discovered a portrait by Gentile Bellini copied by Behzad, the best Persian miniature painter of the sixteenth century. The nature of Western influences in these copies show more than anything else the different aims of Eastern and Western design. In the very manner in which Western models were sometimes adopted in Muhammadian Art, as in the Bellini portraits, one realises "that the Eastern artist was the master of a science of pure linear, non-plastic design, of which even a great draughtsman like Gentile Bellini was ignorant." On the other hand, as M. Gaston Migeon has pointed out, in some cases Western craftsmen have gone further than the Muhammadian artists, and in their work have literally copied certain definite Muhammadian forms and motifs as in some of the capitals at the cathedral of Chartres. The Muhammadian influences, clear though rather rare in the early Middle Ages, become insistent and numerous in the Romanesque period owing to the continued arrival of Eastern work, because of the increasing facility with which the Western craftsmen assimilated them. In Gothic times the same influences were frequent in many objects of Western industrial art, e.g., in many examples of diaper casting known as Diamondries, in the silk textiles of Italy and, as shown by Mr. Wallis, in the first efforts of Italian potters. In the monuments of central Italy, M. Emile Bérard has noted many instances of Oriental influence particularly in the tomb of Bonifazio, Prince of Austria, at Canossa.

Even to-day we see clearly enough that the attitude of the Government of India towards His Majesty's Indian subjects is far more considerate than the attitude of the Liberal Cabinet in England, and we believe that this is the result of the endeavours of those who, like ourselves, have never failed to reflect the thoughts and feelings of the people in this country. A Government such as ours must depend on the indigenous Press for its knowledge of things as they are. Only the other day the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* wrote in condemnation of the policy of the late Count Aehrenthal who worked upon public opinion through the Press. "A Press bureau," he wrote, "is a very doubtful blessing to any country or Government. In its essence a police institution, it serves to prevent the formation of healthy opinion, to corrupt some journalists and to cow the incorruptible. Intended to mislead the public in a sense favourable to the Ministers of the day, it frequently ends by misleading Ministers as to the trend of public feeling." We wish some of those who desire that we should write differently would take these remarks to heart and reflect on the conditions of things in India for a moment. We have stated often enough what the Mussalmans feel on the subject of Turkey's afflictions, and we have now tried to explain at length why they do so. Those who think that we are leading the Mussalman public to the brink of ruin seem to know this country but too little. They have yet to realise that journalists, too, are human beings and have their own feelings, and that in times of great national excitement it is not often they who kindle the conflagration, though they, too, are likely to be consumed by a fire which only elements outside their own community can extinguish. We see the danger of Mussalman excitement as well as the Government, but we fear we alone know the inwardness and intensity of Moslem feeling, and our duty lies not in quarrelling with fate and merely wishing things had been otherwise, or in misrepresenting the reality, but in appealing to Government with all the persuasiveness at our command to rally round itself seventy millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects that have never felt the least desire to seek a change of rulers and are yet amenable to reason and to considerate treatment. It is true that both in the case of Persia and of Turkey the Government of India have shown great consideration and sympathy for Indian Mussalmans, and if they were at liberty to disclose what they have done, our Moslem fellow-countrymen would find that the Government of India have not failed in doing what was in their power to do. But what the community needs at the moment is some patent results of the Indian Government's efforts in their behalf not only in Persia and Turkey, but also in this country, where the modification of the Partition of Bengal and the action forced upon the Government of India in the matter of the Moslem University have added greatly to public excitement. We have never despaired of the beneficence of British rule for India and for the Mussalmans, nor have we reason to despair to-day. But we appeal to Government's sense of what constitutes statesmanship not to ignore the fact that conditions have been wholly abnormal for the Mussalmans of India, and that all they need is the overt manifestation of Government's goodwill and sympathy with them in their difficulties at home and afflictions abroad.

It is the Public Service Commission that will have to adjudge the claims of Mussalmans in the public service: but Government officials have it in their power to adduce the evidence they possess which would tend to show what real injustice has hitherto been done to Mussalmans in the name of equality and fair treatment. Again, Lord Minto's pledges are yet unredemmed, and the so-called self-governing local bodies, which elect representatives of general territorial electorates for Provincial Councils and themselves deal with important questions affecting the daily life of millions of Mussalmans, have a wholly inadequate Moslem representation on their Boards. It is true that in the case of the Moslem University the Government of India have more than once unsuccessfully represented to the Secretary of State the Moslem point of view. But when the same Government could have a settled fact unsettled for a cause that was far from righteous, why need it lack the courage to go up once more to Lord Curzon and save him from his India Council friends? The fate of Persia is still hanging in the balance, and never did the Mussalmans need the assistance of Lord Hardinge more than to-day when his experience and temperate counsel can save England from the perils of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy. Turkey has not yet been admitted to the Allies, and peace and war hang in the balance. Must it be only Germany and Austria, and even Italy, that should be put out of the European Concert's coercive policy? We sent last week a fervent personal appeal in a cable to Lord Morley in whose statesmanship and political honesty we have not yet lost confidence. Cannot the Indian Government support our appeal for consistency and actually even if it is too late to back "the wrong horse"? There are some of the directions in which the Government of India can help those who feel for their co-religionists—and fear for them! It will be to support office labels of "Loyal" and "Disloyal" on all shades of feelings between servility and sedition, for to rally the best elements of the Moslem community round Government is work for a statesman and not the office boy who affixes the customary labels.

There are ample evidences, therefore, to show that Islam has shed its influence directly on the arts and crafts of Europe and not merely through the medium of Byzantine Art. Apart from the question of influences and points of contact between European and Muhammadan Art, the intrinsic value and integrity of the art-culture of the followers of Islam as a distinct contribution to the Art of the world demand serious consideration. In India Muhammadan Art has assumed very interesting phases chiefly in its architecture. The traditions of Persian paintings imported and introduced by the Mogul Emperors have also stimulated indigenous Hindu traditions, and have influenced various minor schools of quasi Mussalman character which still survive in Jaipur, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Lucknow, Patna and Hyderabad. The Mogul, Indo-Persian or more strictly Indo-Talimurid Art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has contributed a brilliant chapter to the history of Indian Painting. The character of these Indo-Persian paintings is sometimes misapprehended by critics and denounced as "debased Persian," and it is erroneously asserted that "Persian painting dies away in India." These opinions are apparently based on inferior examples. For in the best examples one cannot but notice, in spite of happy combination of Persian with Indian technique, certain vitality and originality which compare favourably with contemporaneous Persian tradition. They have a richness and a flavour which reflect the splendid and varied romantic life of the Mogul Court and were designed to appeal to a cultured and leisured aristocracy, "the leading spirits of a time closely akin in temper to the Elizabethan Age in Europe."

Unfortunately many of the best examples are buried in the British Museum and the Paris collections, and in various private libraries in India. The Calcutta Art Gallery and the Lahore Museum have collected some very rare specimens. The famous collection of Colonel Hanna has travelled to Washington after the Indian Government's refusal to secure the same. The subject has, however, hardly evoked any interest with the educated Muhammadans of the present day. The claims of literary fame and political aspirations seem to divorce artistic culture which is one of the finest heritages of Islamic civilization. When will Aligarh rear up its young artists? An Art Club is as much a necessary equipment for the training of our young men as a debating society or a cricket club. We should like to see the authorities at Aligarh interesting themselves in this matter. The threads of Muhammadan Art traditions can only be picked up and readjusted under the guidance and through the intelligent interest of the cultured Muhammadans of India. The examples of the old Mogul paintings of India have already afforded inspirations to the "new" Indian School of painting founded by Mr. A. N. Tagore, Vice-Principal of the Calcutta Government School of Art. His "Aurangzeb examining the Head of Dara" and "Shah Jahan's Dream of the Taj" exhibited at the shows of the Oriental Art Society of Calcutta have amply demonstrated the artistic possibilities. Mr. Tagore's illustrations of the Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayyam lately published by the "Studio," London, display a poetic charm and rare power of a sympathetic interpretation of the text of the great Persian poet which one hardly expects from an artist whose mental training and nationality are so different from the mystic of Nashapur. A far more interesting piece of work is his picture of a Majnun or "The Mad Musician." The subject and the manner in which it is treated are so characteristically Mussalman in feeling and temper that one hesitates to believe it is the work of a Hindu artist. The only reverse case of such international exchange of thought in recent times, known to us, is that of a Bengalee Mussalman's sympathetic studies and criticisms of Vaishnava lyrical poetry of medieval Bengal. From this point of view the Hindu-Muhammadan problem seems to suggest a new solution. It is one of the characteristic signs of the times that civilisations of a different nature meet face to face not in inimical combat, which, alas, they have done many times in India before, but in a friendly embrace which leads to a liberal interchange of thoughts and ideals.

The lack of artistic culture has been one of the characteristic drawbacks of the Indian educational system. This has led to a decadence in the tastes of the Indians in recent times, to which the Hindus and the Muhammadans have alike contributed. Our Hindu brethren have already cast the seeds of a new artistic revival in Bengal. It has opened up a very interesting field which invites earnest workers from both the communities. One of our young friends, Mr. Hakim M. Khan has already done very useful work in this line of very great promise. His "Rose-Bud" exhibited at the annual exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art in last February was very widely appreciated and was purchased by His Excellency the Viceroy. Mr. Hakim Khan's success has also invited other workers, particularly, Mr. Sami-us-Zaman. His "Birth of Nur Jahan" was a notable piece of work exhibited at the United Provinces Exhibition the year before. We should like to see many of our young friends following in his footsteps.

O. C. G.

CORRESPONDENCE



Mussalmans and the Allahabad Law College.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It is very laudable indeed to talk of high ideals which the Mussalmans should keep before them, of the bridging over of the gulf of separation between the Muhammadans and the Hindus, and the mitigation of the existing tension. But when we enter into realities, see the practical side of every question, realise the difficulties which beset the Mussalmans in their vocations and the thorny path which they have to tread, we wonder whether they can be satisfied with seeking separation in the enlarged Councils alone. Will they not be justified in demanding separation in Universities, in colleges and in schools as well as in various departments of administration? Have they realised the mischief done to them by their being slack in this direction? The sooner they turn their attention and get their numbers fixed in Municipalities as well as in every department of administration and Government service, the better it will be for their community. In my opinion it will go a long way in mitigating the existing ill-feeling between the two great communities of India, though at the outset it is likely to enrage the Hindus. If the Muhammadans fail to do this they will be neglecting the interests of their community in search of a shadow which for some generations to come will not be materialised. The basis of my argument for complete separation is certain facts connected with the Law College, Allahabad, which have come to my knowledge during my recent visit to that place as well as certain other matters which I will discuss later on.

Formerly there was one Professor of Law in the Mutt College, Allahabad. As the number of students increased two more Readers were appointed to assist him. Later on it was considered desirable that the law class should be developed into a Law College and that there should be one Principal who should devote his whole time to the institution. Accordingly Dr. Wier was appointed. Last year, owing to the increase of work, it was considered necessary to add two more Readers to the staff. In view of the fact that the existing staff consisted of two Christians and two Hindus it was expected that, if not both, at least one of the new appointments would go to a Muhammadan. A committee consisting of the Hon. Dr. Sunder Lal, Dr. Wier, Dr. Satish Chander Banerji and Mr. Sorabji was appointed to test the candidates as to their lecturing qualifications and to select two out of their number.

Without any Muhammadan on the committee to safeguard their interests it appeared a foregone conclusion that a Muhammadan, who belongs to a disinherited race of the earth, had no chance whatever. Dr. Wier is a new man and one may be allowed to say that he is not fully acquainted with Indian politics and prejudices. The fears of the Muhammadans have been justified by the result that both the appointments went to Hindus. Up to this time it need to be remarked by persons who had vested interests in such affairs that there was a dearth of competent Muhammadans for such posts. But it is an open secret that among the applicants were Mr. Agha Haider, M.A. (Allahabad and Cantab), LL.B. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law; Mr. Muhammad Raof, B.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law; Dr. Sulaiman, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab), LL.D. (Dublin), Bar-at-Law. The first two are of several years' standing.

On inquiry another important and significant fact has come to my knowledge that for several years it has been the practice of the Boards which appoint Examiners both in the LL.B. and in the High Court Examination to appoint only one Muhammadan Examiner, and that too in Muhammadan Law, as if Muhammadans were not good enough to be appointed Examiners in any other subject. There is no such bar in the case of Hindus.

Osama

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Jan. 9.

The Servian Government has informed the Powers of its willingness in the interests of general peace to withdraw Servian troops from the Adriatic coast immediately peace is concluded.

The Servian Government hopes that the Powers will take this moderation into account and not ask for other sacrifices which may be beyond its power to make.

According to telegrams from various sources the Powers are agreed as to the necessity for the cession of Adrianople to Bulgaria with the reservation of the mosques and tombs of the Caliphs, which will be made extraterritorial under international control. It is announced that Bulgaria would accept such reservations if asked.

A Cetinje telegram states that the King has issued a fervid Christmas manifesto to the troops pointing to the possibility of having to fight to secure their ancient capital. It is believed that he refers to Austrian opposition to Montenegro's possessing Scutari. It seems to be generally believed that the Powers are preparing to undertake concerted action at Constantinople regarding Adrianople should a deadlock continue for a couple of days, though according to the latest report in Constantinople the Powers are likely to accept a proposal of Britain to preserve Adrianople to Turkey subject to the dismantling of fortifications and other restrictions. Official circles in Constantinople charge the Powers constituting the *Entente*, especially Russia and France, with encouraging the Allies, but they trust to the sense of fair play of the nations, especially of England.

It is stated in Paris that the demarche of the Powers at Constantinople will probably be deferred to the end of the week. The Powers are agreed regarding Adrianople. There are some divergencies with reference to the Aegean Islands, the *Entente* Powers supporting their cession to Greece while the Triple Alliance is desirous of leaving a number to Turkey.

London, Jan. 10.

The Ambassadors resumed their meeting at the Foreign Office on Thursday afternoon.

A Belgrade message states that the Turks are deserting Adrianople. They report that famine prevails there, rations having been cut down to four ounces of bread. There is no other food. Surrender may be expected daily.

The meeting between the Bulgarian General Savoff and the Nazim Pasha at Sofia was abortive. It transpires that the Nazim suggested the re-vesting of Adrianople, and then raised the question of the possession of the city. General Savoff replied that the first point was settled by the armistice and the second was a matter for the Peace Conference.

All sorts of possible compromises such as the creation of a neutral zone at Adrianople have been put forward and discussed during the past week, but have been found impracticable for one reason or another.

Consequently the Powers have acquired the conviction that the cession of Adrianople to Bulgaria is unavoidable, and it is understood that measures are already being discussed for an eventual demonstration for the purpose of putting pressure on Turkey.

The Ambassadors yesterday held a meeting lasting for two hours to consider the representations to the Porte on the subject of the cession of Adrianople.

The opinion is generally held in Turkish circles that any step by the Powers, even though supported by a naval demonstration, with a view to compelling the cession of Adrianople, is doomed to failure, though the dismantling of the fortifications would be accepted.

The Porte has sent a circular to the Ottoman Ambassadors declaring that unless the Balkan delegates by the end of the week accept the Turkish proposals for peace, the Ottoman delegates in London will be instructed to return to Constantinople.

A slight engagement has taken place in the vicinity of Lake Dozlik. The Turks repulsed the Bulgarians who were attempting to cut the telegraph. Thirty wounded have arrived at Constantinople.

It is stated in Vienna that Austria supported by Italy demands the liberation of Scutari, Janina and Prizrend in autonomous Albania.

The *Times* says that according to information from Bucharest Rumania, as the negotiations with Bulgaria were not making progress, decided on the immediate armed occupation of the territory which she claims as the price of neutrality.

The Austrian and Russian minister remonstrated and succeeded in obtaining a postponement of action for two days.

Some quarters think that this announcement is designed to bluff Bulgaria into yielding. There is every reason to hope that the Powers will not tolerate such a wanton attempt to embroil them.

With the possibility of a critical situation between Rumania and Bulgaria, the arrival in Constantinople of M. Philipescu, Rumanian Minister for Agriculture, excites attention. Action by Rumania at the present moment will certainly stiffen the attitude of the Porte. Reuter learns that conversations between the Rumanian and Bulgarian representatives in London have been resumed and at the conclusion of an interview between M. Mishie and Dr. Danoff the latter telegraphed to Sofia.

The meeting of Ambassadors drafted the text of a Note which will probably be presented to the Porte on Monday. It is understood that the Note is colourless and advises the cession of Adrianople, but that there is no question of pressure.

London, Jan. 11.

The deadlock in the peace negotiations is maintained.

In an interview with Reuter's representative, Reshid Pasha emphasised that Ottomans were determined not to abandon Adrianople nor the Aegean Islands. He asked, why should all the concessions emanate from one side. If the Balkan Allies did not accept Turkey's proposals by the end of the week the Turkish delegates would be immediately recalled. He also affirmed that if the Conference was to be reassembled it was a matter for those who abruptly suspended it.

The Ambassadors met again at the Foreign Office on Friday night and sat for two hours.

The *Tribuna* (Rome) states that the Servian Minister on Thursday formally notified Italy of Servia's decision to withdraw troops from the Adriatic immediately peace was concluded.

The European situation is regarded with growing uneasiness owing to the continued unbending attitude of Turkey and the menacing attitudes of Rumania. All the Powers are decided as to the necessity of Turkey's giving up Adrianople, and have agreed that the Note presented by the Ambassadors at Constantinople shall be followed up by much stronger representation.

The London papers are unanimous in denouncing the action of Rumania, especially at such a critical moment.

The semi-official journal *Ilir* at Sofia approves the suggestion of a London newspaper that Rumania be entrusted with the task of organising the new Albania.

The report of a skirmish at Tchataldja is officially denied in Sofia.

The Bulgarians have mined the coast of the Sea of Marmora.

The Bulgarian Minister of Finance has arrived in St. Petersburg.

London, Jan. 12.

There was no sign on Saturday night of the removal of the deadlock in the Peace Conference or of the settlement of the differences between Bulgaria and Rumania.

The delegates in London declare that they are awaiting the result of the presentation at Constantinople on Monday of the collective Note from the Powers before packing up to leave.

It is understood that the Powers' Note makes it clear that Turkey must yield Adrianople while recommending her to leave the question of the Archipelago to the Powers.

The opinion in Sofia and Cetinje is strongly in favour of a rupture of the negotiations. The Montenegrins are angry at the repeated sorties by Turks at Taraboshi in spite of the armistice.

The Turkish Government has decided to submit the question of peace or war to a great national assembly to be held in the palace on a day to be appointed by the Sultan.

Later,

Reuter learns that the Balkan delegates are only prolonging their stay in London in deference to the Powers and the hope that the Powers' Note to the Porte will moderate Turkey's attitude. Otherwise they will leave London and hostilities will recommence.

London, Jan. 14.

The Conference of Ambassadors was resumed yesterday. There is an impression in Turkish circles in London that the

position of the National Assembly will be known to-day when the delegates will leave London as it is impossible to abandon Adrianople.

The Ambassadors last night agreed upon a Note which will be presented to the Porte forthwith.

Dr. Daneff and M. Mishu had another conference yesterday on the question at issue between Bulgaria and Rumania. Dr. Daneff declared afterwards that there was nothing that could not easily be arranged.

The presentation of the Note of the Powers has been delayed for a day or two, Germany having made certain comments necessitating the submission of the Note again to the conference of the Ambassadors in London.

Later.

Reuter learns that at a meeting of the Allies this morning it was decided to present Turkey simultaneously with the Powers' Note and a separate communication breaking off the conference and intimating that the Commanders in the field have been instructed to terminate the armistice.

London, Jan. 15.

The exceptions taken by Germany to the Note of the Powers related to a previous draft not to the final one which has already been despatched and would probably be presented on Tuesday or to-day.

The Note of the Balkan States will naturally only take effect if the Porte refuses compliance with the advice of the Powers. It is intended to convey the direct result of such a refusal.

In an interview with Reuter's representative the delegates of the Balkan States said that they were ready to leave England immediately after delivery of the Allies' Note.

Well-informed people in London consider that a little fighting would prove the shortest way to peace, as Adrianople is not expected to be able to resist another attack.

In well-informed quarters there is little hope of avoiding a resumption of hostilities.

Evidently Constantinople is the centre of the hesitations and anxieties, to which international jealousies contribute not a little.

The National Assembly has not met nor has it been even actually convoked. The Porte is fearful of disaster from internal disruption if the Assembly decides on peace and from defeat if it decides on war.

King Ferdinand with his Ministers is proceeding to Mustafa Pasha to meet General Savoff and the Commanders of the four Bulgarian armies.

London, Jan. 16.

An Athens telegram states that the Turkish cruiser Medjidieh escaped from the Dardanelles in the fog on Tuesday night and passed unobserved through the lines of Greek destroyers guarding the entrance to the Straits. She appeared off Syria at noon yesterday and bombarded the powder and coal stores without result. She however wrecked the electric power station, and the town was in darkness last night.

The commander of the Greek auxiliary cruiser Macedonia which was moored at the quay having a rudder repaired sank his ship after landing the crew in order to prevent its being destroyed.

The Medjidieh then sailed for Asia Minor. Two persons were killed during the bombardment of the coal store.

The Allies met to consider the situation and decided to await the Porte's reply to the Powers before presenting their Note. The delegates afterwards had interviews with the Ambassadors.

The date of the presentation of the Note of the Powers at Constantinople is still uncertain. The German Ambassador is awaiting instructions.

The Porte has ordered the delegates to remain in London till the Note is presented. The delegates of the Allies yesterday decided to await the departure of the Turks before leaving.

The Bulgarian-Rumanian difficulty is still unsettled, but it is semi-officially declared in Bucharest that the negotiations are pursuing a normal course and that Rumania will not mobilise.

There are various indications that the project of a naval demonstration has been dropped owing to opposition of the Triple Alliance. It is understood that the European Ambassadors in London strongly condemned the Balkan representatives and not those of Turkey for the present circumstances. The project for a naval demonstration has therefore been dropped at any rate for the time being.

It is semi-officially stated in Rome that Italy concurs in the policy of the Triple Alliance to leave several Aegean islands to Turkey for various grave reasons. Italy maintains that if Turkey knew she was to lose all the islands she would have no interest in helping Italy to restore order in Libya under the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne which she is now doing very loyally. Moreover Italy wishes to re-establish and develop a whole network

of interests in Turkey and is therefore obliged to cultivate good relations with her. The statement says this may be resented by Greece, but Italy can support Greece in other matters.

A semi-official communication published in Athens enumerates repeated pro-Greek demonstrations in the Aegean Islands including the Islands occupied by Italy which it says the Italians have in every case rigorously suppressed.

In view of the reports that there are ten thousand destitute Moslems in Monastir and that thousands of others are suffering extreme hardships around Adrianople and Tchatakia, and further that women and children are starving in villages in Thrace, it has been decided after a meeting of the committee of the Mansion House Relief Fund that a fresh appeal should be made. It is estimated that at least fifty thousand sterling is required to touch even the fringe of the distress. Up to the present only £10,730 has been subscribed.

Alleged Outrages by the Allies. The Bulgarian Record.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Salonica, Dec. 16.

It is to be hoped that peace will speedily be concluded, as the present strained relations between Greeks and Bulgars are fraught with danger. Some incidents have already ended fatally. The other day, for example, a Greek soldier entering a tramcar brushed against a Bulgarian soldier who had already found a place. The Bulgarian snatched off the Greek's cap and trampled it under foot. The Greek drew his bayonet and killed the Bulgarian.

A Bulgarian band chief named Dumbulakoff is terrorising, pillaging, and murdering Greeks and Turks alike in the Nigrita district, to the north-east of Salonica. He is reported to have entered the Greek church of Ligovani during service, which he interrupted, instructing the priest to pray in future exclusively for the Tsar Ferdinand and to omit the name of the Greek King from his prayers. Dumbulakoff took the Turkish villagers of Ligovani outside the village and made them a target for the rifles of his band, the Greek military "authorities" not daring to interfere because they were too weak and they had been ordered to avoid quarrels with their allies.

Six Mussalmans (four men, a woman, and a child) were found murdered on Saturday morning just outside Salonica.

A Correspondent sends to the "Near East" the account of a curious incident of the war in which five Bulgar komitadjis are alleged to have forced the Ottoman Kaimakam to surrender Cavalla which is a garrisoned town of some 30,000 inhabitants. He suggests that there was a small Slav element of some 150 Bulgars in Cavalla, who had been done away with before the war broke out by the strong and fanatical Greek element in the town with the complicity of the Greek Metropolitan, and that what followed this unbelievable surrender of all the Moslems and Greeks to five Bulgars was done out of revenge for the fate of the 150 Bulgars. He writes:—

"In Cavalla no organised massacres took place. A list of suspects had long been made—some for being connected with the disappearance of the Bulgars, others for acts of oppression and betrayal in the long-drawn-out struggles between the bands in past years.

"Every day prominent Moslems, turbulent Cretan boatmen—the scum of the population—and leading Jews were called away from their houses and led off to a lonely spot near Cavalla where a small building stands on a piece of rising ground. Behind the hill a large ditch had been dug. The one hundred and fifty odd that in batches of twos and threes, had been escorted to the hillcock have never related what passed within the building. But their bodies, pierced through and through with bayonet thrust, lie heaped up in that ditch, and tell eloquently what their lips can never say."

The following Greek semi-official telegram from Salonica has been published in Athens:—

The detailed inquiry with regard to excesses and crimes committed by the Bulgarian Army shows that they constitute a cause for the disturbances reported during the first days after the surrender of Salonica. According to this inquiry the excesses of the Bulgarians can be divided into three categories—1, damage to property; 2, crimes against the life and honour of private persons, especially Turks; and 3, offences—and these were the less frequent—due to misdirected political interest.

In the majority of cases Bulgarian soldiers and peasants gave themselves up to pillaging. At Vasilkai, Agia Paraskevi, Apollonia, Alimantika, Gera, Langaia, Armatobori, Peristia, Tichani, Karaburnu, Vardar, Doiran, and Salonica pillaging and thefts of all

deeds were committed, the stolen articles including horses, goats, sheep, barley, hay, jewels and other articles of value, large sums of money, carpets, furniture, clothes, and arms. Attacks were made on Austrian subjects, and the Austrian Consulate in consequence lodged an energetic protest. Unspeakable outrages were committed at Seres and at the other towns and villages mentioned above. At Doiran, despite the protests of the municipality, the Bulgarians seized and imprisoned the rich Turkish residents, who, after having secured their liberty by the payment of enormous ransoms, were ambushed by the Bulgarians and massacred, 60 of them being killed.

The political crimes were of little importance, as the greater number of the Bulgarians ardently desire the maintenance of the Balkan Alliance, especially a Greco-Bulgarian *Entente*, safeguarding their political interests.

The Greek Record.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Dec. 14.

If anybody would tell us in what country we are really living, and are likely to live, we should be exceedingly grateful to him. For the time being, although we have some Bulgarian patrols, we are, to all intents and purposes, Greek. Letters coming via the Pirens addressed "Salonica, Turkey," have the last word obliterated by the postal authorities, and "Greece" substituted. In this connection a correspondent in a local paper very pertinently asks why, seeing the real Greeks are not a tenth of the whole population, all official notices of what we may not do are in Greek? Over nine-tenths of the people are of other nationalities, and may be breaking all manner of new rules and regulations in ignorance; whereas, the Turkish authorities had their notices printed in two or three of the local languages, so that all might understand. But if ever a brand new administration did every thing likely to set the component parts of the social edifice against one another, the present administration here is out-doing its prototype. The want of tact, of administrative adaptability, even of common sense is so amazing that one is quite disheartened when contemplating the future of this particular town should it remain under its present control. To the ordinary outsider it would seem the most elementary policy to try and conciliate the different elements of the population: the Jews, who are in the majority; the foreigners, and even the unfortunate Muhammadans. Instead of that, every element, except the Greek, is being rubbed up the wrong way, and made to suffer the greatest inconvenience and feeling of insecurity owing to the general Greek license prevailing throughout. A cock and bull story is got up against the Jews, and in the most senseless manner several are arrested and thrown into prison until the representatives of the Jewish community succeed in bringing home to the authorities the utter stupidity of the accusation. Then these latter wring their hands, say how grieved they are, and make all sorts of excuses, but the authors of the trouble remain unpunished, and all sorts of petty acts of persecution still go on. For instance, some low-class Greek accuses a Jew of having stolen his horse, his watch, his umbrella, even on a rainy day, his—whatever article he covets for the moment; whereupon, the Jew is tried up and "run in," and the Greek is allowed to go off with what he wanted. When appealed to, the authorities say, "But what are we to do?" The reply to this, of course, is, "Learn what your subordinates are doing, leave the Jews alone in peace, and maintain order among your own people. And if a Greek accuses a Jew of doing this, that or the other, run them both in, and have the thing at once thrashed out before a magistrate; punishing the guilty one, whether Greek or Jew, instead of letting the former go off with his plunder and punishing the latter."

A Jew, known to your correspondent, had a small coffee house, and playing therein at backgammon, as is the custom in almost every coffee-house in the East, were a Turk and a Jew. In stopped some gendarmes, who accused the tenant of allowing gambling in his coffee-house; trussed him like a fowl for roasting, and marched him off to prison, where he has remained for three weeks, during which time his little place has been sacked and his money appropriated. Fortunately, an influential Jewish gentleman, known to the King, took up the case, and brought it before the higher authorities, who, at least, knew nothing about it, but who maintained it was impossible under the enlightened laws of Greece that a man could be kept in prison for such a length of time without a hearing. The hopeless part of all these cases—and there are far too many such—is that when the authorities are appealed to about them they seem to express all manner of regrets, and piteously ask: "But what are we to do?" The fact is, they do not seem to have any sort of organisation, or of impartial and just government.

Although many refugees have been sent away to Bosnia and elsewhere, a recent census showed that we had still some 100,000 here, and others have since come in. These immigrants are from some thirty-one towns and villages, the average of

twenty-nine of them working out to 514 souls. The other two, Istip and Kotehassa, where took place the massacre of Christians two or three months ago, show 6,827 for the former and 6,605 for the latter. These figures speak for themselves, and leave no need for any official inquiry as to what really took place in those two towns; the inhabitants knew the revenge that awaited them and they fled. All the same, they are now being sheltered, fed, and cared for by the British Red Cross Society in an encampment some three or four miles outside the town, where they will probably have to be kept all through the winter, as they dare not go back to their now ruined homes. What the Bulgarians are said to have done in the east the Servians are reported to have done in the west in the district of Pristina, Philan, etc. If what is rumoured be all, or even partly, true, there is nothing to choose between the Balkan Christians and the Turks. We can only trust that what is related is false.

(FROM THE "JEWISH CHRONICLE'S" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Dec. 25.

The Jewish community is in mourning by reason of the crowning act of a series of attacks upon Jews which have taken place during the last few days, and which have remained unpunished. Yesterday two Jewish merchants were at five o'clock in the afternoon assassinated by Sellenes (? Hellenes) in the open street. Consternation prevails among the whole Jewish community. There are being organised imposing funerals as a mark of protest and indignation.

Alleged Turkish Outrages.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Gallipoli, Dec. 16.

It has been repeatedly stated during the past few days that since the arrival of Laz and Kurd troops in the Gallipoli district massacres and the burning of villages have taken place almost daily. In spite of the notorious turbulence of the soldiery from the Black Sea, one is slow to take these reports seriously. The majority of the population of this district consist of Greek Christians, and, unfortunately for his own cause, the Greek Christian has shown again and again that he is always on the look-out for profit from the over-ready sympathy of Europe and is always ready to represent as purposeful cruelty and oppression, misfortunes which are sure to befall any community, Moslem or Christian, in a country such as Turkey in time of war.

Nevertheless, though I came to Gallipoli in a spirit of scepticism, I am now bound to admit that the peasantry of this region have been and are still being abominably misused by the troops stationed here. I am not at the time of writing in possession of lists of casualties such as would justify my speaking of a "massacre" because the murders of which I can speak with certainty are of a more or less sporadic nature. But it is quite possible that the very circumstantial reports of wholesale slaughter in six Christian villages are based upon truth, for, up to the present, the people of these villages are unaccounted for. It was first reported on November 28 that the hamlets of Mavrea, Buramitch, Karatchali, Almali, Grabusa, and Keshan had been burnt. The work was variously ascribed to Bulgarian *komitadjis*, and—with more appearance of probability—to Laz *soldateska*—bands of deserters from the Turkish Army, who have formed limited liability brigand companies and have been terrorizing the countryside for a long time. In any case the fate of the wretched villagers is unknown. They may have fled to the mountains; or they may have been butchered as they tried to escape from their burning homes.

Another occurrence, which may, when details can be obtained, come under the head of massacre, and is of a more serious nature in that it would appear to involve more responsible persons than undisciplined *Reglars*, took place only the day before yesterday. This was the bombardment of the village of Sharkeni. In this case firing seems to have been heard from the hills behind the village, whereupon a Turkish warship was informed that the place was being attacked by Bulgarian *komitadjis*. The commander, according to several Greek witnesses, took on board all Moslem women and the local Turkish authorities and forthwith opened fire upon the barracks. These barracks were then inhabited by persons whose homes had been destroyed in the earthquake. They had lodged there since August. Many of them are said to have been killed and wounded. They are all Greek Christians, as is almost the entire population of Sharkeni. These, then, are the only two charges of anything approaching the scale of massacre, and there has not yet been sufficient circumstantial evidence to prove either of them. But I mention them because, in

the light of atrocities which I already know to be beyond all doubt, they are more than likely to contain at least a substratum of truth.

The whole province of Gallipoli—i.e., the whole peninsula on this side of the Dardanelles—is terrorized by the most unruly troops in the whole Ottoman Army. Not only are the ill-disciplined Lazs and Kurds from Trebizond and Erzurum stationed here but the notorious Adana battalion, the self-styled "Kassap Taburu" (Butcher regiment), which played a great part in the Adana massacres of 1909, is posted on the heights above Iyrgos. Two companies of these fellows have already made a kind of visting round through the neighbouring Greek villages, in the course of which they have amply sustained their evil reputation. A very significant evidence of the conduct of the troops in this neighbourhood is the open sale in cafés and in the streets of Gallipoli of spoons, brasswork, trays, shawls, and such goods, which can only be looted from the farms and small shops of neighbouring hamlets. A Laz irregular, offering for sale a couple of dozen gaudy shawls at a tenth of their value, is hardly likely to convince any impartial purchaser that what he sells he came by in the ordinary course of his military duties. Silver spoons, clocks, and cheap cameras are not included in the equipment of the Ottoman soldier. Yet I could buy any of these at an incriminating price from almost any soldier in this neighbourhood within half an hour from now. The village is already full of fugitives, and to question these is, almost invariably, to elicit a tale of unprovable, but not incredible, atrocities committed by the soldiery.

Without having recourse to witnesses such as these, whose testimony cannot be proved, I can give instances of crimes committed against the employees of reputable Europeans living here. Last Friday a Greek named Yanni, an old servant of the French Vice-Consul here, was arrested on no pretext in the market place of Gallipoli. He was taken to the police-station and there apparently "interrogated" as to the whereabouts of a Greek named Kyriako, reputed to be wealthy. Yanni was his neighbour and was believed to be in his confidence and to know, if not his whereabouts, at least where his money was hidden. According to the statement of his widow, who told me her story this morning in the presence of the Vice-Consul, Yanni knew the whereabouts neither of the man nor of his money, and could not therefore have given any information about either. It is not known what form the "interrogatory" at the hands of the soldiery took. The woman did not see her husband for four days after his arrest. She then went to the Kamakam to ask for his release. There was no charge against the man. He was a quiet drudge of a fellow, who never mixed in politics and rarely left his farm unless to go to market. The Kamakam pleaded inability to interfere with the doings of the military. On Wednesday Yanni was dead. His widow described the appearance of his body to me as follows—"He was stripped except for a shirt and his boots and a handkerchief round his head. His arms were bound on his back. They were black. His throat had been cut and the blood from it had soaked the handkerchief."

An equally brutal murder was that of two employees of M. Henri d'Adriani, brother of the French Vice-Consul. These men, Alexis Nano and his son, lived at the village of Kyreski, where the elder Nano kept a small shop. He was known to be possessed of money and was killed by a band of Laz irregulars which continues to insist that district and to terrorize the peasantry. When inquiries were first made concerning the death of the two men, the Turkish authorities denied all knowledge. Later it was given out that Nano and his son, being found abroad at night after the hour at which martial law decrees that all civilians must remain indoors, were shot by the patrol. As a matter of fact, eye-witnesses declare that the man's house was broken open by the soldiers after he had locked himself up in it, and that he and his son were dragged out into the street and there decapitated. Cases of the beating and torture of villagers to make them give up money are common. It is the practice of the soldiery to force an entry into houses, under the pretext of searching for hidden weapons, and thereafter to steal or destroy as they please. There is no remedy.

Some days ago the French Vice-Consul reported to the civil authorities here that the bodies of three men were lying by the roadside at some little distance from the town. He asked that they should be identified, believing that they might be the bodies of French subjects. In reply he was smilingly told that he was under a delusion. The "bodies" were the carcasses of dead bullocks and had already been removed. Two days ago three bodies, now quite unrecognizable, were washed up by the sea.

It needs only a visit of a few hours to this district to show that the non-combatant peasants are in a state of terror, and investigation proves that, with all allowance for Greek timidity and disingenuousness, that terror is well founded. There is no doubt that the people are being robbed, tortured, and killed every day. The important question remains, is the treatment to which they are subjected merely the outcome of lack of discipline among the troops, or is it—for this is the theory seriously advanced by

responsible persons here—part of a deliberate attempt on the part of the authorities to fill the place of the Greek element with Turkish fugitive peasants from the interior? One hesitates to give any credence to this charge, which seems characteristic of the Greek mind; yet one is almost overcome by the series of circumstances which lend it strength. It has long been a grievance with the Turks that both agriculture and commerce in this fertile province are mainly in Greek hands. The soil, favourable to viticulture, affords little scope for the growth of cereals. Moslem agricultural industry is therefore hampered, while the Christian thrives. In towns and villages, as elsewhere, the Turkish shopkeeper or small trader has no chance against the Greek. There is not a Turkish merchant in all Gallipoli. The fact that Greek has ousted Turk here has more than once been unfavourably commented on by Turkish officials. At the present moment, when destitute Turkish fugitives are still pouring in from Thrace and Macedonia, there is some chance of repopulating this province with Turkish stock. To do this one must thin the Christian population; and the unshakeable conviction of Greeks here is that this is being deliberately done by turning loose the unruly companies of Kurds and Lazs. Chance can hardly be responsible for this assembly of the most fanatical and turbulent Turkish troops in the district of all others where they have no sympathy with the population. The Greeks here naturally sympathize with the Hellenic cause. They would not be human if they did not. The troops stationed here would at the best entertain strong race and religious antipathies towards them. At present these antipathies are at the highest pitch. Nothing has been done to soften them. A massacre on a large scale would, as the Christians say, make room for a Moslem population, and, whether that is to come or not, murder, robbery, torture, and theft are daily committed by the Kurd and the Laz.

Gallipoli, Dec. 17.

Seven Jews, fugitives from Sharkeni, are here, having come in a small boat, leaving behind them all goods and merchandize; and bringing a detailed account of the bombardment and killing of villagers which took place five days ago. They say that on December 12 five envoys from a band of *komitadjis* came to Sharkeni and called upon the Governor to surrender the village. Their comrades, reputed to be over a thousand strong, were lying up in the hills behind Sharkeni, awaiting an answer, and prepared to attack if no surrender were made. It appears that the Governor temporized with the envoys, and immediately telegraphed for help to Gallipoli, whence 850 Lazs were sent off in a gunboat. According to the Jewish fugitives these men had no sooner disembarked than they began firing right and left among the villagers. The testimony of the fugitives has been embodied by the French Vice-Consul in a report, and, save in respect of the numbers killed and wounded, bears the stamp of truth.

It is more than probable that the *komitadjis* band contained numbers of Greek insurgents; probably the former inhabitants of Keshan, Mavres, and the rest of that string of depopulated villages to which I referred in my last message. There are, beyond doubt, many gangs of Christian *franca-tireurs* who ally themselves with the Bulgarian *komitadjis*. This may explain why the Lazs, on their arrival, went to work as though they had been sent, not to defend the village, but to suppress a rising of the villagers. They are said to have killed and wounded between 50 and 60 harmless people, and to have robbed everyone worth robbing. The *komitadjis* opened fire from their position on the hills, accounting for five or six of the Lazs; and the gunboat, having taken on board the Governor, the official staff and a number of Moslem women, joined in the fray, bombarding the hills, and, incidentally, the barracks in which the peasants had taken refuge. In the evening the Laz soldiery were re-embarked and the boat went away. Since then 300 more Lazs have been sent overland to Sharkeni.

The reply of local Turkish officialdom to charges of theft and murder made against the troops is interesting. Yesterday I called on the chief civil and military authorities of Gallipoli, and, without breaching the subject myself, was told that in the first place (khan, heaven!) there had been no outrages here; and that, in the second, regrettable incidents of that kind always did take place in time of war. The somewhat Irish charm of this unsolicited confidence was enhanced by an inquiry as to whether I had not come across evidence of similar atrocities committed by the Bulgarians.

I should have liked to test the truth of these denials and explanations, but instead I am forbidden to visit any of the villages from which come stories of murder, robbery, and burning. Neither may I visit any of the districts of the interior in which the troops complained of are stationed. I may only ride abroad under the escort of two mounted gendarmes; and these men are very definitely instructed as to what I may be permitted and what I may not be permitted to see. So, even with ostentation, they led me out yesterday, through deserted vineyards, past empty farmsteads, across country now suggesting forlorn and tattered Turkish landscapes, and

revealing mountain country finer than the north of Wales, until at last we came into a village, Kabakli.

At Kabakli some thirty Greek souls remain. The hamlet, large and straggling, was much dismantled by the earthquake of July. A battalion of Turkish soldiers is camped here; but these men are the old Redifs. Neither Laz nor Kurd is to be found within a great distance of Kabakli. I wished to visit some station of the Laas. I should have liked to go to Bulair, because there, I know, things have happened which it is well worth the while of the Turks to conceal. However, my escort had their orders, and might not take me there. Instead, I was encouraged to question the villagers of Kabakli. True to their breed, these latter are inveterate tale-bearers. But they had nothing worse to tell of the troops quartered among them than that they were apt to take fodder, straw, and fuel without paying. Throughout my visit to this village I had a discreditable but persistent suspicion that I had been brought as a school-inspector may artlessly be brought into contact with the most promising class. The refusal to let me visit the Laas encampments, or the villages of Bulair, Sharkeni, Mavres, and the rest of the scenes of so-called "massacres" is in itself an admission that there, at least, is to be found some justification for the complaints of the Christian peasants.

Returning, I traversed the entire length of the village of Gallipoli. The earthquake has done much damage. Most of the houses still standing have cracked walls and crumpled roofs. Not a minaret remains. Many buildings are so twisted and tilted as to give the effect of a violently distorted perspective. The main street is badly out of drawing. But earthquake effects are hardly responsible for the fact that a good half of the shops and houses still standing are no longer inhabited. Neither can it be against another earthquake that so many of the inhabitants bar their doors, shutter their windows, and sleep with firearms loaded and ready to hand.

Some few of the men from the Black Sea shore are still posted in the town. One easily distinguishes the Laas from the ordinary Turkish soldier. The Laas is doubly and trebly belted with cartridges. He wears two knives—"throat-slitters"—in a double sheath, not unlike that of the Highlanders' *sean-dubh*; and he is never without a sword. His bearing is alertly predatory; and his rifle, even in the streets of a town, never leaves his hand. I passed two or three groups of these men in the street, and noted that they enjoyed a decided isolation.

When I came to the house in which I am lodged my entry was a little delayed. The sound of horses hoofs and the sight of the uniforms of my escort had sent the women of the house flying to hide in the cellars, whence they emerged fearfully and with hesitation. Until my arrival here—they believe the presence of a European to be some safeguard—these Greek women have led a life of terror, cowering in rubble-choked cellars in dread—although they do not know the phrase a "brutal and licentious soldiery."

The British Attitude.

Franz Honorary Secretary of the London Moslem League has addressed the following letter to the British Press:—

The Committee of the London All-India Moslem League solicits the courtesy of your columns, to give public expression to their conviction that, having regard to Sir Edward Grey's assurance of England's absolute impartiality, a heavy responsibility lies on British publicists and politicians not to damage the prospects of peace by partisan bitterness calculated to encourage an uncompromising attitude on one side or to create resentment on the other. When a Peace Conference assembles it is with the object of finding bases of settlement on mutual compromise and conciliation. That was the rule observed when the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded, which brought to a close the Russo-Japanese War. Whilst the discussion are proceeding we conceive it to be the duty not merely of the combatants but of their respective backers to use as little provocative and minatory language as is possible. On the present occasion an important section of the Press of England, a professedly neutral country, instead of exercising moderation and a spirit of conciliation and compromise on both sides, has, whilst encouraging the winners, indulged towards the losers in language lacking in both dignity and impartiality. The Journal has been particularly unfortunate in its expressions and prejudged the discussions by referring to the haggling of the "loser."

By allowing the Conference to be held in the metropolis of the British Empire, England has constituted herself the peacemaker and in some sense the umpire in this present war. If it be her desire to prevent further hatred and suffering, the achievement of which will undoubtedly earn for her universal gratitude, she must endeavour through her Press and her public men to hold

the balance evenly. To place the Allies in a position to urge claims which the Turks cannot either with honour or with safety to themselves accede to, is helping the deliberate wrecking of the peace proposals. Turkey must concede much; but there is a point beyond which she cannot go without the loss of that honour which alone constitutes the life of a nation. To place before her the alternative of a moral death and the abandonment of what she considers to be essential for her safety, or a continuance of the war is hardly consistent with the attitude of a peacemaker.

England's neutrality in this war has been but nominal; not only have Ministers of the Crown used language calculated to encourage one set of combatants, but infractions of the King's ordinances are reported to have been permitted in disregard of the rule laid down in the "Alabama" case.

The council of the All-India Moslem League a little while ago adopted at Lucknow a resolution that the Guild-hall speech of the Prime Minister "had shocked the feelings of the loyal Muhammadan subjects of the Empire." These words have drawn upon the Council, from a quarter usually considered as the champion of fair play, the following remark: "It strikes me that these worthy people had better get over their shock as soon as they can."

We have no doubt that the Council of that great and representative Moslem organisation have already recovered from the shock, but will England recover as quickly what she has lost—the confidence and trust of the Moslem peoples in the sense of justice of the British nation?

The French Attitude.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Dec. 22.

Statement by M. Poincaré.

THE declarations of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Poincaré, in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate yesterday were chiefly remarkable for four points. The first was the information by which he supplemented the statement issued in London regarding the results of the Ambassadors' deliberations. Regarding the future of Albania, he said textually:—"It is agreed that the autonomy of Albania constituted under the sovereignty, or, rather, I think, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, shall be under the supervision of (*contrôle par*) the Great Powers, including France." Regarding the Serbian port on the Adriatic, he said textually:—"It is likewise agreed that the port opened to Serbia on Albanian territory shall be free and neutral, and it shall be served by an international railway under the same European supervision, with freedom of transit for all merchandise, including munitions of war. Serbia will besides have the benefit of freedom from Customs duties."

M. Poincaré was able to state that all the Great Powers were disposed to accept these proposals, and he thought he could add that Serbia would follow their advice. He was therefore justified in asserting that the Ambassadors seemed to have succeeded in eliminating one of the chief causes of European discord.

The rest of the Prime Minister's statement in the Chamber was mainly a very clear and able survey of the course of the crisis up to date. He took occasion to emphasize the persistence and efficacy of the Russian alliance and *Entente* with Great Britain, and also the fact that none of the Powers of the Triple *Entente* had desired to complicate the difficulties of the hour by systematically opposing to one another the two great political groups. Throughout the speech there was a manifest strain of sympathy for the Balkan States, and speaking of Serbia M. Poincaré said:—"If in the interest of the peace of Europe she is asked to sacrifice some of her ambitions, it is, to say the least, just and necessary to obtain for her full room to live and breathe."

He concluded by calling attention to the danger of general conflagration, which might result from the rupture of negotiation between the Balkan Allies and Turkey. In case of rupture Europe would doubtless revert to her original idea of mediation, which, it will be remembered, was formulated under the auspices of M. Poincaré himself. France in any case would continue to support with all her might, and, if necessary, to evoke the endeavours of the Powers on behalf of peace. At the same time she remained firmly determined to defend her interests and her rights, to maintain "the great traditions of France in the East, and safeguard, above all, that sacred heritage, the national honour."

It had been supposed that M. Poincaré would delay for some days his statement on foreign affairs to the Senate, but he evidently thought it best to complete what is always a difficult task at once. In the Senate his references to the aspirations and achievements of the Balkan nationalities were even more emphatic than in the

Chamber. He traced the rise of modern Serbia from the patriotic ideas of Misa Garaschavine in 1844, through the efforts of Michael Obrenovitch, after 1860, and recalled how those aspirations had appealed to Frenchmen like Lamartine, Michelet, Victor Hugo, and Gambetta, and he referred to an enthusiastic letter written by Gambetta on the Serbian question in 1874. France would be denying her generous traditions if she did not regard with sympathy the efforts of these rising nations. The most natural and most equitable solution of the problem—the solution which offered the best prospects of permanence and stability—was that the Balkans should henceforth belong to the Balkan peoples—the Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Servians, the Montenegrins, and the Albanians.

He reminded Turkey that although she must now inevitably lose a very great part of her European territory, she would still have a flourishing Empire of considerable extent in Asia, and that she ought to concentrate her efforts and her hopes upon that Empire, a course which would enable her to live on terms of friendship with the great European Powers, and particularly with France. In this connexion he advised Turkey to give heed to the representations which for many months past the French Ambassador in Constantinople had been making in agreement with the Powers in favour of reforms in the Lebanon. "I need hardly tell the Senate," he continued, "that in the Lebanon, and particularly in Syria, we have traditional interests, and that we mean to see that they are respected." There had been no differences between the British and French Governments on this point. "The British Government has declared to us in a very friendly manner that it has no intention of acting, and that it has neither political designs nor aspirations of any kind in these regions." The French Government was very firmly determined to maintain in Asia the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but it would not abandon any of its traditions in that part of the world, it would not repudiate any of the sympathies which it had acquired there, it would not allow any of its interests there to suffer. If war unhappily were reopened in the Balkans France would resume without discouragement her effort for conciliation. She would do her best to prevent the conflagration from extending to the rest of Europe, but at the same time she would remain ready with patriotic energy to defend against any assault her influence in the East and the prestige of the French name.

The "Times" Support.

The "Times" supports M. Poincaré's statements about French interests in Syria in a leading article. It says:—"We are glad that M. Poincaré has specifically denied that there have been any differences between Great Britain and France in regard to Syria and the Lebanon. The British Government, he was able to assure the Senate, have declared to the French Government in a very friendly form that they have neither political designs nor aspirations of any kind there. This statement, it may be hoped, will put an end to the systematic circulation in certain French newspapers of the wild stories of British intrigue in these regions, which they have made a prominent feature in their issues since the beginning of the present crisis."

French Claims in Syria.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Dec. 23.

The reference in your leading article to-day to M. Poincaré's observations on the subject of the special French interests in Syria and the Lebanon causes great satisfaction, and the *Temps* fires a kind of *feu joyeux* in the shape of a two and a-half column article on the subject of France and Syria. After once more noting M. Poincaré's declaration regarding the attitude of the British Government, the *Temps* proceeds:—

French opinion will, no doubt, consider it a great success to have obtained from Great Britain so distinct a recognition of French interests in Syria and in the Lebanon. All those who are acquainted with the affairs of the East have long desired that a conversation on this subject should be opened between Paris and London, and no one could have wished for a more favourable issue of that conversation.

A sketch is given of the recent efforts of France to assert her influence in Syria, and it appears that in 1905 Sir Edward Grey and M. Paul Cambon had "worked out various agreements on this subject." The French Embassy at Constantinople, however, declared that these could not be carried out. What M. Poincaré now has in view is, to begin with, to ensure the execution of the scheme of reforms in the Lebanon. According to the *Temps*, the French Embassy at Constantinople "seems never to have understood the general bearing of this scheme any more than it appears to realize what French policy in Syria ought to be." It is pointed out that the elected Council of the Lebanon has 12 members, of whom eight were elected in consequence of the support of French diplomacy, but none of the eight speaks French. Similarly, the last *ad interim* President of the Lebanon Council, "who was also maintained by

French support," did not know a word of French. Yet French, it is claimed, is the official language, and was formerly employed in the correspondence of the Governor with the Porte. French diplomacy has not even succeeded in obtaining in reasonable time the names of the candidates proposed by the Porte for the Governorship. The new statute, drawn up by the Porte with the help of the last Governor, Yussuf Franco, in response to complaints of the Lebanon Committees, is described as most unsatisfactory. The leading Maronites, "devoted to the French cause," do not find their attitude or the "moral and material instruments which they hold in reserve" appreciated or turned to proper account by French diplomacy. M. Poincaré is going to change all that, and the *Temps* thinks that his policy in obtaining British assurances regarding the special nature of French interests in those regions, "which are, above all, moral interests," represents "good diplomatic business, wisely conceived and methodically pursued."

Three weeks ago the *Temps* published a letter from Beirut on British propaganda in Syria containing most extraordinary charges with regard to the action of the commander of the cruiser "Barham," anchored off Tripoli, in Syria, who told the Governor that if he had to land bluejackets they would only be relieved by British troops, who would come to stay. It was further stated that Lord Kitchener's secretary had been at Beirut and had visited Damascus, Jaffa, and Haifa, where meetings of Mussalmans were held in his presence. Everywhere the object in view was a rising, massacres, and an appeal for British intervention. The French colony and the French Syrian *protégés* were deeply stirred by this "audacious propaganda," which they were vigorously resisting with the desire that France should permit no change in the traditional connexion.

It is not stated whether the *Temps* gave any credence to these reports or whether they are connected with its satisfaction at M. Poincaré's declarations. Curiously enough, the *Excelsior* yesterday published illustrations of "the French influence in Syria"—reproductions of photographs showing a reception of the battleship Henri IV. by the Maronite Patriarch and that vessel anchored at Beirut.

New Governor of the Lebanon.

Constantinople, Dec. 23.

The Ambassadors of the Great Powers and Nuradunghian Effendi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to-day signed the protocol of the Lebanon Convention. Ohannes Bey Kouyoumjian, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, an Armenian and a Catholic, has been appointed Governor of the Lebanon for five years, with the approval of the six Powers.

The protocol introduces various modifications in the Organic Statute of the Province. It makes certain alterations in the mode of elections to the Administrative Council, the membership of which is increased by the addition of a Maronite delegate for the district of Dar-ul-Kamar and a Druse delegate for the district of the Shouf. The Budget is submitted to the control of the Administrative Council, and the police force is increased to a total of 1,200 men. The protocol further declares the old accounts with the Government to be the subject of definite liquidation. In a separate note the opening of the two ports is agreed to—one for the Maronites and the other for the Druses.

The Lebanon Militia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Dec. 26.

The *Temps*, which is evidently "partant pour la Syrie," returns to the subject of the new statute for Lebanon, and has a great many more or less relevant criticisms to pass upon it. One of the things which it notices is that the increased Lebanon militia is to have attached to it "one of the foreign officers entrusted with the reorganization of the Gendarmerie in Turkey." Now the majority of these officers are Italians or Germans. The *Temps* would hope that "there has been no thought of confiding to any save Frenchmen the duty of instructing the Lebanon militia. The first instructors of that militia were French officers directly called in by the Lebanon. Did no one know this in French quarters at Constantinople? Was there any reason for fresh arrangements inferior to the old arrangements? Let the Lebanon have the free disposal of its resources, and it will police itself."

It will be seen that these criticisms, like some preceding ones, take the form of an attack on the French Embassy at Constantinople.

Naval Engagements.

(FROM THE "ENGLAND HERALD" CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, Dec. 15.

I have just arrived in Smyrna from Constantinople and am in a position to deny the reports spread concerning the Turkish fleet.

We saw the Torghout Reiss in perfect condition at Nagara.

On the night of the 13th, four torpedo boats went out of the straits; we met them coming on the morning of 14th.

On the 14th at 11 A. M. the Medjidie went out alone, we were following. She went out at full speed as far as the eastern shore of Imbros and returned shortly afterwards and waited under Capo Hellas.

Eight Greek torpedo boats came up. After a furious cannonade, the Medjidie made them turn tail. Two of them were damaged, I believe, as steam was rising. Later, two other torpedo boats and one submarine came out full speed, hacked up by the rest of the torpedo flotilla. There was a regular pandemonium of firing and then sudden silence and a big black cloud rising off the Sea.

The Medjidie put up a splendid fight against 10 torpedo boats and 1 submarine. It is a pity she did not retire after having beaten 8 torpedo boats off in the first engagement. She could have done so with honour and also it would then have encouraged the rest of the fleet to dash out on another day.

If only some of the other boats that remained skulking in safety at Nagara had been in attendance with her it might have been a very different story.

(THE "AGENCE OTTOMANE.")

According to a telegram addressed by the Commander of the fleet to the Generalissimo, the Turkish fleet made a victorious sortie from the Dardanelles on the 16th December.

The Turkish squadron went out of the straits towards half past eight in the morning and engaged the Greek fleet. An artillery duel took place at distances ranging from 3,200 to 7,750 metres. The battle lasted an hour and a half and the "Averoff" was struck by 3 or 4 Turkish projectiles, and some of her guns were silenced. The Greek fleet eventually fled in the direction of the Piræus.

The Turkish men-of-war sustained no damage and the officers and men displayed great courage in the accomplishment of their duty.

(REUTERS'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Dec. 20

The late Grand Vizier, Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, yesterday presented to the Sultan the commander of the battleship Kheyr ed-Din Barbarossa, who gave His Majesty details of the recent naval engagement with the Greeks off the Dardanelles. The Sultan expressed himself greatly pleased with the behaviour of the Turkish officers and men, and ordered his salutations to be conveyed to them. At the same time he presented the Kheyr ed Din Barbarossa with the historic flag which was flown by the battleship Mahmudieh when she bombarded Sevastopol.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Dec. 19.

Interest in the war with Greece has been stimulated by the naval demonstration made by the Greek fleet off the Dardanelles on Monday. The Turkish fleet steamed out of the Straits in the early morning and was fired upon first by some Greek small craft, and later by the main Greek squadron, including the "Averoff." According to eye-witnesses who watched the fight from foreign merchantmen or passenger steamers and from the shore, the fire of the Turkish fleet was not very accurate, but that of the Greeks was detestably bad. In fact, during the hour and a half of firing that followed the emergence of the Turkish fleet they scored only one hit, and that a trivial one, on the Turkish flagship. Finally they withdrew. The "Averoff" seems to have been hit, though the nature and extent of the damage, if any, that was done her is a matter for conjecture. The whole affair was unimportant from the military point of view, but has cheered up the Turkish fleet, which now realises that the Greeks are the reverse of expert gunners. One of the passenger steamers which watched the engagement carried on board the Indian Red Crescent Mission, composed of Moslem and Brahman doctors, which has since arrived here. Its arrival has been saluted by the Turkish Press as a further proof of the sympathies of Hindustan for the Ottoman cause.

Turkish Successes.

It is officially announced that according to a telegram received from the commander of the forces at Jannina, the Greek sustained considerable losses in the battle which quite recently took place on the Hondrahi Derelki line to the east of Jannina. The Greek were driven back in the direction of Paps Kenpru and Kanber Agha.

The Greek forces were composed of two regiments of infantry, numerous bands and a battery of mountain artillery.

According to a telegram from the Commander of the Western Army under date December 13, the Turks made a violent attack against the enemy's forces landed at Ayia Saranta which retreated in great disorder after having sustained severe losses.

The forces of the enemy consisted of regulars and bands with a battery of mountain artillery and machine-guns.

At the time of telegraphing the Ottoman forces were pursuing the Greeks in the direction of Santi Quaranta and Himara.

According to a Vienna telegram to the "Agence Ottomane," advices from Cattaro report that it may be taken for granted that Scutari will not surrender. The re-victualling of the Montenegrins is becoming extremely difficult if not impossible.

The Campaign in Epirus.

The Hellenic military authorities have communicated some details concerning the recent movements in the only remaining theatre of operations south of Scutari in the west. After their defeat last month at Monastir by the Servians the Turks drew off southward in the direction of Koritza and Yanina. The retreating Turks were hard pressed by the Greeks near Florina and lost a number of guns and prisoners, but succeeded in rallying at Koritza, which they occupied in some strength. Ali Riza Pasha, after restoring the Turkish organization at Koritza, marched south to Yanina with some 20,000 Regulars. Djavid Pasha was left with about the same number at Koritza, but on December 13 or 14 he also retired upon Yanina with 5,000 men. The remainder of the Turks, two days later, attacked the Greek cavalry at Bikhista. They were repulsed, and the Hellenic troops, concentrating from Florina and from Kastoria via Kostenitza, attacked the Turks, who held the crest of the Morava Planina and the Zangoni gorge. The Greek attack was made on December 19, and after suffering considerable losses the Hellenic Army under General Dumanos forced the defile and drove the Turks south and west beyond Koritza, which was occupied in force. Part of the defeated army retired in the direction of Yanina being pursued by the Greeks, but the majority dispersed among the hills. Three of the few remaining Turkish guns were captured.

In the Yanina district Essad Pasha's force of between 10,000 and 12,000 Regulars, reinforced by the remnants of the two Turkish armies from the north under Ali Riza Pasha and Djavid Pasha, had intrenched itself in a crescent-shaped position to the south of Yanina, the two horns of the crescent resting on the mountains to the north of that place. The Turkish lines ran through Bezhani, Rapsista, Peristeri, Bezduni, and Kastritza. To the south of these lay the Greeks under General Sapountzakis, between Dodona and Kritovo, with a small mixed force under Riciotti Garibaldi at Drisko on the Yanina-Metsovo road. On December 20, 21, and 22 the Turks made a series of attacks on the Hellenic lines. On the first day there was serious fighting on the Greek left at Dodona, and after a whole day's engagement, during which the Greek divisional commander lost his only son and Djavid Pasha is believed to have been killed, the Turks were repulsed, on the second day (Saturday) the attack was general all along the line, but again the Turks were unsuccessful, and on Sunday a final assault on the Greek centre at St. Nicholas led to the same result. The Turks have now retired behind their positions, and the Greeks are expecting their Northern Army to advance from Koritza, while further reinforcements are moving westwards along the Metsovo road towards Drisko. The campaign in Epirus thus bids fair to be localized within a few days in an investment of the last remaining Turkish Field Force in Europe in the immediate vicinity of Yanina.

A Terrible Incident at Derkos.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

When an army is holding a defended front of nearly 40 miles it is almost impossible to have at once an accurate and detailed account of all that happens during any given phase of the operations. The staff of the army itself is as often as not at sea. It is therefore only to be expected that certain incidents during the fighting at the Tchatalja Lines should only be coming out now. Reports from Constantinople state that on the 17th of last month the Bulgarians began their attack upon the Turkish lines with a very heavy morning assault upon the most advanced fort at the northern end of the lines. At the time very little was said about the happenings on this flank. Both the Bulgarians and the Turks had reason to keep quiet concerning the early morning incident. The country just south of the Derkos inlet is very broken, hilly, and wooded. The approaches, therefore, to the Derkos fort are masked by a large area of scrub, which it would be impossible for any army to clear satisfactorily. Before it was light on the morning of the 17th a company of Bulgarians crept up the glades and overpowered the night outposts. They bayoneted every living soul in the work.

There was a thick fog at the time. The Bulgarians had barely established themselves in this bloody manner when the Turkish commandant, who for some reason had been away during the night, returned to this post. He and his adjutant, when he reached the reverse of the work, realised that something was wrong. Hidden by the mist they galloped back to the camp where the fortress reserves were lying. The reserve of this particular work was a Kurdish battalion which has just arrived from Anatolia. On hearing the commandant's fears the Colonel of the Kurdish battalion called out his command and, under cover of the mist, marched his men silently to the reverse of the work. They in turn fell upon the Bulgarians, who were resting upon their success and piling the dead bodies of the garrison up as a breastwork. It needs no special powers to imagine how the Kurds took vengeance.

Before the work was retaken the Bulgarians had sent back word of their success. Shortly after daybreak a wind sprang up from the direction of the Black Sea and blew the mists away. The head of the Bulgarian brigade debouched from the cover of the Darkos woods and began to march confidently up to the position which they believed was theirs. The Kurdish colonel had been waiting for this, and his rifles dealt a fearful punishment to the Bulgarian brigade.

Red Crescent Work at Constantinople.

The following is an extract from a letter received by the President of the British Red Crescent Society from Dr. Clemow, Physician to the British Embassy at Constantinople—

I should like to add a word of the very warmest appreciation of the work that the Turkish Red Crescent Society has done here. One of the members told me a day or two ago that he had heard that some unfavourable mention of it had been made in some English paper or papers. I cannot conceive anything more unjust or contrary to the fact. The Society has acted with an untiring zeal that has aroused the admiration of all of us here; it has co-operated in the most generous way with the various local and foreign organisations for helping the wounded and sufferers from this terrible war; and it would be a monstrous thing that any adverse criticism of its work should be published in England, or, if published, that it should remain without contradiction. Should you hear any adverse criticism I would beg you to contradict it, not only on my authority, but also on that of the members of the British Red Cross Mission here, who are as annoyed as myself that such false statements should be made.

December 14, 1912.

(Sd) F. G. CLEWOW.

British Relief Work at Constantinople.

The following is an extract from a letter from Lady Lowther to H. E. the Viceroy, dated the 12th December, 1912, which His Excellency has kindly sent to us—

In the midst of the severe task which we have taken upon ourselves your sympathy and help is the greatest encouragement.

We have about 3,000 women and children, destitute soldiers' families, whose bread-winner is at the front, wounded or dead. We have 3,000 women and children refugees in mosques and camping near the gates and 2,000 women and children under our "Special Refugees Sub-Committee" lodged in houses and places where we can have complete control and care of them—and which we hope to increase to over 5,000—and to keep alive through the winter.

We have, with the kind efforts of all, collected over £18,000, the largest sum I believe collected in this war for a single country, but it is small compared to the numbers—the Prefect reports 150,000 refugees who need what he can give—however, half-naked, half-starving as they are—impossible as it may seem.

Only this evening I heard of several hundred refugee women and children abandoned on the icy hills between the town and Tchataldja, without food or shelter for days—too weak to struggle on.

Alas, it is a city of horrors, though it smiles like a city of dreams.

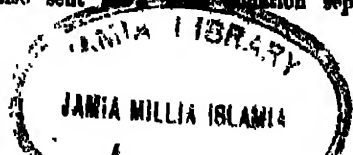
Fighting appears very simple to those outside the area; it is only we—in the heart of the volcano—who know what pain and despair comes with it. As our need is great, so our gratitude is great. Will you be so very good as to cause to be conveyed to Lord Carmichael and to Lord Pentland all my sincerest thanks, also to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad whose noble gift is truly appreciated and to Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur whose Begum also sent some most generous donation separately acknowledged.

May I add also Sir George Roos-Keppel and all the other subscribers mentioned in your list of November 18th, 1912.

I wish I could thank them myself, but the relief and joy their kindness is bringing to shivering and starving thousands will be a greater reward than any gratitude I can express.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

Wali-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Maksudpur	10	0	0
Amzur Rahman, Esq., Mianganj, Unao	25	0	0
Through M. M. Zafar, Esq., Aligarh—			
B. Z. ...	1	0	0
M. Z. ...	1	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Agra ...	10	0	0
Through Sheikh Chiragh-ud-din, Esq., Gurdaspur—			
Nazir Ahmad, Esq. ...	50	0	0
Other collections ...	27	8	0
Through Miraj Din, Esq., Masan—			
Self ...	5	0	0
People of Masan ...	4	0	0
M. Muhammad Masih Pal, Esq., Poonch	5	0	0
Through S. M. Ismail, Esq., Gorakhpur—			
Mussalmans of Gorakhpur ...	700	0	0
Through Syed Abdur Rahman, Esq., Rajahmundry—			
Muhammad Osman and Zamanat Fatima ...	2	8	0
Sale-proceeds of Kurbaui hides ...	1	8	0
Moulvi Ali Ahmad Sahib, Amroha ...	180	0	0
Through the Principal of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh—			
Students and other well-wishers of the College...	3,190	11	0
Some Members of the B. M. Hostel, Dacca, through			
Syed Abdul Ahm, Esq. ...	8	18	0
Through Abdur Rahman Adhami, Esq., Allahabad...	79	2	0
Syed Abdul Aghfar, Esq., Paschimangaon ...	2	2	0
Wali-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Maksudpur ...	10	0	0
Kazi Istikhar Ahmad, Esq., Hargam ...	15	6	0
Altafur-Rahman Rezvi, Esq., Aligarh ...	3	0	0
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Muhammad Rashiduz-zaman, Esq., Jhatpat ...	25	0	0
Amirud-din, Esq., Delhi ...	15	0	0
Through Abdul Basit, Esq., Secretary, Red Crescent Society, Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	15,000	0	0
By Refund from Bank of Bengal—			
Amount disbursed on 21-12-'12 A			
25-12-'12 for 2 drafts sent to			
Grand Vazir, Constantinople, Rs. 30,000-0-0			
Less Cost of Drafts for £2,000			
@ 1s. 4. 1/16d. Rs. 29,883-4-3			
Postage and Receipt			
Stamp ...	0-1-0		
Bank's Commission ...	75-0-0		
	29,958-4-3	29,958-8-8	
	41-7-9	41	7
Through M. Abdul Hamid, Esq., Mandri, Allahabad	80	8	0
Through Naur Ahmad, Esq., Datia—			
Mussalmans of the place ...	108	10	0
Messrs. Hafizud-din Siddiqi and Latifud-din Siddiqi			
Anda, Drug ...	3	18	0
S. Masud Hussain, Esq., Calcutta ...	5	0	0
Through M. A. Rahim, Kolar—			
Messrs. Abdul Ghafar Munshi and Mirza Mahmud Beg Sulaimani, rupee one each ...	2	0	0
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M. Abdul Rahim, Esq. ...	1	5	0
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Through S. A. Ahmad, Esq., Ranchi—			
Contributed by the Mussalmans of Nowparah, Dist. Birbhum, and being the sale-proceeds of Kurbaui skins ...	60	0	0
M. Hasanjan, Esq., Laheria Serai ...	65	0	0
Mrs. Sheikh Nizamud-din Sahib, of Meerut, price of necklaces sold through Kazi Najmud-din Ahmad Sahib ...	124	10	0



Through Mustafa Ali, Esq., Jalna, Nizam's Dominion— Collected in Sadkar Bakar, Jalna, ...	1,000	0	0
Sadr Muhammad Mandal Sahib, Raiganj, Dist. Rangpur ...	42	0	0
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As residue of the subscription of the Ahmadiya community, Qadian ...	8	12	9
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Haji Fateh Muhammad and Dost Muhammad Sahibs ...	10	0	0
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Hafiz Abdul Ghani and Abdul Hakim Sahib ...	10	0	0
Moulvi Abdul Rahim and Qamrud-din Sahibs ...	8	0	0
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Haji Abdul Wahid and Abdul Rashid Sahibs ...	10	0	0
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Muhammad Omar Sahib ...	2	0	0
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Musharaf Ali, Esq., Patharkundi ...	2	0	0
Muhammad Ali Sircar, Esq., village Falia, Dist. Pabna ...	1	2	0
Through S. Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila ...	8	2	0
Through S. Mohammad Mohsin, Esq., Badausa, in honor of his father Syed Muhammad Hussain Sahib's recovery ...	2	0	0
Through Nazir Ahmad Khan, Esq., Mujahidpur— Hazrat M. Subhan Ahmad Khan Sahib ...	10	0	0
Haji Iqbal Ali Khan Sahib ...	22	9	0
M. Zakaria Khan, Esq. ...	2	14	0
Qasimud-din Khan, Esq. ...	2	4	0
Bashirud-din, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Through Muhammad Rafiq, Esq., Jwahirpur— Saf ...	0	5	0
M. Fidanilla, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Through Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Esq., Chhabra, Tonk (list not received) ...	2	8	0
Through Hafiz Azimud-din Sahib, Ajmer— Muhammads dyers of Ajmer ...	50	0	0
Through Ahsanud-din Ahmad, Esq., Akbarabad, Bijnore— Musalmans of Akbarabad ...	199	0	6
Through Nizamud-din, Esq., Dera Ismail Khan— Ala Baksh, Esq. ...	200	0	0
Fazal Ahmad, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Messrs. Muhammad, Azam and Ahmad Din, rupees two each ...	1	4	0
Nizamud-din, Esq. ...	4	0	0
Messrs. Syed Ilias and Fazal Ahmad, rupees one each ...	10	0	0
Mrs. Ahmad Din ...	2	0	0
Gul Muhammad, Esq. ...	8	1	0
Sultan Muhammad, Esq. ...	1	4	0
Messrs. Hakim Ibrahim and Gul Muhammad, annas four each ...	6	0	0
Muhammad Baksh, Esq. ...	0	8	0
Chand of Kazi Sahib ...	5	0	0
Kazi Ahmad Din Sahib ...	15	0	0
S. Fateh Muhammad, Esq., Jaggaipet ...	16	0	0
Abdul Kayyum Khan, Esq., Dera Ismail Khan ...	5	0	0
Nur Ahmad, Esq., Dum Dum ...	10	0	0
Through S. Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila ...	7	0	0
Abdul Awwal, Esq., Azangadh ...	46	8	0
Through Moinuddin Ahmad, Esq., Arrah— M. Farid, Esq., of Sahar ...	8	10	0
Sale-proceeds of ornaments through Kazi Wajih Sahib ...	10	0	0
Through Hakim Zahur Sahib of Waliganj ...	9	8	0
Through Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Esq. ...	11	8	0
Sale-proceeds of articles belonging to Aminul Haq (deceased) ...	22	6	9
Through Dr. Latifur-Rahman, of Dero ...	29	12	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	19	8	5
Through K. B. Syed Fakhruddin Sahib, Bankipore ...	7,000	0	0
Through Syed Saghar Ali, Esq., and Kazi Abdulla Sahib, Ludore— Rai Bahadur Seth Kastur Chand of Ludore ...	101	0	0
Musalmans of Ludore ...	199	0	0
Through Nihal Ahmad Alwi, Esq., Kuma, Allahabad— Musalmans of the town ...	100	0	0
Through Abdul Karim Khan, Esq., Mankpur— Rustam Ali Sahib, Esq. ...	42	11	0
Ali Muhammad Khan, Esq. ...	15	0	0
Musharrat Ali Khan, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Esq. ...	8	0	0
Wife of the above gentleman ...	2	0	0
Muhammad Khalil, Esq. ...	11	0	0
Nabi Hydar Khan, Esq. ...	7	0	0
Messrs. Sadullah Khan, Muhammad Rafiq and Fida Hussain, rupees eight each ...	24	0	0
Muhammad Ali, Esq. ...	6	4	0
Abdul Ghafoor, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Fakir Muhammad, Dilwar Hussain, Muhammad Umar Khan, S. Asghar Ali and Karamat Khan, rupees two each ...	12	0	0
Messrs. Barkat Ali, S. Irshad Hussain, Ahmed Ulla, Manzoor Hussain and Mahboob Hussain, Rayaz Ahmad, Ham Nihora, Masoom Ali, Zamir-ul-Hussain, Hamid ud-din, Yad Ali, Shaikh Razzaq, Shakoora Muhammad, Shaikh Ali, Allah Bux, Shamsur Khan, Shaik Murad, Dalaour a Servant, and Ganhar Khan, rupee one each ...	18	0	0
Sale-proceeds of <i>Kurbani</i> hides ...	18	4	0
Messrs. Hamaz-ullah Khan, Amu Gul Khan, Sated Khan, S. Abul Hasan, Ishtiyas Hussain, Sohrab Khan, Babu Khan, Muhammad Raza Khan, Bhora Khan, Zabar Khan, Abdullah Khan, Sandagar, Muhammad Idris, Shakoora Khan, Deen Muhammad, Faiz Muhammad Khan, Gulzar Hussain, Shaikh Mattoo, and Shakir Khan, annas eight each ...	10	0	0
Abdul Karim Khan, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Messrs. Pir Muhammad, Idu, Chunnas, Shaikh Tyah, Himmat, Deen Muhammad, Madar Bux, Shakoora Ali, Amir Khan and Shaikh Anir ...	1	2	0
Messrs. Imami Khan, Kala Khan, Nur Muhammad, Habi Bux, Shams-ud-din, Karim Bux, Shaikh Abdullah, Razzan Khan, Wazir Khan, Ahmed Khan, Ibrahim, Muhammad Khan, Abdul Rashid Khan, Shaikh Jaudu, Akbar, Ali, and A poor Brahmin woman (Hindoo), annas four each ...	4	0	0
Musammal Maula (a beggar) ...	0	2	6
Messrs. Shaikh Buddhu, Shaikh Badal, Chand Khan, and a Butcher, annas two each ...	0	8	0
Nur Khan Esq. ...	0	1	0
In the Mosque on I'd occasion ...	6	15	6
Amount received from 8th January to 15th January, 1913, less annas seven deducted by Mr. Abdul Karim of Mankpur as M. O. Charges. ...	Rs. 80,798	1	9
Amount previously acknowledged ...	Rs. 2,26,914	2	8
Total ...	Rs. 2,57,712	4	5

[We regret that the amount received from Mrs. Shamsud-din J. Sulaimani, of Baroda, was announced wrongly in the name of Mrs. Shahabud-din in our last issue.

In announcing the amount of Rs. 5/8 in the issue of 4th January received through Mr. A. M. Zahir ud-din, of Gorakhpur, the name of Mr. Muhammad Yusuf who contributed one rupee was not announced through an oversight.—Ed., Comrade.]

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By SIR WILLIAM MUR,
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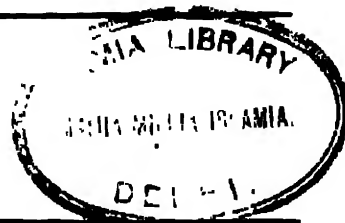
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Mongolia, acting quite independently, entered into the Russo-Mongolian treaty with the object of preserving her historic position against China. Kutukhka warns China against harbouring any intention of deciding the question by force of arms.

All-India Moslem League.

At a meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League on the 19th January, 1913, the Hon Mr Shafi, Barrister, Lahore, was elected President for the next annual sessions of the All-India Moslem League. The League's sessions will be held at Lucknow on the 22nd and 23rd March, 1913. The Honorary Secretary of the Central League has been authorised to revive the U. P. Moslem League.

The McCormick Case.

The sequel to the Arnold case, in which Mr. Canning Arnold applied for sanction to prosecute Captain Andrew McLean Finnie, District Superintendent of Police, Meiktila, on a charge of perjury in the Arnold trial, was before the Chief Judge on the 16th January 1913. Mr C. Campagna on behalf of the petitioner argued that the matter for admission, the circumstances out of which the application arose were fresh in the court's mind and he detailed so much of them as were necessary for his argument. Mr Arnold was convicted of defaming Mr Andrew and sentenced by His Honour to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Captain Finnie was a witness for the prosecution. Counsel entered into further facts and then proceeded to refer to Doctor Evers' evidence at the session trial, where he swore that he did arrive at the Victoria Point on 22nd July 1911, that he saw Captain Finnie frequently, that he spoke to Finnie and asked him whether he wished him to examine the girl, and Captain Finnie said "No, it is not necessary." He swore further that he went for a trip while he was staying at Victoria Point with Finnie, and that the latter had dropped him at Malwana and returned on the afternoon of the 27th, that he on July 31st travelled back with Finnie to Mergui in the Government launch "Mercury." Counsel filed an affidavit by the wife of Mr. A. W. Buchanan, now Treasury Officer of Moulmein, and in 1911 of Victoria Point, to the effect that Dr. Evers frequently visited her husband at Victoria Point in July 1911. Counsel then proceeded to show that Captain Finnie saw Dr. Evers at Victoria Point although he denied it all through. Counsel submitted that it was the purpose of Captain Finnie to make the court believe that he never saw Evers, and that he had no opportunity of consulting him, and that he did not arrive till Captain Finnie left Victoria Point. Counsel submitted it had been established beyond reasonable doubt that Evers was at Victoria Point, and that Finnie knew that Evers had been asking to go to Victoria Point to bring the microscope and slides. That was established by the exhibit of Captain Finnie's own diaries.

Continuing, counsel said that there would be only one matter for His Honour to consider and that was whether or not his prosecution was in the interests of public justice. Counsel submitted that His Honour would have very little difficulty in determining whether Finnie had committed perjury, and that sanction should be granted.

The Week.

Mogador.

Two French are organising a big movement to quell anarchy coupled with treachery in Mogador country. Sharp fighting occurred on January 18th near Mogador. The Moors lost 500 killed and French casualties were twelve killed and sixty wounded.

Two French columns which have been heavily engaged with the rebellious who are in revolt have returned to Mogador in a most exhausted condition, their casualties being 23 killed and 86 wounded.

Mongolia.

A telegram to the Times from St. Petersburg states that the Mongolian Mission will remain there for two or three weeks, and will be received by the Tsar, Premier and other Ministers. The head of the Mission is a firm Russo-phil and the recent treaty between Russia and Mongolia was concluded under his auspices when he visited Russia in 1911.

The Mongolian Mission paid a visit on the 16th instant to M. Sazonov, the Foreign Minister, the interview lasting half an hour. The Tsar will receive the Mission on Saturday.

A telegram from Urga states that Kutukhka, in answering a telegram of Kuusshikai, sent in October, urging a China-Mongolian union, says there can be no question of a union. He says that

Finnie was head of the police in Mentula district. He had to work up cases every day against the people. He had to give evidence in courts of law, and by reason of his being a Captain and Superintendent of Police there was great reliance placed on him.

There was, counsel submitted, no excuse for him. He did not make the statement once but he adhered to it all through, and counsel submitted that there were sufficient grounds for this court to grant sanction. Counsel asked the court to admit the application.

The Chief Judge passed orders. His Honour said, looking at all of Finnie's statements in connection with Dr. Evers, it was evident that those set out in the petition were based on his memory only. It was also evident his recollection about Evers in connection with the case was decidedly faulty. His Honour, however, saw no ground for believing that Finnie made those statements knowing or believing them to be false. The Court rejected the application.

The Delhi Outrage.

At a meeting of the Delhi Municipal Committee on Tuesday morning, Major Beadon, who presided, presented the following note in connection with the proposal before the Committee in regard to the house in Chandni Chowk from which the bomb was thrown at the Viceroy on the 23rd December:—

"The outrage which took place in the Chandni Chowk on the 23rd December, 1912, has placed on this city a stigma which it is impossible to remove entirely. It is incumbent on the Municipal Committee as representing the citizens of Delhi to show in a practical form the abhorrence with which the outrage is received. Accordingly I suggest for the consideration of the Committee that the house from which the bomb is known to have been thrown should be purchased and demolished. The details of the final scheme need not be decided at once, but it may be accepted that an unmistakable gap should be left in the frontage of the street, so that all men who pass by may be reminded not of the shame of the deed, but of the feelings of resentment and disgust with which the outrage was regarded by the loyal citizens of Delhi. In the space which will be left open a tablet should be erected with an inscription embodying the above sentiments. Furthermore it can be taken for granted that no State procession will ever be allowed to take place through the Chandni Chowk so long as the procession has, perforce, to pass along close under a row of houses. Now that Delhi has become the Capital, State ceremonies must take place periodically, but unless the Chandni Chowk is rendered safe for such, this historic street will be left severely alone. I suggest for the earnest consideration of the Committee that the Chandni Chowk be converted as soon as possible into a broad open street by the removal of the trees and the central pavement—a scheme which has already been under consideration for some years but which has not been carried out for want of the necessary funds."

A suggestion was thrown out by an Indian Member that action be postponed, the committee waiting for proof that the bomb was thrown from the house in question.

Eventually, however, the Committee formally accepted the suggestion contained in the note.

The All-India Medical Mission in Egypt.

We publish below a most interesting letter received by us from Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Director of the All-India Medical Mission for Turkey, photographs of which are also published in the Pictorial Supplement. The letter, though written on board the ship, was posted from Constantinople on 31st December, 1912, and had as a Post Script the following welcome news:—

"We have reached Constantinople in all safety. Details by next mail. Great reception. Mehmet Ali Bey (Inspector-General of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society) and Bassim Omar Pasha (Vice-President) saw us. Guard of Honour and Band."

S.S. "ROMANIA."

Near the Dardanelles.

30th December, 1912.

My last letter from Aden had not much news, as there was none to give. But this, which I am sending from s.s. "Romania," a day before our arrival at Stambul, will contain some news which will interest you.

All our lectures and demonstrations were over on the 25th of December, the day before our arrival at Suez. I had arranged them in such a manner that only the revision, should we be disposed to do so, should be done during our voyage in the Mediterranean Sea. Most of the men have availed themselves of the classes; only

Abdur Rahman of Peshawar, Qazi Bashiruddin Ahmad and Obiragbuddin have missed nearly half of the lectures owing to their indisposition. I mean, however—should we be favourably placed—to continue the classes for the first three weeks at least thrice weekly in order to make up the deficiency as well as teach them any new matter that may require doing so.

The night before landing at Suez, in order to save the uniforms from getting overused and dirty, I had thought of going ashore in Mufti; but on second thoughts I asked the men to put on their uniforms, and I had every reason to be very glad of having done so as you will see later.

We reached Suez on the morning of the 26th, and after the medical inspection was over I found on inquiry that a representative of Thomas Cook was awaiting our party with a launch for us and a tug for our baggage. He had also brought a letter from their office at Alexandria. After our transport department—Shuaib Qurnashy and Abdal Wahed Khan being the foremen—had our baggage removed to the tug, our party left s.s. "Sardegna" after a hearty farewell, in some cases very touching, from the passengers on board, amongst them being also H. H. the Maharani Holkar of Indore and her suite of ladies going to Europe.

Captain H. V. Bagshawe, R. A. M. C., also met us on the launch. He was sent by General Byng, the General Officer Commanding the Army of Occupation at Cairo, on the instruction of H. E. Lord Kitchener. He had come from the headquarters at Cairo in order to give us assistance at disembarkation and during our journey to Alexandria. He was very courteous and exceedingly agreeable to us and travelled with us by train to Alexandria and was with the party until our boat left the quay at Alexandria. He proved himself of very great use to us. I am going to send a letter to Lord Kitchener and General Byng thanking them for their kindness in giving us such valuable assistance. I will also send a private letter to Dr. Bagshawe.

The Port Medical Officer at Suez was very considerate to us and just had a little soiled linen removed from our holdalls for disinfection. The Customs Officer, who was an Egyptian gentleman, showed his appreciation and sympathy and only opened a box or two, probably in order to swear he had gone through the formality. A small crowd of Egyptians had gathered there and they were very enthusiastic and showed us every courtesy and consideration. Here we were also met by Mr. Abbas M. A. Barry, Government Agent, Army of Occupation, Suez, who accompanied us everywhere and made himself very useful.

The Manager and Shuaib were sent to the port railway station in charge of all the heavy baggage and deck chairs which were registered to go to Alexandria in a van. We found the charges exorbitant and had to pay £6 for the freight. The rest of the party went to a hotel in town, marshalled by a picturesque dragoman, and had their lunch which also proved rather expensive. But it was necessary to fortify ourselves against a long journey by train to Alexandria. The Manager and Shuaib joined the party at the hotel after having arranged about the baggage. There was a large crowd very much interested in us waiting outside the hotel and making all sorts of enquiries about us, and on learning the object of our Mission the shouts of *Markaba* were heard over and over again.

Captain Bagshawe brought us an English newspaper through which we learnt the news of the dastardly attack on the life of H. E. the Viceroy and of his having been wounded. The following telegram was despatched by us at once:

"26. 12. 1912. P. S. V. Delhi.

"Convey sympathy and deep concern All-India Medical Mission to His Excellency. Pray his speedy recovery and long life, 'Ansari.'"

The party reached the station at 11-45, and found an immense crowd standing all round our baggage and watching our men. It was very hard work to dispose of all the baggage, the second class carriages being very few. However, we accommodated ourselves and the luggage higgledy-piggledy and made ourselves as comfortable as was possible under the circumstances. The early part of the journey to Ismailia was very dusty. The line passes along the Canal through sandy tracts. This uninteresting part of the journey finished at Ismailia where we changed to another train. Here our transport department did excellent work. The journey from Ismailia to Beirha was a little more cramped, though the scenery around made up for the discomfort in the train. The change at Beirha was accomplished under stress of time and a jabbering crowd of porters who wanted "Bakshish" from every single member of the Mission. But our Manager was too 'cute' to let them have more than their due, having previously ascertained from Captain Bagshawe and the Railway Inspector the exact amount payable to the porters. The journey from Beirha to Alexandria was accomplished in a most congested train, but full of very sympathetic Egyptians and Turks. The men were fascinated and the

gentleman helped himself half a dozen times from a tin of biscuits we were carrying for the whole party until the Manager, having discovered his selfishness, admonished him mildly and took the tin in his own charge. At last a brilliant idea struck me and I ordered ten baskets for 24, which was highly appreciated by the party, the contents of the baskets and the tea-pots disappearing as if by magic.

It was by the merest chance that Dr. Bagshawe and myself rescued the van containing our registered baggage from being carried to Cairo instead of Alexandria. It would have probably meant a day's delay and a lot of inconvenience, if not missing our boat at Alexandria.

During our journey an Egyptian gentleman drew the attention of the Manager to a note in *Al-Moayyad* about our Mission. It simply mentioned the numbers of our Mission and wished us success in our undertaking. Our train arrived at Alexandria at 8 p.m. Here we were met by Thomas Cook's agent who took charge of our baggage and had it removed to their van. There was a large crowd of hotel agents at the station, and what with their shouts and with their jostling and pushing it would not have been possible to decide where to stay for the night if we had not followed Captain Bagshawe's plan and cleared out of the station with Cook's agent to see a few hotels for ourselves before deciding which we were going to stay in. We had to select a hotel which would be cheap as well as good. We were lucky in having received special concession at the Hotel Metropole where, owing to the influence of the Egyptian landlord, the Proprietor took us at 6 shillings per head (inclusive), the ordinary charges being 10/6. The Manager and myself, who had come in advance of the party, remained in the hotel till the rest of the party arrived there and went round with the hotel Manager who showed us all the rooms. We drew up lists and allotted the rooms to the individual members when they arrived there. Our hotel was situated facing the sea and was very clean, commodious and comfortable.

In the morning Cook's agent had several carriages ready for us, and we started to see the Turkish refugees sheltered in one of the Khedival palace in Alexandria, Palace Ras-el-Tin. Dr. Himmat, the Medical Officer in-charge, was kind enough to have met one of the party at the railway station and was good enough to send a man in the morning to fetch us to the palace. He had also promised to request H. H. the Khedive to meet us, if possible, in the palace. We arrived there at 10 o'clock and were met by Dr. Himmat and his staff. He took us round the inoculation department and the dispensary. In the quadrangle of the palace, we saw about 1,000 Turkish refugees of all ages, and we were met here by a deputation of the notables amongst the Turkish refugees. We were taken up to the drawing-room of the palace where Dr. Himmat addressed us in English and described to us some of the most touching and pathetic scenes which his rescuing party had beheld at Kavalla. He mentioned particularly the atrocities perpetrated by the Servians in throwing away from the windows the Turkish sick and wounded, there to die of cold, starvation and disease. He mentioned a good many other inhuman deeds done by the Balkan armies during their occupation of Salonika and Kavalla; amongst them the murder of the weak and innocent women and children, the insults and injuries to the women, the spoliation, burning and looting of their hearths and homes, and the unspeakable miseries caused to these innocent non-combatants. The description of these refugees reaching the shelter of the Khedival yacht, which brought them to Egypt, was specially touching and pathetic,—how they described it as "the ship of safety," how they kissed the very steps which took them to the boat with tearful gratitude. These and many scenes depicted by him, you could well imagine, went straight to our hearts and made us even more determined to do all that lay in our power to lessen the sufferings, to sympathise with and soothe the bleeding hearts of our fellow-Muslims in Turkey. Dr. Himmat assured us we had several hundreds of thousands waiting with forlorn hopes most eagerly for any succour and assistance that a Mission like ours would give to them. He assured us that the work awaiting us there was far more than many Missions like ours would be able to cope with. This news, though it made our hearts very sad, provided us with another justification for our having come all the way to do what we had some tribulations we might find ourselves too late to perform. I made a suitable reply to Dr. Himmat's speech thanking him for the good wishes he had expressed and for the valuable insight which had been given to us by our visit to the Ras-el-Tin and by his speech. Dr. Himmat then announced that H. H. the Khedive was unable, owing to the Friday prayers, to receive us on that day, but His Highness hoped that we would visit Egypt on our return when we would be granted the pleasure and privilege of being presented to him. A Turkish journalist, Djafar Effendihadeh Omar Sirat, who was also amongst the group of notable refugees, made a speech with tearful eyes which we unfortunately could not understand, but which was briefly translated to us by Dr. Himmat. He expressed gratitude and appreciation on behalf of the Turkish refugees and

gave us the fullest assurance that there would be thousands of Turks like him awaiting most anxiously our arrival amongst them.

We were then introduced to Madame Nouredin Bey, wife of a former Consul-General in Bombay and now P. S. to the Khedive, who was acting as the matron in-charge of the women refugees. She is a Turkish lady of education and refinement and spoke French most fluently. She took us round the female wards and showed us how the Turkish families were housed in the palace and also the food given to them. Some of the babies were born there.

After saying farewell to Dr. Himmat, Nouredin Bey and Madame Nouredin Bey we drove back through the city and met with a very sympathetic reception from the crowd wherever we passed. Owing to our long stay in the Ras-el-Tin Palace we had to give up our visit to the sights of the city and we only visited Cook's office for our embarkation tickets and to convert some Circular Notes into gold.

After lunch in the hotel we drove to the docks where we found the gates closed against the crowd. We were admitted as a special favour and on inquiry we were told that the Khedival special was waiting in the dock station ready to leave for Cairo. We arrived at the quay and found a tremendous crowd of Egyptians awaiting us. On the boat Dr. Himmat, in the presence of some 100 Egyptians, made another speech on their behalf in which he praised the Mission and wished them God-speed. A suitable reply was made and after a photograph had been taken, our attention was drawn to the lusty shouts of the crowds on land. There were banners bearing the Red Crescent carried by the crowds, and burning speeches were made by several persons denouncing the atrocities of the Balkan armies and a poem in Arabic was read by a gentleman in our honour. Then began the loud, lusty and continuous cheering from the crowds who continually kept it up until our boat was out of sight. And not being content with that several boats full of people followed our steamer for a long distance cheering us and singing Arabic songs. The following are some of the cheers which they repeated over and over again:—

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Long live the Indian Mission ! | يحيى البعث الهندي (1) |
| Long live Representative of India ! | يحيى المبعوث الهندي (2) |
| Long live the Heroes and the Warriors ! | يحيى الابطال المجاهدين (3) |
| Long live the Turkish Nation ! | يحيى امثا لتركية (4) |
| Long live the Sultan ! | يحيى السلطان (5) |
| Long live the Khedive ! | يحيى الخديوي (6) |
| Long live Islam ! | يحيى الاسلام (7) |

Captain Bagshawe waited after saying good-bye to us until our boat was out of sight.

On the morning of the 29th, after a very shaky voyage, we arrived at Piræa, the port for Athens. Here a very searching examination of our passports and our party was made by the Greek port officials. We were advised not to use the Fex to avoid unpleasantness, which we followed, although I think unnecessarily. As the boat was going to be in harbour for seven hours, we decided to pay a visit under the guidance of Cook's man to all the sights of the Greek capital. We visited the Acropolis, the amphitheatre, the stadium, and the museum and drove through the principal streets of the city. Here we saw young lads and consumptive-looking men dressed in shabby grey uniforms awaiting orders for the front. On our return to our boat we saw a hospital ship in which the wounded were brought from Salonika and medical aid is sent to the sick and wounded. Our boat had already left with the doctors and nurses. We also saw a transport ship just leaving the harbour full of provisions and some soldiers. Whilst we were in Athens we despatched three telegrams to (1) the President of the Red Crescent Society, (2) the British Ambassador, and (3) Cook, informing them of our arrival.

We are already nearing the Dardanelles and in sight of the island of Tenedos (Turkish name, Bozada), where a fleet is at anchor whose nationality is the point of discussion. Some say it is a Greek fleet, others say that the result of the naval engagement a week previous being uncertain, it is impossible to say what fleet may be at anchor.

We are due at Constantinople to-morrow morning. I will let you know in detail any news I may hear during our stay there.

MURTAZA AHMAD ANSARI.

TETE À TETE



MAJOR SYED HASAN BILGRAMI, President of the Lucknow session of the Moslem Educational Conference, received the following letter from the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay which, however, reached too late for him to make the necessary announcement at the Conference:—"I am

The Thanks of the Turkish Government.

directed by my Government to thank you as well as all the contributors to the Red Crescent Society. I avail myself of this opportunity to request you to kindly communicate these thanks to the delegates of the different Provinces of India, who may be present at the Conference."

WHILE Enver Bey's return to Constantinople have been due to nothing but a supreme sense of duty, one can not help regretting with him, that the grave crisis in the affairs of the Empire nearer home should have compelled him to relinquish a task of a peculiarly important and fruitful character in Northern Africa. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* publishes a letter which Enver Bey wrote to one of his German friends, Dr. E. Jaechh, the well-known authority on Balkan affairs, after leaving Cyrenaica, describing his activity among the Arabs. Cyrenaica, he says, was his kingdom, which was rapidly progressing and organising for independence and defence. He had established ten popular schools, attended by 1,000 children, and two girls' schools, with 150 pupils. He also sent 20 young Bedouins to the military schools at Constantinople, five others to the School of Medicine five to study for veterinary surgeons, five to prepare for chemists, 60 to the school for non-commissioned officers, and a number of others to small arms factory and to a trades school. In Cyrenaica itself at the great Castle of Burgueb he had established a training college for artisans. He had also acquired a small farm for teaching agriculture. The training in these cases was combined with military discipline, and after two years the young men were designed to act as perambulating instructors, teaching their respective trades from village to village. For purposes of administration the country was divided into districts under sheikhs assisted by councils, which were responsible to Enver Bey for the application of the civil and military laws. The standing army was to consist of three regiments of infantry, each regiment consisting of three battalions, each battalion of three companies of 150 soldiers, and 15 women acting as supply servants. This infantry was already in existence. In addition three companies of machine guns and three gun batteries (each of four pieces) were to be formed, and further three squadrons of cavalry (or rather mounted infantry) of 300 men each and two companies of gendarmes for police work, or rather for carrying out the orders of the administration, since perfect security reigned throughout the country. These and many other reforms all required money, about £T.9,000 monthly. The Arabs were perfectly willing to permit themselves to be taxed directly, but Enver Bey preferred an indirect system. All necessaries came regularly from Egypt, their value in the aggregate amounting to about £T.25,000 per month. Enver Bey intended to impose an import duty of 25 per cent. *ad valorem* on foodstuffs and 50 per cent. on other goods. This gave him regularly £T.8,500 per month. The export of camels was subjected to an export duty, and this gave him another £T.2,500 a month. He was thus very comfortably off with about £T.11,000 per month. He had opened a motor road from Sollum to Benghazi, and several other roads through the mountains and into the interior, and was thus able to control all the traffic. For daily needs he used paper money, which had been issued to the value of £T.10,000. Of this sum one-half had been redeemed by him before his departure, and the other had been deposited by him in gold at Alexandria. In addition he left £T.10,000 in gold

in the Treasury in Cyrenaica. In fact he and his people were in no need of anything. A few days before the conclusion of peace a large amount of ammunition and arms had arrived, and the magazines were full of provisions. Of rice alone there was a store of 150,000 kilogrammes and of barley about 1,000,000 kilogrammes. Enver Bey left the country with great regret, but he felt his duty called him elsewhere, and he made every arrangement for continuing the resistance after his departure.

LAST week we stated in a note that at our request His Excellency the Viceroy had a telegram sent to the Secretary of State that, in addition to the £100 already placed on our behalf at the disposal of the Consul-General at Salonica and Monastir.

for the relief of Moslem war sufferers, £500 more should be placed at the disposal of the Consular authorities at Salonica and £400 at Monastir. Believing that the greatest need of these refugees was food and clothing we had specified that the amounts placed at the disposal of the Consular authorities were to be devoted to the prevention of death through exposure and starvation. Since then the following telegram has been received from the Secretary of State: "The following wire has been received from the Consul-General by the Foreign Office with reference to the *Comrade* subscription. Telegram begins. Please convey to the Editor of the *Comrade* the gratitude of the International Commission for his offer. There will be no difficulty in satisfying the request contained in the last para., but as we are spending £100 per diem in supplying food for over 5,000 refugees in camp, it would make matters easier if I might read 'prevention of death through disease' and devote the money to the camp hospital now being installed. End of message." In the absence of the Foreign Office telegram to which the Consul-General's telegram is a reply it is not possible to be sure what the last para. to which reference is made contained, but it is probable that the reference is to the keeping of accounts by the authorities so that they may be sent to us in due course for publication in the *Comrade*. It may, however, refer to the request which we made, that the numbers relieved out of these funds may be noted if that could be done without great inconvenience. In view of the difficulty of sending to us very detailed accounts we had stated in our letter to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy that we needed no vouchers or other details of daily disbursements or names of persons relieved, and had requested that His Excellency's telegram should be so worded as not to give the impression that the main consideration was accurate and detailed book-keeping instead of instant relief of terrible distress. From the telegram of the Consul-General at Salonica it is clear that there was greater need of medical relief than we were led to believe from information received from London, and consequently we have informed him through His Excellency the Viceroy and the London Foreign Office that we have no objection to add 'the prevention of death through disease' to the other objects of the Fund and to allow the Consul-General to use the money for the hospital. If the whole or part of the All-India Medical Mission could be spared from Constantinople we should have liked it to be split up into three or four smaller units and to proceed to Kopia in Asia Minor, and to Salonica and Monastir. But that cannot be ascertained for some time, and in view of the urgent need of medical relief at Salonica at present we have authorised the Consul-General to use the whole or part of the funds placed at his disposal for that purpose. As the Consulate at Monastir is also under the Consul-General at Salonica, he is in the best position to judge of the needs of the two places, and we have authorised him to use his discretion as to the form of relief and utilise the funds for Salonica and Monastir to save the maximum number of lives in these two places, the funds being transferable from one place to another according to their comparative needs. There is a much greater likelihood now of the war being resumed and our Mission must, therefore, be completely at the disposal of the Turkish authorities. But if the war is not resumed and after consulting the Turkish authorities it is found preferable to split up the Mission into smaller units to relieve distress, by way of medical or other relief, at more than one place, we shall apply to Government for necessary help on hearing from Dr. Ansari. We may mention here that when leaving Bombay the Mission was not able to obtain from the Bombay Press all the forms and registers for use in its field-hospital, and in view of the fact that Shipping Companies are disinclined to take any parcels for Constantinople at the present moment we found ourselves in some difficulty. That has, however, been removed through the kind assistance of His Excellency the Viceroy, who has agreed to our consigning by steamer such of the forms and registers as it would be too costly to send by post to His Majesty's

Ambassador at Constantinople, the documents being sent to Sir Gerard Lowther with a covering letter from His Excellency so that there may be no question of contraband and they may reach their destination without stoppage by the Allies.

In addition to amounts already sent by draft to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople for the relief of war sufferers we have sent by telegraphic remittance to-day through the National Bank of India, Ltd., Delhi Branch, £5,000. We

Turkish Relief Fund.

await the next letter from Dr. Ansari which, we trust, would inform us clearly in what form further relief should be sent from India. It appears, however, that Dr. Ansari and Dr. Muhammad Hasan, the Directors of the two Medical Missions sent from India, have already represented to the authorities of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society the views of Indian contributors, for we have received a cable dated, Constantinople, 21st January, from Bassim Omar Pasha, Vice-President of the Central Ottoman Red Crescent Society, Dr. Muhhtar Ahmad Ansari and Dr. Muhammad Hasan, conveying sincere gratitude to brother Moslems in India for generous subscriptions for the benefit of the Turkish wounded, the war sufferers and the refugees, and informing us that a complete list of those who had sent money to the Central Office of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society with their full addresses is being sent "to facilitate immediate telegraphic receipts." This will assure the contributors from India that the amounts sent by them are duly received in Turkey. In view of the terrible extent of the distress caused by the war we trust the generosity of the Musalmans in India would increase, and much larger sums than have yet been sent would be forwarded either to us or to Mr. Ameer Ali or direct to Turkey by the donors. We would once more press our request that sufficient data should be regularly supplied to us by the different Relief Funds in India for the preparation of a weekly report of such collections. If money is sent to us we shall take the earliest opportunity of forwarding it to Turkey in the form in which the Turkish authorities require. We regret that in some quarters efforts have been made to run down this Fund or that. For our part we think people in this country should have the amplest freedom to contribute their subscriptions to whatever fund they like according to the amount of confidence they feel in the organisers. Such of them as repose confidence in us will, we trust, never have occasion to regret it. This is all we have got to say for ourselves, and we think it is enough. It is highly undesirable that anybody should try to create a "corner" in such charity and spread rumours and throw out insinuations adversely affecting the organisers of other Funds. We can confidently assert that we have never done so ourselves and have no desire that while others contribute the cash we should take all the credit. It is not tactics such as these that increase the confidence of the contributors, and the sooner this is realised by all the better. The Mission that we sent out was despatched on the receipt of a cable from H. H. the Aga Khan and the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali on the 9th November, stating that Turkish hospitals were completely disorganised. On hearing this, we asked Mr. Ameer Ali by cable whether he could purchase equipment for a field-hospital for such a Mission out of Rs. 30,000 which we proposed to cable to him. On receiving his assent by wire we cabled the money without the least delay by stopping Rs. 21,000, which had already been sent to the Turkish Consul-General at Bombay for transmission by wire to the Grand Vizier, and by adding another Rs. 9,000 to the amount. We learnt from Dr. Ansari's cable sent to us on reaching Constantinople that the equipment purchased for us by Mr. Ameer Ali and sent by him on the 30th November, which should have reached on the 21st December, had not arrived; but just as we were about to cable to Mr. Ameer Ali about this, we received another cable from Dr. Ansari, stating that he had received the Bill of Lading, and we learn to-day from him that some portion of it was expected to arrive on the 10th January. We do not see how the Mission could have proved useful even if it had been possible for it to leave India a week earlier than it did. Nor can we understand how we could have acted otherwise than as we did in sending the Mission after having requested Mr. Ameer Ali to purchase equipment for the Rs. 30,000 cabled to him on the 16th November. Neither Mr. Ameer Ali nor we could foresee, when arranging for the purchase of the field-hospital equipment, that an armistice would be concluded and that fighting would cease. But from the letters received from Dr. Ansari, and published elsewhere, as well as from the telegram of the British Consul-General at Salonica, it appears that there is room in Turkey for more medical relief than already supplied by the several small units of the British Red Crescent Society's Medical Mission and the Ottoman Red Crescent. It is difficult enough to be the Printer, Publisher, Editor and Proprietor of a newspaper in these days; and it has not made things easier for us to be in addition to all these the Organiser of a Turkish Relief Fund which

has collected more than two and-a-half lakh of rupees and of a Medical Mission of such dimensions as we have sent out. But if we are required to possess the virtues of a prophet as well, we do not know how it would be possible for us to acquit ourselves with credit. We, therefore, decline the honours of prophecy and are quite satisfied that we have been only a humble follower of Mr. Ameer Ali. We may, however, assure him that, so far as we are concerned, no attempts have been made to divert the funds intended for him and that we are as anxious as he is to see that the money is given with satisfactory guarantees for its proper application. He has assisted us so greatly in the purchase of equipment for the Mission that we harbour none but grateful feelings towards him and shall deem it an honour and a privilege to assist him according to our light and our capacity. We are already to some extent carrying out the same programme as he has followed himself, but we are sure we are only meeting the wishes of our contributors in relying on a Non-Moslem agency for the relief of war sufferers only where a Moslem and preferably an Indian agency is not available. This combines moral value with material aid and is in our opinion the best course to pursue. How else could we secure services of twenty-four capable men, including seven doctors of great ability, without paying a pie for it and manage things so economically?

The New President of France.

The election of M. Poincaré as President of the French Republic has been acclaimed as an event of international significance in Europe. A man of undoubted force, capacity and political eminence has been entrusted with the responsibilities of a position which only colourless and proved mediocrities had hitherto been called upon to fill. And the wisacrus of the European Press have discovered in this circumstance a whole world of meaning. The fact, it has been suggested, marks a notable change in the temper and psychology of the French nation. The era of warring and remorseless factions in the domestic politics of France has ended; and by summoning their most virile and clever statesman to the highest office in the State, the French people have quietly announced their resolve to maintain their national dignity and assert a united national will in the problems of the *weltpolitik*. To us however, M. Poincaré appears to be the symbol of an entirely new spirit that has recently come to birth in the French Republic. Those who have been closely watching for sometime past the activities and adventures of the French foreign policy, need not be told what that spirit is. It is bodied forth, complete in every lineament, in the French administration of Tunis and Algeria and in the recent deal about Morocco. That spirit, in brief, is aggressive Imperialism inspired by a peculiarly ferocious and hungry Finance. If M. Poincaré's personality sums up the highest national aspirations of France, the utterances and acts of that statesman during his brief premiership give us a correct measure of the political instincts of the French people to-day. France was not very long ago the cradle of every sentiment that nourishes the best hopes of man, his love of freedom, his passion for justice and equality of opportunity, his hatred of all that is iniquitous and mean. The descendants of Rousseau, the inheritors of some of the most glorious traditions in human history, afford the world to-day the spectacle of a nation, wallowing in materialism and driven by earth-hunger and insatiable lust for gold, that has deprived millions of their freedom and imposed on them the tyranny of its parochial manners and conventions. M. Poincaré has been, after the Russian Foreign Minister, the most active figure in European diplomacy since the Balkan League challenged Turkey to battle. His entire efforts have been devoted to support Russian policy and thwart those who have no great love for Muscovite initiative or dominances in the affairs of the Near East. He loudly gave the Balkan Confederacy his blessings and proclaimed the formula of "the Balkan for the Balkan peoples" as the true basis of discussion for European diplomacy. And, above all, he has been with strange and ominous persistency pegging out French claims on Syria as if Turkey's Asiatic possessions were already ripe for promoting French imperial ambitions. Such is the man whom France has delighted to honour and the rest of Europe has hailed as a new and powerful accession to the forces of the world's peace!

Outrages at Salonica.

We have written enough about the atrocities committed by the Balkan armies in Macedonia, Albania and Thrace. Fresh details, to add to this chapter of horrors, have come to hand. A deputation of merchants from Salonica arrived in Vienna on 2nd January to beg that steps might be taken against the atrocities practised by the Greeks in Salonica, and appealed to official quarters and to the Press. The deputation published the following statement:—"In our case we appeal to all competent personages that Europe may know that the Jews in Salonica are still in fear of death, and that their possessions are not safe. On December 24, two Jewish money-

changers, Frances and Ampir, were on their way home early in the afternoon, when they were fallen upon by Greek soldiers, who, assisted by native Greeks, murdered them in the cruellest manner, and robbed the corpses of their money, and this in the centre of the town on Mawdandelouhan Place. ... No night passes without Turkish or Jewish shops being plundered, while in the business quarter of Sibi, where the Colonial warehouses are situated, the owners have been forced to engage watchmen for their protection. But it has already happened that these guards have been enticed away by Greek soldiers, while their companions have robbed and plundered without disturbance. A journal, which appears in French, and which reported these cases, was suspended for some days. All this has happened under the eyes of the Greek authorities, while the diplomats looked on inactive ... The Greeks went to war in the name of humanity. We now appeal to the humanity of Europe with the petition 'come to our aid.' Telegraphic messages from Constantinople received in Vienna reported that three members of the English Balkan Committee were travelling in Macedonia. They went over from Salonica to Monastir, going on to Kavala. Then they wished to go to Serres and Drama, but the Bulgarians forbade them to visit those cities in which the Bulgarian bands had perpetrated fearful crimes among the Mussalmans. A number of Senators, among them Ferid Pasha and the ex-Grand Vizier Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, have sent a telegraphic appeal to the Great Powers, in the name of humanity, begging them to use their influence with the Balkan States to prevent the killing of Mussalmans without distinction of age or sex, in the occupied provinces, which is still being carried out by the bands, in spite of the armistice.

WE HAD occasion the other day to express our surprise at a goodly crop of wild and, in some cases, mischievous rumours that had sprung up in connection with the outrage at Delhi, and we pointed out one rumour in particular that had emanated from Bengal, which had to be contradicted officially. It would, of course, be idle to take every bazar gossip seriously, and one need hardly concern oneself as to how a certain class of people seek distraction in a peculiarly trying situation. It is a pity that the madness and distemper generated in the bazars some time communicate themselves freely to a section of the Indian Press. The only effective way to deal with irresponsible journalism and the wild insanities of the street is to treat them with the contempt they deserve. Some of the mad rumours, however, that have been hurrying through the air betray a design and a method. It is not wholly without significance that an extremist vernacular paper in Bengal should have "heard" about the arrest of two Aligarh boys in connection with the Delhi outrage. Another rumour reached us of which Aligarh was once more the unenvying victim. It spoke of a meeting held by the students at Aligarh in favour of the release of Mr. Tilak. The story was on the face of it incredible, but the Editor of the Comrade, who is a Trustee of the Aligarh College, thought it advisable to make a formal inquiry on the subject. Accordingly he wrote the following letter to the Hon. Secretary of the Trustees:—"I have heard a rumour to the effect that the students of the Aligarh College held a meeting, sometime ago, in connection with the release of Mr. Tilak. Inasmuch as it is, for several reasons, absolutely necessary that the rumour should be thoroughly inquired into and that it should be emphatically contradicted if no such meeting was held, I, as a Trustee of the M. A. O. College, beg leave to trouble you with the request that you will kindly inform me, after fully ascertaining the real facts from the College authorities, the staff, the students or any other person whom you may choose to consult as to whether a meeting of the kind stated above actually took place. If it did take place, then, who were the persons that took part in it, what were the resolutions adopted and what steps were taken, or are being taken, to carry those resolutions into effect? Or is the rumour entirely baseless, no such meeting having ever taken place within the precincts of the College? If you do not consider it inexpedient, then kindly give me the permission to publish the reply that I may receive from you. I shall be obliged if I am favoured with a reply within a week." The following reply has been received from the Hon. Secretary of the Aligarh College:—"I thank you for your letter of the 17th January. The students of the College held no meeting in connection with the release of Mr. Tilak, nor did they take part in any such meeting. I knew this much myself. But, with a view to greater certainty, I have according to your suggestion satisfied myself by inquiring from the members of the staff through the Principal and from other persons as well. I would, therefore, request you to contradict the rumour in your esteemed paper, if you deem it to be necessary." We would very much like to know who is at the bottom of these rumours. They are clearly intended to harm the Mussalmans, but we doubt very much if they are not much more harmful to Government as well as to the whole country.

The Comrade.

The Coming of Mahmoud Shevket.

THE dramatic events in Constantinople, which have hurled Kiamil Pasha from power, have at last put an end to a senile and nerveless policy that had mismanaged war and was now about to sell national honour and interests at the bidding of Europe. The Sultan has summoned Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha to undertake the direction of national affairs, and no better man could have been called to his aid at this crisis in the destiny of the Empire. Mahmoud Shevket is a personality that had risen to fame and power in a great national crisis by dint of capacity and native strength of character and had successfully directed the storm of the revolution. In the ranks of many able and earnest statesmen, administrators and patriots whom the Young Turk movement has produced, he is a figure of enormous stature. His brief but brilliant career as War Minister had revealed his many-sided gifts, his tireless energy, his marvellous resolution and his single-minded devotion to duty. Those in Europe who indulge in prophecy had often felt it safe to stake their reputations as prophets by pointing to Mahmoud Shevket as the future dictator of the Ottoman Empire. Mahmoud Shevket has none of the egotism that aims at dictatorship, but he is endowed in a generous measure with those gifts that mould a leader of men—force of character, strength of conviction and capacity to dare, to strive and to achieve. A crisis had produced him; a still graver crisis has summoned him to power. He enters on his tremendous responsibilities with the full confidence and support of his people. His predecessor had plunged the whole world of Islam in deep anxiety and despair and created widespread distrust about his aims and methods. The name of Mahmoud Shevket has conjured up hope once more; and now one may have the fullest confidence that, whatever destiny may have in store for Turkey, the honour of the Ottoman nation as well as of Islam, at any rate, will be safe in his keeping.

It would be idle to ignore the gigantic nature of the task that lies before Mahmoud Shevket and his colleagues. He succeeds to a perfect heritage of woes—the wreckage of a disastrous war, with the European provinces overrun by the enemy, disorganised administration and depleted treasury. He is face to face with the united will of Europe working to impose on Turkey a settlement of the vital issues about the future of the Empire, which is humiliating to her dignity and damaging to her interests. Above all, he will most probably have to meet the menace of hostile aggression from Russia as soon as he brings to the defence of national interests a policy of vigour and determination. To guide safely the ship of State through these perils is a task of colossal magnitude. But, then, it is for such tasks that nature fashions the Titans among men. Creatures of feeble stuff are invariably the sport of circumstance, but the men who are cast in the heroic mould bend circumstances to their wills and use them as material to shape their destiny withal. Hope and courage are known to have often wrested victory out of the jaws of defeat and made desert to blossom like a rose. If Turkey's misfortunes have been heavy and her future seems to be dark and uncertain, she needs the help of her best sons in the hour of her supreme trial. Mahmoud Shevket and those who have manfully toiled with him for a few years past in the service of their fatherland are men who have the inspiration of hope and possess the hearts that are not afraid of writhing valiantly with fate. If their efforts to retrieve the blunders of their predecessors and defend national interests and honour are destined to fail, let it not be said that they made no efforts while Turkey was bleeding and the whole world of Islam groaning with pain. It is better to have tried and failed than not to have tried at all. As the poet says:—

عَكَتْ وَفَجَّ تَمِيْزُوْنَ بِدَمِيْ وَلِيْ اَسْمِيْ
مَقَالِهِ تَوْجِيْهِ لِيْ يٰ تَوَانِيْ خُوبِ كِيَا

But is there any valid ground for despair? Has Turkey lost every chance to rehabilitate her fortunes, every hope for an honourable existence in the future? Is the situation irremediable? It is possible to be unduly optimistic, and it is equally true that nothing is more paralyzing in a crisis than a 'book-gripping' pessimism. What are the facts of the situation? A war was forced on Turkey just when her rulers were least prepared for it. On the strength of assurances which Kiamil Pasha is said to have received from his "friends," the Turkish army was reduced to peace footing only a few weeks before the outbreak of the war. Kiamil's life-long education was rooted in his country. He relied on his diplomacy and the backing of his friends. Circumstances, however, put him with the logic of the situation. He was weighed in the balance and found wanting. When the situation

became hopeless and the whole nation was smarting under the shame of defeat, he turned round and began to wreak vengeance on the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, the most earnest-minded and high spirited patriots who could not brook any tampering with national honour and dignity. A hasty armistice was concluded in the meantime and negotiations for peace were initiated in London. The Allies had profited with admirable swiftness through the unpreparedness of the Turkish army for war. They were no less successful in exploiting the entire resources of European diplomacy. The Russian, French and British Governments were practically resolved from the outset that the Confederacy shall reap the fullest advantage from her victories and shall suffer no damage from possible defeat. The Triple Alliance was early outmanoeuvred in the diplomatic game which the Triple *Entente* has been playing with consummate skill. The Peace negotiations in London were thus begun under the most favourable conditions for the fruition of the hopes of the Allies. What they were decidedly unable to achieve through war single-handed, they had every hope to secure with the support of European diplomacy. Kiamil Pasha's "friends" failed him in the hour of his country's need, and it became manifest even to his most enthusiastic admirers in Turkey that he had all his life been relying on broken reeds.

There were proposals and counter-proposals at the Conference; and while the demands of the Allies were silently approved and even encouraged by the Powers, the Turkish standpoint was declared to be uncompromising and impossible. But can this shameful verdict stand a moment's examination? It was not contended that those proposals constituted the last word of Turkey, but just as the Balkan League presented terms which it was known were not intended to be persisted in, so the Turks felt that they were justified in submitting counter-proposals which may have gone beyond the mark. Still the Turks held that they had made an important concession by the granting of autonomy for Macedonia, with Salonica as the capital, thus abandoning that town, whereas before the war the proposal consisted of reforms for those provinces on the lines of the organic law of 1880, drawn up by the International Commission which elaborated the statute for Eastern Roumelia. As regards Adrianople and the territory south of that fortress, in a word, virtually the whole of the vilayet, the opinion in Turkish quarters was most emphatic and categorical as to its future. Adrianople and its vilayet must belong to Turkey. This was a *sine qua non* if the Conference was to prove a success. No Turkish Government could possibly sign away those territories. A false impression was created by designing Powers abroad that a military party in Constantinople was encouraging the Government to maintain a firm attitude in regard to the question of Adrianople. There was no need for such encouragement for the simple reason that a Turkish Government has yet to be found to agree to the loss of that country, which is absolutely indispensable for the security of Constantinople, and likewise necessary if Turkey is to remain a European State. Europe had repeatedly declared that it had no interest in the complete abandonment by Turkey of her European possessions. On the contrary, the Powers, it was asserted, have every reason to wish to see Turkey firmly established in Thrace, which is essentially a Muselman province. Consequently if the Allies refused to admit this claim the war must be continued, even should Adrianople fall in the interval.

The Turks based themselves upon the solemn declaration made by the Great Powers before the war that they would insist on the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkan peninsula, which, they point out, has never been formally recalled in the same manner as made. It may also be pointed out that in no war has the victor retained all the conquered territory. The Balkan Allies have singularly departed from that principle, a course which indicates a desire to bring about the complete downfall of the Turkish Empire in Europe. As regards the islands of the *Ægean*, which the League claimed, the Turks declared that these cannot be alienated because they belong to Anatolia (Asia Minor), and have nothing to do with European Turkey. The failure of the Conference was inevitable unless the Allies agreed to waive their pretensions about Adrianople and the *Ægean* islands.

When the Peace Conference was approaching a deadlock and the European diplomacy was organising itself to impose its mandate on the Turk, it was generally felt by every fair-minded observer that the only hope for Turkey to achieve peace with honour lay in the resumption of war. No one who had carefully watched the progress of the negotiations and the peculiar diplomatic atmosphere in which they had been conducted could mistake the risks of such a course. And yet no other alternative seemed possible to those who would rather die a million deaths than agree to live on sufferance. The most momentous question at the time was: what the Turkish Government would do in face of the united pressure of Europe. Opinions were naturally divided on the subject and they were as naturally tempered with advice. Some thought that Kiamil Pasha had already made up his mind to accept the

terms of the Allies, but that he was deliberately provoking the intervention of the Powers, with a view to appearing as yielding to the *force majeure*. Others maintained that the resumption of hostilities was inevitable inasmuch as the Committee of Union and Progress had rehabilitated its influence and prestige in the army and amongst the people and its adherents were loudly clamouring for war. Only a few observers in Germany and Austria had the fairness to declare that Turkey was being shamelessly treated by the Powers and that, given a free hand, she was yet strong enough to defend her honour and interests. The joint Note of the Powers came in due course to be delivered at Constantinople. European diplomacy of modern times has not been a peculiarly clean and lovely thing, but its latest Note to Turkey will for ever live as a naked act of shame and scandal in modern history. The resumption of hostilities was clearly distasteful to some of the Powers as well to the Allies. The latter had powerful friends to back their demands in the councils of Europe. Turkey should, therefore, be coerced into submission, decided Diplomacy, for she was the only Power on whom coercion could be exercised without the least fear of consequences.

The question was naturally asked at the time: Was Kiamil Pasha playing a game of bluff and would he eventually throw dust into the eyes of his people as soon as the Powers agreed to take joint action and called upon the Porte to yield? For the European diplomats the question had no great interest, as they were confident that Kiamil Pasha's Government would ultimately give way. Their confidence was in a considerable measure justified. The Triple *Entente* was solidly ranged on the side of the Allies. Russia had made it plainly manifest that she would invade Armenia if Turkey did not speedily make up her mind to accept the Allies' terms of peace. Above all, they had full reliance on the timid and halting nature of the policy of Kiamil Pasha and his extreme pliability to British advice. In view of the fact that the European diplomacy had thrown its entire weight in the balance against the Turks as well as of the character of the late Turkish Government, the diplomats calculated that the Turkish attitude would be revised after a feeble protest to save appearances. Events have shown that their calculations were not wrongly based.

But the question whether Kiamil Pasha's Government would quietly surrender to the demands of the Powers had a supreme importance to the Ottoman nation as well as to the whole Islamic world. If Adrianople, the key to Constantinople and a city rich with many historical and sacred memories as the first seat of Ottoman power in Europe, was to be surrendered, along with the whole vilayet of Adrianople, if in addition to hundreds of thousands of Moslems in Macedonia, even the province of Thrace, more than 60 per cent of whose population is Moslem, was to be handed over to the tender mercies of the Bulgars; if the fate of the islands close to the coast of Asia Minor was to be submitted to the will of the Powers; if all this could be contemplated by the rulers of Turkey when the Allies' only resource was the benevolence of European diplomacy and when about 800,000 fresh Ottoman soldiers were ready to shed their last drop of blood for the sake of the fatherland, then all one could do was to pray for the speedy deliverance of Turkey from the grip of the evil genius that was leading to her dishonour and her fall.

The deliverance has at last come. The Committee of Union and Progress has risen into power again. It is needless to speak of the ideals that inspire its leaders and the rank and file of its adherents. The best proof of their ability and patriotism lies in the bitter hostility and denunciation that every potential enemy of their country has directed against them in Europe. If Turkey can be saved from humiliation and dismemberment, it would certainly be saved through the courage, resourcefulness and devotion of her best sons who, though not necessarily young in years, are yet young in hope, have faith in their mission and their destiny and prefer death to dishonour. The forces that have produced the Committee of Union and Progress are the forces that have evolved personalities like that of Mahmud Shevket or of Enver Bey. These are the forces that alone can vitalise what is best and noblest in the character and ideals of the race. The proclamation by the Committee says that "the new Cabinet will utilise the whole resources of the nation to protect the fatherland and restore the honour of Turkey." The true note of the spirit in which Mahmud Shevket and his colleagues will address themselves to their great task was struck by Talaat Bey when he said to Reuter's representative that "we shall save national honour or perish. We do not desire a continuation of war, but we are determined to keep Adrianople." True friends of Turkey will rejoice at these words of courage and of hope. They will revive the drooping spirits of Mussalmans throughout the world. Dr. Ansari's cable, announcing the resignation of Kiamil Pasha's Cabinet and the appointment of Mahmud Shevket Pasha as Grand Vizier, reached us just when Reuter's messages regarding the surrender of Kiamil had been published in India. Needless to say that it gave us great relief as it must have done to every Mussalman in this country and we sent the following cablegram to Dr. Ansari:—"Inform Sultan your cable removed tremendous load from Moslem

minds. All pray for resumption of fighting. Despair not of God's blessings. Remember Victory of Badr. Canvassing loan here." We have also sent the following message to Marshal Mahmood Sherket Pasha and we are sure it interprets the real feelings of Moslem India:—

"Your brother Moslems in India heartily rejoice at Your Excellency's appointment. Pray assure us Turks will live with honor or die with honor as true Turks and true Moslems. Cabling 5,000 sterling for relief. Striving for loan of one million."

But, though the new Cabinet enters on its task with the fullest sympathy and confidence of the Moslem world, it has to overcome enormous difficulties. One of these difficulties is financial, and we trust the Mussalmans of India will do all what they can to help the new Government by promptly subscribing the loan of one million sterling, the details of which have already been published by us. The greatest difficulty, however, consists in the attitude of the Powers, and especially of those composing the Triple Entente. The policy of vigour and determination, which the new Cabinet is sure to adopt, is bound to give rise to hostility in several quarters. By deciding to put pressure on Turkey, the Powers have already departed from the neutral attitude which they had solemnly agreed to maintain at the outbreak of the war. No one can expect the Muscovite that he would resist the temptation whenever he finds an opportunity to grind his own axe, but it is exceedingly painful to the Mussalman fellow-subjects of the British nation to see that the British Government has become a willing party to the coercion of Turkey. By no sophistry can it be maintained that such a act is not against the declared British neutrality. If Turkey has lost all hope of friendly assistance from Great Britain, she has surely done nothing to deserve an unfair and humiliating treatment. Need we repeat that such treatment is bound to cause intense sorrow and disappointment amongst the Mussalmans of India. We are sure their true feelings on the subject will be expressed in a public manner, and in no uncertain voice, throughout the country. If they have their responsibilities as British subjects, which they have always borne with loyal pride, they have at least the right to expect that the policy of His Majesty's Government will be consistent, just and honourable. It is as much for the sake of the British Empire as in the interests of Turkey that they expect this much—if not more.

Irish Home Rule and its Lessons.

ON JAN 16th January the third reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 367 votes against 257, the Liberal majority of 110 being the result of the combination of 248 Liberals, 72 Nationalists, 10 O'Rientals and 37 Labour Members. The Bill has been read a first time by the House of Lords, and the second reading will be taken on the 27th instant. Whatever its fate in the House of Peers, it seems that it will be carried at last and will receive Royal assent before the present Parliament is dissolved. It is, as Mr. Redmond said, "a great measure of conciliation and freedom and the final settlement of an ancient international quarrel." If Ulster recognises the inevitable and, wishing to forget the past, joins the Nationalists in working loyally for the good government of their common country, emancipated after more than a century, we have every hope that Mr. Redmond's confidence in the "millions of Irishmen in the Empire and in the United States who were eagerly waiting for the passage of the Bill for a complete reconciliation with England" will be justified by results.

The debate in the Commons has some lessons for us also in this country. In the first place, it is remarkable that particularly every Member of Parliament was present during the final scenes of the discussion. Only one Nationalist was absent because he was ill with paralysis. One of them was brought all the way from Dublin Hospital in charge of a nurse in order to assist his Party, and one octogenarian Radical and an invalid was carried into the House to vote. Thirteen Unionists, including Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, paired, and 9 others were absent owing to illness. No Liberals were absent unpaired, and only two of those who attended the debate voted with the Unionists. We wonder when it would be our turn in India to attain the same sense of discipline and public spirit when personal considerations could not come in the way of the performance of public duty. Tomorrow the Trustees of Aliquah would be called upon to attend their Annual Meeting, which is one of the two meetings that are generally held in the course of twelve months. It is true that the quorum of seven, which was fixed when the Board was composed of seventy members and has not yet been altered despite the lavish extension, is now never wanting when these meetings are held. But, to judge from the number of written votes received for the forthcoming meeting and still more from the reluctance of a number of Trustees to abolish the baneful system of voting by proxy, we doubt whether the attendance tomorrow would even go beyond a dozen. Attendance even at such important meetings has not a tenth of the attraction of ordinary official functions where an invitation is considered to serve much the same purpose of pedigree.

Another point worth nothing is that in the course of the debate Mr. Balfour, who moved the rejection of the Bill, said he was "shocked at the utter and dangerous want of comprehension of the Ulster Problem," but appealed to the Nationalists to try to be fair to Ulster and asked if the fears of Ulster-men were unreasonable "in view of what had happened in Ireland in the past and the anti-English attitude of the Nationalists." He warned the House that "if calamities arose and blood was spilt, which God forbid, then the real assassins would be those who never had the courage to face the situation in Ulster." Mr. F. E. Smith wanted the Liberals to consult Mr. Birrell "who knew the number of arms imported into Ulster." Mr. Bonar Law, who is nothing if not downright said that "Ulster would rebel and Ulster was bound to succeed because people would be ready to give up their lives in the cause." Sir Edward Carson, whose absence owing to illness was mourned by no less a person than the Prime Minister, may perhaps have proclaimed the rebellion of Ulster immediately after the voting in the Commons if he had been present. We wonder if the leaders of the Opposition, when they applaud the work of the Radicals in relation to Turkey, ever give a passing thought to the conditions of the Ottoman Empire and have the courage to face the situation in that still more distressed region. It is only now after a long and sometimes bloody struggle that Protestant England is going to do some justice to Catholic Ireland, and that too at a time when the Irish vote is essential for the success of the Radical programme in the government of England, Scotland and Wales. Ireland is in league with no foreign Power, and yet Protestant England has never scrupled to fling in her face the taunt that Home Rule would be nothing less than Rome Rule. If these Protestant gentlemen, who are even now keeping up the fight on behalf of Ulster, look a little into the history of the Ottoman Empire during the last century they will realise that Macedonia and Albania did not even to-day deserve autonomy, for what has happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Eastern Rumelia would happen again in the two European provinces of Turkey if they get autonomy. What is so curious is that a Liberal Government, which wishes to be so just and reasonable as to disendow the Church in Wales and to offer Ulster to the Irish Nationalists, should wholly ignore the claims of the Mussalmans in the Ottoman Empire.

There is, however, one lesson which we trust the co-religionists of the Turks in India would take to heart. When the Partition of Bengal was modified a year ago the Government of India stated in para. 9 of their Despatch that "various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling, engendered by the Partition of Bengal, is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure." The resentment among the Hindus of Bengal was stated to be "as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal." That was the case when a measure which was not regarded as just to the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal had to be tolerated in order to reconcile the agitators. To-day when justice is being done to Ireland it is on the same ground. Mr. Asquith pointed out that what had to be confessed was "the undiminished vital demand of the vast majority of the Irish for Home Rule." "This demand," he said, "had been maintained for a generation with unvarying strength." Sir John Simon remarked that "the Irish demand for Home Rule had not weakened, but the enthusiasm of the Unionist rank and file had slackened." Does not all this go to show that a Government such as ours judges the expediency of acceding to popular demands from the strength and vitality of the demands themselves? This, indeed, is the basis of democratic rule, and if this is to be the psychology and the ethics of Government, how long are we to be told that agitation is not only needless but harmful? We trust there will never be an occasion before doing justice to Indian claims to refer to the administrators of this country and enquire the number of arms imported, nor would popular leaders try to fasten the guilt on the administrators for blood that has not been spilt and would not be spilt if an honourable understanding existed between them and those in power. Let us leave these tactics to Ulster and to His Majesty's Opposition, and work with the confidence that such "consistency, courage and resourcefulness" will remain the portion of men like Sir Edward Carson whom Mr. Asquith has either learnt or pretends to admire. For our part we are hopeful that there will be no such thing as a "perpetual friction" between India and England, and that "common sense and self-interest" would be "a safeguard besides patriotism and public spirit." We hope our rulers and the leaders of public opinion in this country would be able to "exercise the helpful influence separating the two countries and to unite them in a fruitful and enduring union." But to pass the expediency and wisdom of the grant of Home Rule to Ireland on the vitality of the Irish demand and to offer to Sir Edward Carson and Ulsteria the tribute of praise, and yet to seek to impose "final" decisions on Indian Mussalmans is childish and even worse. Indian Mussalmans may not be Irish Nationalists nor Sir Edward Carson, but they are not all babies or imbeciles.

CORRESPONDENCE



Allahabad High Court and the Govt. Advocate.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Allow me to lay before the public, through the medium of your esteemed journal, that in the *Leader* of to-day's date I find a leading article suggesting that the place of the Government Advocate in the Allahabad High Court should be conferred upon an Indian. In this connection five names of Hindu gentlemen only have been suggested as if there are no Muhammadans competent for the post or perhaps because they do not come under the category of "Indians." It would have been just and fair and would not have invited any criticism if the names of some Muhammadans had also been mentioned. We have seen for years that whenever any such question crops up Muhammadans are ignored, neglected and forgotten altogether, and when they put forward their legitimate claims they are described by "broad-minded and generous Indians" as selfish men who never fail to place obstacles in the way of Indian aspirations. Are these the ways and means of bringing about the two communities together, which is so much talked about, or of separating them wider apart? Under the circumstances, are the Muhammadans not justified in looking after their interests and demanding complete separation?

Allahabad,
21-1-13

A MUSSALMAN.

A Mussalman's Position in a Mixed Electorate.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The result of to-day's selection of two members for the Imperial Council by the non-official members of the U. P. Legislative Council clearly demonstrates the position of Mussalmans in relation to a mixed electorate. Out of 39 non-official members there are 8 Mussalman members, of whom 1 was absent. The number of non-official members present was therefore 28. Each member has the right of giving two votes. The following were the results:—

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| 1. The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur | ... | 22 |
| 2. The Hon'ble Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya | ... | 19 |
| 3. Nawab Ishaq Khan | ... | 15 |

The Mussalmans had taken care to put forward almost the best candidate amongst them in these Provinces. Nawab Ishaq Khan has been in Government Service as a District Judge for a long time and has just retired. He has unanimously been elected as the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh. It is reasonable to draw the conclusion from the number of votes recorded in his favour that the 7 Mussalmans present all voted for him and it is an open secret that he got one vote from a European non-official member and not a single vote came to him from any Hindu member. Is it open to say, in view of this state of things, that it is unreasonable on the part of Mussalmans to claim separate electorates for the Councils and for the Local Boards? I wonder what the opponents of the Hon. Mr. Burn's Circular have to say! No further comment is necessary from me.

Allahabad,

20-1-13.

INNAT AHMAD,
Bar-at-law and Honorary Secretary,
U. P. Muslim League.

The Coercion of Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Now that the Peace Conference of the Balkan belligerents seems most likely to break off owing mainly to Turkey's refusal to cede Adrianople, the Powers are putting pressure upon Turkey to yield to the demands of the Allies. This attitude of the Powers towards a friendless nation is bound to be considered as grossly unjust when we remember that before the war broke out they

had declared most vehemently that whatever might be the result of the war the *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula must remain unchanged. It is obvious now that this declaration was made by them in the supposition that the Turks would be victorious, for, as soon as the Allies scored their first victory over the Turks, the very Powers told the world that the *status quo* in the Balkans was dead. In fact, what they had supported in one breath they denounced in another. Later development of events, however, proved very soon that the optimism of the Powers was rather premature. The Bulgarians, who had boastfully proclaimed to the world that they would not rest content with anything short of an occupation of Constantinople, soon got a crushing defeat at Tchataldja and forthwith came to their senses, which made a discussion of the question of peace possible. But, unfortunately, the Allies elated with their initial successes and ignoring the potentialities of the vast Ottoman resources, not all of which had been turned into use till the armistice was signed, have put such exorbitant demands to Turkey that the latter has no other alternative left to her than to resume hostilities. No State having the least sense of national honour could do better under similar circumstances. The most amusing side of the affair at this moment, however, is that the Balkan States, who had refused to have anything to do with the Powers since the beginning of the war to the moment of signing the Armistice, now show an amount of deference to their wishes which is both surprising and suspicious. Evidently, the Allies, especially Bulgaria, now clearly see that while they have played their last card in the war for Turkey has just begun. They must, therefore, by hook or by crook, try to prevent the resumption of hostilities which is most likely to shatter their easily-gained prestige, as Turkey's military position has sufficiently improved lately. But should the Powers force Turkey to make an ignoble peace with her enemies, they are sure to bring upon themselves the curse of the entire Moslem world. For, if the few victories gained by the Allies have entitled them to the possession of cities which they have not been able to conquer from their adversary, it may be asked quite relevantly why the Turks were prevented from taking possession of Thessaly which they had conquered in the last Greco-Turkish war? Were not the Turks powerful enough to subjugate Greece at that time? But we forget the lesson impressed upon our minds again and again by the diplomats of Christian Europe that what can not be allowed to the detriment of a petty Christian State must be forced even to the ruin of a Muhammadan Empire. Let not Europe, then, try to assure the Moslem world that the occupation of Morocco by France, of Persia by Russia, of Tripoli by Italy and the combined invasion of Turkey's dominions by her Christian neighbours are but isolated events and not the outcome of a unity of purpose and policy adopted for the last hundred years by the Christian Powers towards the Moslem States. In doing so Europe only deceives herself.

The efforts of the Balkan States to rob Turkey of her European territories have evoked a chorus of praise from the bigots of Europe, who foresee in the lawlessness of these half civilized nations nothing but blessings for a highly patriotic fraternity. But, pray, what have the poor Arabs of Tripoli, who have been fighting for their native hearths against savagery, done to prove themselves unworthy of the same? They protested when Turkey proposed to disarm her refractory Christian subjects of Albania in order to establish security in her dominion; they were indignant and even troublesome when she imposed any new tax, however small, on her Christian subjects, or tried to put down the lawlessness of the Christian brigands in Macedonia; but they have turned a deaf ear to the shrieks and groans of thousands of helpless Muhammadans who have fallen victims to the shocking atrocities and brutalities of the allied armies in the Balkans, to which even the Christians of to-day have borne testimony. Thus, we see that our advocates of civilization and champions of humanity, who shout at the top of their voices over the imaginary grievances of the Christian subjects of a Moslem Empire, assume the rôle of mere passive spectators while the door of blood and lust is opened by the champions of the Cross in Moslem lands.

Whatever be the fate of the Moslem States that exist on the surface of the earth to-day, the Mussalman subjects of Britain earnestly hope that the British nation will at least not be a party, directly or indirectly, to the cruel and sinister plan of Christendom to put an end to the existence of Islam as a political factor in the world. If a strong Power is morally bound to show at least some respect for the sentiments of a people that have always remained its loyal subjects, let Britain show some consideration towards the feelings of her Mussalman subjects. Let her maintain that courage and sense of justice which have alone made her great and can alone keep her so.

Calcutta,
The 21st Jan., 1913.

Haji Badrud-din Ahmad.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Jan. 17.

THE Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, as President of the All-India Moslem League in London, has written to Foreign Office and the India Office calling attention to the indignation aroused in India at the reports of barbarous outrages on Mussalmans in Macedonia by the Balkan invaders. He says there is no room for doubt that these Mussalmans have been subjected to treatment unparalleled in modern history. He points out that Indian Moslems have always entertained the utmost goodwill and sympathy for their Christian fellow-subjects and that their friendship has been unwavering in the storm and stress of Indian administration of recent years, and has been recognised as an invaluable asset of Empire, and the Committee of the Moslem League in London urges the importance to England of not appearing to the Moslem world as a partizan and upholder of injustice by shutting her eyes to these cruel deeds.

A St. Petersburg wire says that M. Theodoroff, Bulgarian Minister of Finance, has been negotiating for the establishment of a Russo-Bulgarian Bank. He goes to Paris to-morrow to negotiate a loan, and then to London in connexion with the finances of railways in the occupied territories.

A Constantinople wire says that the Note of the Powers was presented this afternoon.

London, Jan. 18.

M. Jonesen, Roumanian Minister of the Interior, is returning to Bukharest. The question at issue with Bulgaria is still not settled, but M. Nishu will continue negotiations with Dr. Danoff.

The Powers' Note has been presented at Constantinople. It draws the attention of the Porte to the grave responsibility of preventing the re-establishment of peace by resisting their counsels. The Porte will only have itself to blame if the prolongation of the war jeopardises Constantinople and extends hostilities into its Asiatic provinces. The Powers, therefore, advise Turkey to cede Adrianople and to leave the Powers to decide the fate of the Aegean Islands and to assure report for the Moslem edifices at Adrianople.

A message to the *Times* from Sofia states that the Bulgarians have lost 284 officers killed and 876 officers wounded and sick and 21,019 men killed and 51,000 men wounded and sick. It is stated that seventy per cent. of the wounded have recovered or are recovering. There were 85,000 cholera patients at Tchataldja, but the deaths numbered only 8,000.

The Note of the Powers has caused a most unfavourable impression among the Turkish delegates in London.

It is believed in Paris that the Turkish reply will be uncompromising on the subject of Adrianople. The Note contains one significant passage, intimating that if Turkey hopes to obtain the moral and material support of Europe to repair the evils of the war and to develop her vast Asiatic territories, the prosperity of which will constitute Turkey's most effective resource, she must defer to the counsels of the Powers.

The Ambassadors have decided that Mount Athos shall be regarded as an independent Ecclesiastical Republic.

Several influential Turkish Senators have appealed to King George, declaring that the massacres of Mussalmans continue in Macedonia in spite of the armistice, and asking the British Government to co-operate with other Cabinets in inviting the Balkan States to observe the principles of universal morality. A similar appeal has been made to other Sovereigns.

A deputation representing the Jewish communities of France, Germany and Great Britain, has arrived in Sofia with large quantities of provisions and clothing for distribution among the Jews of Adrianople after the siege is over.

A Constantinople wire says that Noradunghian, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has submitted to the Council of Ministers the draft of the reply to the Note of the Powers. It is understood that the Note insists on the retention of Adrianople because the Bulgarian inhabitants of the town are in a minority, because of the splendid defence of the garrison and because the loss of Adrianople, containing the mosques of the Caliphs, would rain the prestige of Islam. Moreover, Adrianople is the gate of Constantinople, and its loss would endanger the existence of the Empire. Therefore, the Note prays the Powers to make representations to the Balkan States with a view to peace. With regard to the Archipelago,

the Porte refuses to give up the coast islands, although it is ready to negotiate with reference to the others.

London, Jan. 19.

An official despatch from the commander of the Turkish fleet confirms the report that it was the "Hamidiyeh" and not the "Majidiyeh" which attacked Syria. The despatch says that the Turkish vessel destroyed the powder magazine at Syria and also the Greek auxiliary cruiser.

An Athens wire says that after an all night reconnaissance by the "Hamidiyeh" and a destroyer, the whole of the Turkish fleet left Dardanelles yesterday morning and steamed in the direction of Lemnos. The Greek fleet immediately steamed to the attack. After fighting for an hour, the Turks fled. The Greeks pursued them, but after a two hours' running fight the Turks re-entered the Straits. The Greeks lost one man wounded. It is believed that several Turkish ships were damaged.

A Port Said wire says that the Turkish warship "Hamidiyeh" arrived there this morning. While approaching Port Said yesterday morning, she carried on a running fight with two small Greek cruisers. One anchor was lost and the other damaged.

The "Hamidiyeh" is now coaling and provisioning.

London, Jan. 20.

Reuter learns that the Balkan delegates in London have hitherto no official cognisance of the decision of the Powers that Mount Athos shall be regarded as an independent ecclesiastical republic. They express surprise that they have not been consulted in the matter, particularly as Greek troops are at present occupying the Peninsula. It is understood that the Republic will be under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch under the protection of the Governments adhering to the orthodox Greek Church. The Peninsula will be occupied by an international troop of Police.

A Constantinople wire says that the Government have decided to convene the National Assembly on Tuesday to consult regarding the situation. It is inferred from this the reply to the Powers will not be delivered for some days.

Reuter learns that it is believed that the Turkish reply to the Powers will not be an absolute *non possumus*, but will leave a loophole for further negotiations.

The delegates of the Allies in London declare that the next move must lie with the Powers. No action will be taken until after the views of the Powers are known, but if the Powers are unable to proceed to take urgent measures in the event of a Turkish refusal, then the Allies will take matters into their own hands, as they cannot wait indefinitely on the goodwill of Turkey.

The reports of the naval action in the Dardanelles are now conflicting. The Turkish official version says the Greek vessels were damaged, after which the Turks returned victoriously to the Dardanelles. It is reported in Constantinople that there was another fight on Sunday in which both sides lost heavily. There is no confirmation of reports.

It transpires that there was a serious quarrel in the Dardanelles on Monday last between naval officers who were anxious to fight the Greeks and others who considered that the Turkish Navy was no match for the Greek fleet. It is stated that blows were exchanged and that fifteen officers were wounded. The dispute followed upon the discovery of a proclamation, signed "Women of Turkey," suggesting that the Commanders of the forts should sink ships the officers of which were too poor spirited to fight the Greeks.

The Montenegrin Peace Mission on Friday presented to Sir Edward Grey and the Ambassadors of the Powers in London a memorandum explaining why Scutari, Ipek and Prizrend should be annexed to Montenegro, declaring that Montenegro would rather disappear as a political factor in the Balkans than renounce her claims. The memorandum is accompanied by a map showing the extent of the territory claimed by Montenegro. It is understood that the other Balkan missions are preparing similar statements. A Vienna wire says that Count von Berchtold has sent a telegram inviting M. Jonesen, Roumanian Minister of the Interior, to visit him while on his way to Bucharest, but M. Jonesen yesterday evening traversed Vienna without interrupting his journey.

It is officially announced in Athens that the entrance to the harbour at the Piræus is mined and that no ships will be allowed to enter or leave except between seven in the morning and five in the evening, and a pilot must be on board.

5th January.

The Comrade.

The All-India Medical Mission.

Pictorial Supplement.



*Mr. Mohamed Ali, Organizer, and Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari,
Director, of the Mission.*

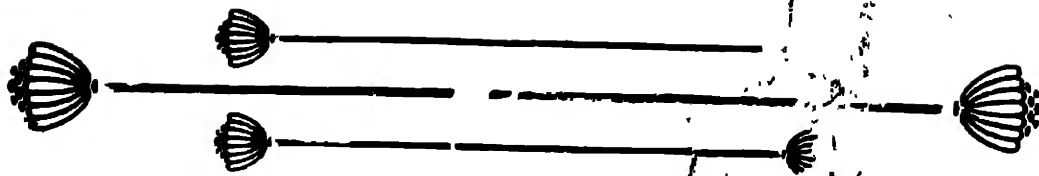
PHOTOGRAPH BY]

[VERNON, BOMBAY.

Members of the All-India Medical Mission.

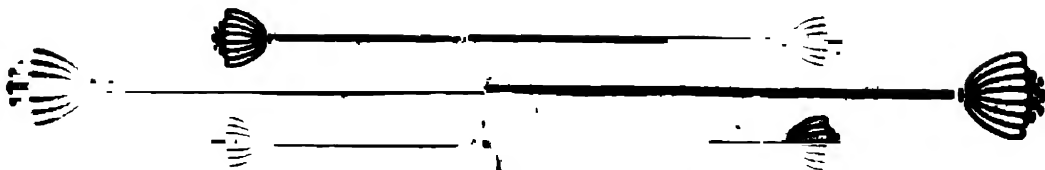
The Comrade.

25th January.



[BOMBAY]

First Row - Messrs Abdul Aziz Ansari, Husain Raz Beg, Hamid Haveli, Abdur Rahman of Peshawar, Abdul Wahid Khan and Shaukat Qureshi.
 Second Row - Messrs Nur-ud-Din, Yusuf Ansari, Nizam Hussain Sherazi, Tahir Hussain and Manzoor Ali.
 Third Row - Messrs Ahmad Khan, Dr. N. Mulla, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Abdul Wahid Ali, Mr. Ali Akbar, Mr. Syed Kamal Lari, Mr. Abul Kalam Siddiqi and Mr. Khaliq-uz-Zaman.
 (Chief Director) (Director) (Organizer) (Manager)



25th January.

The Comrade.

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WE WROTE very much we were unable to publish the photographs contained in this Supplement shortly after the departure of the All-India Medical Mission to Turkey. The delay has been due to the fact that a friend in Bombay who had been entrusted with the photographs could not send them earlier for publication. As it is, however, we publish them to-day. There is a special appropriateness in the occasion as much as we have received this week three letters from Dr. Ansari—the very first sent to us from Constantinople, and all full of news which would be greatly devoured not only by our readers, but by millions of Muslims in India. More than this, Dr. Ansari was the first to cable to us the welcome news of what cannot be described except as a revolution and is hardly less remarkable than the two previous revolutions in which that gallant hero, Enver Bey, in whom the world and Turkey may yet find another "Little Corporal" from Corsica, took such a prominent part. We have been amply recompensed for any trouble we may have taken in organising the Mission by the service which Dr. Ansari rendered us in removing within an hour the inexpressible load of depression and gloom which had settled upon us on hearing through Hafeez of Kemal Pasha's abrupt surrender to the Allies. The second letter of

these sentiments of ours for publication in this issue, we received his third letter which rewarded us amply enough for our patience and self-denial. It is too long for publication in this issue which is already delayed by our desire to include in this Supplement a portion of the second letter which we received only an hour ago. But we cannot withhold from our readers some extracts which will, we are sure, increase the desire to receive the next issue



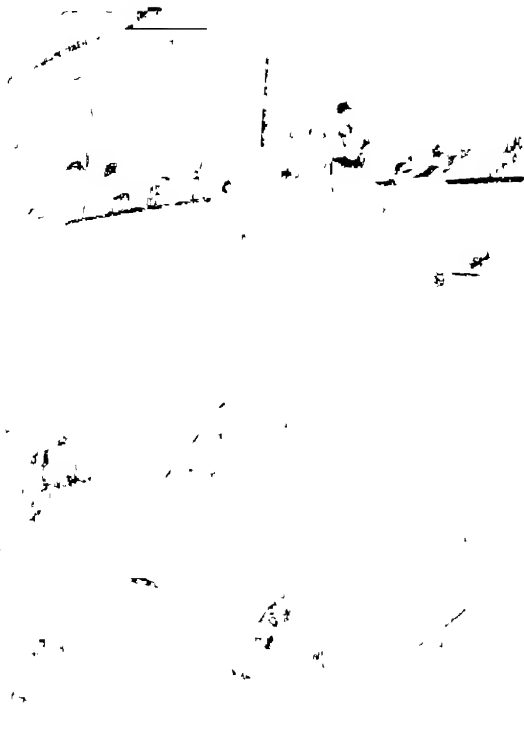
VARNON,
BOMBAY.]

Boarding the s.s. "Sardegna."

when the whole of this letter will be published. Writing on the morning of the 31st December, Dr. Ansari says—

"Orders had been given to our Transport Department to get all the baggage ready by 6.30. At 6.30, I was ready."

As I stepped ashore, I could clearly discern the shadowy outlines of the minarets and domes, the old fortresses and the new buildings along the shores of the Bosphorus. There lay Stamboul in its proud but sad dignity, and the feelings it aroused in one's mind were difficult to analyse. Those hills and old forts now crumbling down had seen the advent of the mighty Turks, the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the rise and glory of the Ottoman. Now, alas! the time had come when they were watching the gradual dismemberment of their Empire and



VARNON.]

On board the s.s. "Sardegna."

[BOMBAY]

Dr. Ansari was scribbled off by the Manager to the Director's dictation as he was very busy in making arrangements for taking the Mission to Sanjak Tzeta near Hademkui, the headquarters of the late Nazim Pasha, some 15 kilometres from Constantinople where they were to work. We are glad that Dr. Ansari is unwilling to sacrifice any time needed for the performance of his duties as the Director of the Mission to correspondence for the Comrade. But just as we were sending

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moslem rule approached the quay a large crowd of Turkish people waiting on the shore. We were met by Ali Bey, the Inspector-General of the and two military doctors of the rank of other notabilities. The ubiquitous "Man from the re, and we were also met by a man with a

note from the British Ambassador. But the Croussant Rouge with the help of Cook's man took charge of our baggage. We formed a line walking in twos, and as we came down with Colonel Mehmet Ali Bey, the Guard of Honour gave us a salute and the band played the Turkish National Anthem. That was the first and would probably be the only place for representatives from India to be honoured with a salute. You could imagine how much we all appreciated this and

the reigning monarch. As His Majesty was passing us, at the sound of a drum we shouted in one voice "Pashahem Chooq yasha!", in response to which the Sultan gave a very gracious bow towards us and smiled at us and called the chief A-D C, Saleh Pasha, who came to us with a message from His Majesty welcoming us and expressing His Majesty's gracious appreciation. Nazim Pasha also came to us and spoke to us and, after shaking hands with me,

asked me if I was pleased with the way His Majesty had received us. On entering the mosque I found that the place was already too crowded, but I could see the interior from my place. It is built like a London theatre, only the building is square instead of being round. The public prayers where the stalls and pit would be and His Majesty, with his suite and the Cabinet Ministers, occupies the place where the dress circle would be situated. The first half of the *Khutba* was read by one man and the second half by another man in green cloak and turban. They had beautiful voices and recited with perfect *Ko'ar*, a chorus of Qaris repeating "Amen" and other suitable responses during the *Khutba*.

It was really a most artistic and musical *Khutba* one has ever heard.



On board the s.s. "Sardegna."

VERNON
BOMBAY

felt the honour bestowed on us. In one action our eternal brotherhood was sealed."

Hardly less interesting is the account which Dr. Ansari gives of the *Salamlik* on the 3rd of January. He writes:

"We were all dressed in our

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Crescent, where we were to be joined by Col. Mehmet Ali Bey, who accompanied us to Dolmeh Baghtelch Mosque. We drove in eight carriages and arrived at the mosque by 11 o'clock. Here we were given a place very near where His Majesty the Sultan's carriage stopped. We stood there in two rows and awaited His Majesty's arrival and watched all the soldiers standing on both sides of the rows and the *corps diplomatique* awaiting His Majesty's arrival at the entrance to the grounds of the mosque. At the sound of music two

the mosque bearing silver incense-burners in their Majesty's carriage as it entered the arch drove in a pair and carriage with a postillion in it were wonderful grays such as I had never seen in my life. I was told that these horses are of a species which has been preserved generation after generation and

VERNON.]

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Farewell!

[BOMBAY,

The *Namaz* was very short, only *نماز* and *تلاوة* being read in the two *rek'ats*. After *Namaz* His Majesty departed and we drove in our carriages to the tomb of Hazrat Ayyoub Ansari."

[V.B.—The photographs in this Supplement can be ordered through the Manager of the Comrade.]



London, Jan. 21.

Reuter learns that the Bulgarian Premier has empowered the delegates in London to telegraph to General Savoff direct instructing him to resume hostilities when they think there is no reasonable prospect of conclusion of peace. It is pointed out that the Balkan soldiers must be able to return to their fields at the latest at the beginning of February, otherwise famine will be inevitable.

A Belgrade wire says that all officers and men on leave have been ordered to return immediately.

There is no doubt that the Greeks achieved a considerable naval success. The Allies have warmly congratulated Greece. It is officially stated in Athens that the Turkish squadron consisted of eighteen units with 146 guns and the Greek squadron consisted of twelve units and 106 guns. The fighting started at 7,500 yards. The Greeks eventually increased their speed. When within four thousand yards the "Medjidiyeh" and the "Mesandiyeh" ceased firing and the "Barbarossa" and the "Torgat" slackened fire, enveloped in steam. The Turkish line was in great disorder and steamed at full speed towards the Straits, the funnels emitting flames.

A message from Port Said says that the "Hamidiyeh" has entered the Suez Canal and is proceeding towards the Red Sea.

London, Jan. 22.

A Belgrade message says that all officers and men on leave have been ordered to return immediately.

The Ambassadors in London will to-day take up the question of Albania.

Montenegro and Servia have already submitted a memorandum detailing their claims; the former demanding Scutari, Ipck, and Prizrend and the latter Prizrend and Prilep.

The Greeks have commenced an attack on Bizani which is the key to Janina.

The meeting of the Grand Council at Constantinople has been adjourned to Wednesday. The general impression is that the attitude of the Government towards the demands of the Allies is weakening.

The Turkish warship "Hamidiyeh" after leaving Syria proceeded to Beirut, where sighting a cruiser, probably a German cruiser, the Breslau, which she took for a Greek, she cut her anchor and left at full speed. Sighting on Saturday night two destroyers supposed to be Greek the "Hamidiyeh" fled to Port Said.

Reuter learns that Bulgaria has agreed to cede to Rumania territory on the coast southward of Mangalia which will be made a naval base. This has not been feasible hitherto owing to its proximity to the frontier. This cession removes the chief difficulty.

M. Theodoroff, Bulgarian Minister of Finance, has arrived in London for the purpose of sounding financial circles in view of an impending loan which is intended mainly for enterprises arising out of the new situation.

London, Jan. 23.

A Constantinople telegram states that the Grand Council met at Dolmabahache Palace yesterday. Eighty prominent persons were invited including most of the senators, under-secretaries and ecclesiastical dignitaries of Islam. It is understood that the Council decided in favour of accepting the Note of the Powers for the conclusion of peace.

Later.

The decision was almost unanimous. After only a slight discussion the Government frankly declared in favour of acceptance of the Powers' advice. A Note accordingly will be handed to the ambassadors to-morrow in which Government will place itself in the hands of the Powers and agree to their proposals regarding Adrianople and the islands.

Severe financial penny prevails in Constantinople. December salaries have not yet been paid.

Montenegro demands Scutari, Ipck, and Djakova, not Prizrend. Servia proposes as the natural frontier between Albania and Servia, the watershed between the Adriatic and Lakes Prespa and Ochrida.

The Balkan delegates in London are satisfied with Turkey's position, though they point out that several important questions must be settled before peace is signed: including the payment of an indemnity, the proportion of Ottoman debt to be assumed by the Allies, and the question of railways.

It is believed in Constantinople that the Note in reply to Powers will be a plain straightforward acceptance of their proposals, but that an attempt will be made to make reservations leading to further discussion. But with the cession of Adrianople settled in principle it is unlikely that an early conclusion of peace will be achieved.

The Grand Vizier, Nazim Pasha, the Minister of Finance, and the Foreign Minister spoke at the Grand Council.

Nazim Pasha said that the army was eager to fight though there was a chance of retreating Salonic or Monastir or even

of relieving Adrianople; but other questions besides military ones militated against the continuation of hostilities.

The Minister of Finance explained the dependence of the treasury on foreign markets.

The Foreign Minister said that there was little hope of European complications. He emphasised the attitude of Russia, who had twice recently warned the Porte that a continuation of hostilities might compel her to depart from neutrality.

The Berlin Press attacks the German Government for surrendering to the Triple Entente in their extorting the surrender of Turkey, which they attribute to Russian threats to invade the Asiatic vilayets.

The facts of the naval engagement have now become known. Encouraged by the reports of the success of the "Hamidiyeh" the Turkish commander ventured southward as far as Tenedos, where he began to retire slowly.

Immediately the Greeks were sighted the Turks fired over 300 shells. They claim to have inflicted much damage, though they themselves suffered severely. The warships "Assari Tewfik" and "Torgut Reis" were badly hit. A shell exploded in the turret of the latter, everyone being killed and both guns disabled. Altogether four officers and 86 men were killed and 104 wounded.

It is officially reported in Athens that an artillery attack on Bizani began at eight yesterday morning along the entire front and continued till six in the evening. The Turks replied in a feeble manner. A general advance followed, the Greeks dislodging the Turks from the outlying positions, and the enemy fled in disorder towards Bizani.

London, Jan. 24.

Reuter learns that Sir Edward Grey will probably convene the Peace Conference on Monday when it will formally draw up in the form of a protocol Turkey's decisions.

The Balkan delegates in London point out that there are still many serious and complicated questions awaiting settlement.

The signature of the treaty is hardly possible for a month.

It is believed that the Allies may agree to take over thirty-two millions sterling of Turkish debt, accepting half of it as war indemnity. The Montenegrins say that the conference of ambassadors who on Wednesday discussed the question of Albania were much impressed with their view. They declare that they will not accept the Austrian proposal to give Montenegro a portion of the shore of Lake Scutari without the town itself and Montenegro is ready to fight for it.

A Budapest telegram states that the War Minister has ordered a partial demobilisation of the reserve.

The Turkish Cabinet has resigned. General Mahmud Shekhet has been appointed Grand Vizier, Talaat Bey Minister of the Interior, and Izzet Pasha Minister of War.

In an interview with Reuter's representative Talaat Bey said: "This means that we shall save the national honour or perish. We do not desire a continuation of the war, but we are determined to keep Adrianople."

Later.

The crisis was of a dramatically sudden character. The Cabinet met at noon to prepare a Note accepting the proposals of the Powers. The crowd assembled outside the Porte and deputed Enver Bey and Nizari Bey to inform the Cabinet that it must retire.

Enver Bey returned with Kiamil Pasha's resignation. He then went to the palace and brought back an order appointing Mahmud Shekhet Pasha as Grand Vizier with the rank of Marshal. Prior to the demonstration loyal troops were sent to manœuvre outside Constantinople while a battalion which had gone over to the Committee of Union and Progress was sent to the Porte.

The proclamation by the Committee denounces Kiamil Pasha and his colleagues as traitors and says that the new Cabinet will utilise the whole resources of the nation to protect the fatherland and restore the honour of Turkey. The city was perfectly quiet in the evening. It was raining in torrents and disorders are unlikely.

Nazim Pasha was shot by the demonstrators. Prior to the resignation of the Cabinet Enver Bey and Talaat Bey had forbidden bloodshed, but when Nazim Pasha's aide-de-camp fired from the window of the Porte the demonstrators returned fire, killing Nazim Pasha. Nevertheless order in the city was not disturbed.

The official announcement of the Cabinet's resignation says: "The decision of the Cabinet in reply to the Note of Powers to abandon Adrianople and part of the islands was unconstitutional, and submission of the decision to an extraordinary assembly was in violation of the right of the people. This procedure roused the indignation of the country and led people to hold a demonstration before the Sublime Porte and caused the resignation of the Cabinet." At seven o'clock in the evening the crowd had not dispersed.

Great excitement prevails among the public to-day. There has been some fighting in which about a dozen persons were wounded. Many arrests have been made.

Dr. Dand, the Bulgarian Premier, will leave London with Sir Edward Grey this afternoon. A great number of the representatives of the Balkan States will be here in consequence to determine the Allies' course of action.

It is understood that the ambassadors in London will urge the Balkan States to hold their hands until the new Turkish Government has replied to the Note of the Powers.

Mahmud Shekfat Pasha has completed his Cabinet. He himself takes over the Portfolio of War in addition to being Grand Vizier. Haji Adil Bey is Minister of the Interior and Mukhtar Bey Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Cabinet met this afternoon to draft a reply to the Powers' Note.

An Athens message says that General Rajundzakia in a despatch says that it has been raining uninterruptedly since Monday. The advance of the Greek right on the evening of the 21st inst. was slow owing to difficult ground.

The Greek occupied a line between Bisani and Catallo. A mixed detachment which pursued the enemy captured four guns and several prisoners. The enemy sustained heavy casualties.

News from Turkish Sources.

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE "COMRADE.")

CONSTANTINOPLE newspapers received by the last mail are full of the tale of atrocities committed by the troops of the Allies in Macedonia. The *Jeune Turc* devotes almost two columns entitled *le Dossier des Allies* every day to a full description of these atrocities. The literature on the subject has assumed such proportions that it has been considered advisable to form a committee with the object of publishing the acts of atrocity. Nearly all the important newspapers of Constantinople are represented on this committee whose great object is to draw the attention of the Porte and the Powers to this "vile and ignoble aspect of the war." We are informed in the *Jeune Turc* of the 2nd January that "the Ottoman Government have decided to protest to the Powers against the massacres committed in Macedonia. According to authentic reports the number of victims is estimated at more than a hundred thousand."

The *Jeune Turc* publishes several articles written by Senator Batzarla on the subject of the peace negotiations at London. The demands of the Allies at the London Conference are very happily summed up by the eminent Senator in the following sentences (*Jeune Turc* of the 27th December): "In short what is it that the Allies demand? Three things: the cession of the Ottoman territory which they have effectively occupied, the cession of the territory which they have been unable and will always be unable to occupy, and thirdly the cession of that territory which they have never entered." And it should be borne in mind, he adds, that according to the history of the other wars of the world "the people vanquished and reduced to complete powerlessness have only surrendered a part of the territory effectively occupied by the victors." In the opinion of Senator Batzarla matters seem to be drifting towards war rather than towards peace.

In the *Jeune Turc* of the 29th December Senator Batzarla discusses the possibility of the Peace Negotiations resulting in a war between two European Powers. "A short while ago," he remarks, "a foreign diplomatist told me that the European Powers will never go to war with each other to serve the interests of the Orientals or any other people that they consider half civilized. As a guarantee of our future existence, therefore, we should not rely upon the disagreements of European Powers with each other, we should find it in ourselves, in our own strength. The Powers may have in our country interests diametrically opposed to each other's, the point of view of one may be different to that of the other, but the recent happenings in Morocco and Persia prove clearly that in the support of their respective interests the Powers will not go to the extent of an open conflict with each other. A *modus vivendi* will always be found."

The lull in the war is enlivened by reports of stubborn fighting at Soudri and Jaulia. Hasan Raza Bey, the Commandant of the Turkish troops at Soudri, is evidently not a believer in the value of armistices and peace negotiations; for when the Montenegrin Government sent an emissary (*Jeune Turc* of 2nd January) to Hasan Raza to negotiate for the suspension of hostilities, the Ottoman Commandant flatly refused to receive him and promptly followed up his words by leading a sortie against the Montenegrins at a time when it was least expected. He lost three men killed and forty-five wounded, but returned with a booty of two guns and more than two hundred and fifty prisoners.

Things seem to have been going badly with the Greeks near Japina. The *Universel* received the following telegram on the 30th of December from Athens: "An artillery duel commenced at Bazani and was followed up with a furious onslaught by the Turks. The Turks had concentrated in great strength on the right wing

and launched an impetuous attack on the Greeks. A most desperate action has taken place. General Sepoundzakia has arrived with reinforcements. The artillery duel continued throughout the night. The Greek losses are considerable." This telegram, remarks the *Jeune Turc*, has passed the Greek Censor, and we may take it that it does not err on the side of exaggeration so far as the Greek losses are concerned.

Indications of preparation for the resumption of hostilities can be discerned in almost all the Turkish newspapers. Nazim Pasha seems to have been particularly active and is back again in his bureau at the War Office. Councils of Ministers, visits of Foreign Ambassadors and the Sultan's great desire to visit the Tchataldja lines are other items of interest.

A letter of Enver Bey published in the *Jeune Turc* of 1st January is, however, specially interesting, touching as it does upon the circumstances of his departure from Tripoli. We will quote *Jeune Turc's* words: "Lt.-Col. Enver Bey whose desire was to continue the resistance against Italy even after the conclusion of peace, has left Tripoli for Europe to fight in the ranks of the Turkish Army. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* publishes a private letter received at Berlin from Enver Bey. He says: 'In spite of my previous intentions I have been obliged to leave Cyrenaique abruptly to work at a place—it does not matter where—in which I can render myself useful. The latest telegrams from Constantinople suggested the reflection that my fatherland perhaps needed my services and I decided at once to go. But I could not and would not leave to the Italians the Arabs that I have led and defended for more than a year and whom I love from the bottom of my heart. I therefore took measures which will permit of the successful resistance being continued.' Enver Bey goes on to describe what he has done in Africa. By levying duties on merchandise coming from Egypt, by imposing taxes on the exports by camels, and by putting paper money into circulation (a part of which has already been redeemed) he has been able to find the wherewithal for starting elementary schools and an industrial institution for organizing the Administration under the direction of the Sheikh, and for forming two companies of gendarmes and troops comprising infantry, cavalry, artillery and a detachment of mitrailleurs. Enver Bey believes that the task of the Italians in Cyrenaique will always be difficult. His letter ends with the following words:—

"My comrades are there still to continue the work, and by refusing the presents sent by the King of Italy the great Sheikh of the Senonensis, Said Ahmed, has clearly expressed his warlike intentions and has thrown down the gauntlet in the face of the Italians. If I tell you that in spite of all this I rejoice at returning to Turkey it is because I hope again to be useful to my fatherland after the sad events of which I have just been informed."

Interview With Osman Nizami Pasha.

(FROM THE "PIONEER" LATE CORRESPONDENT IN THE NEAR EAST.)

London, Jan. 3.

OSMAN PASHA is a man of middle age, probably not more than five and forty, who, after passing through the Military College at Constantinople, was allowed to enter the Staff College, and so joined the Army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and the post of A.-D.-C. to the Sultan. He speaks Western as well as Eastern languages with equal fluency, and is as much at home in English as in Turkish. He is the only Turkish Delegate who understands our language. I found him at the Carlton busy over cypher despatches, but on recognising me he at once put aside his work and willingly offered to give me all the information at his disposal.

My first question naturally was as to the reason for the setbacks of the Turkish Army. "Ah!" replied the General, "You may well ask that and I will give you my reasons for what they are worth, for you must remember that I was not present at any of the engagements, that my visit to Tchataldja was only during the armistice; but I have had long conversations with many Generals who were through the campaign, notably with Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, who speaks of you in the warmest terms and regretted that you were not with him in this war. Well, you must know, that we were not in the least prepared for the war, it was sprung upon us in the most cowardly fashion. For the past year we had been fighting the Italians with our hands behind our backs; owing to the lack of a fleet we were unable to send any reinforcements to Tripoli, but we did send a large number, several thousands of our best young officers, to organise the Arabs in their gallant defence of their country. Then we heard that the Bulgars and Serbs were arming and then commenced the diplomatic war, they accusing our troops of attacking their villages and demanding reparation. This was followed by the Montenegrins doing the same thing. We foresaw difficulties and prepared to mobilise, but representations were made to us by Sir Gerald Lowther and others

15th January.

The Comrade.

Ambassadors begging us not to take any steps that might be considered provocative, that the Great Powers were determined there should be no war, and that we need not fear any overt act of hostilities so long as we did not provoke attack. Well and good, we at once gave orders for the troops to stand fast. However, the attitude of the Balkan States became more and more hostile, and at last the Great Powers addressed to us and at the same time to them a warning that in the event of hostilities neither party would be permitted to obtain any territorial or pecuniary advantages. That surely, argued the wisacres of the Chancellories of Europe, will cure the hot bloods of the Balkan States, they will never embark on a war when they know they can reap no advantage. However, the Great Powers forgot that the smaller Powers had wills of their own and the world was astonished at the delivery of an ultimatum couched in such terms that we were compelled to look upon it as a declaration of war.

"We were in no condition to commence hostilities. As I have just told you many thousands of our best young officers were in Tripoli and, moreover, we had massed two complete Army Corps of Nisim troops and five of Redifs on the coast of Syria in order to repel an Italian landing on the coast. So it happened that many of the battalions of our Army Corps in Europe were terribly short of officers. Some few had seven, some had but two Company Officers. All the Redifs of the European corps were on the coast of Syria as were the Reservists of the Active Army. They had been drafted to the Syrian Corps to bring them up to war strength with trained men. Well the war broke out in Europe, and the battalions of the Rodosto, Monastir and Adrianople Corps which were at peace strength had to be placed on a war footing. Their ranks were hastily filled with men who had never been taught how to load a rifle and the instruction of these raw recruits had to be taken in hand by the two or three company officers with the battalions. Here again our lack of a fleet told heavily against us. We had nearly 150,000 trained men on the coast of Syria, but these were for the moment unavailable, they had to march round to the railway near Konia, a distance of several hundred miles, and it is only since the declaration of the armistice that these regiments have reached Tchataldja.

"Then again our cavalry and artillery were short of horses: We had foolishly adopted the European idea of allowing our gun teams even to be on a peace footing. When war broke out we were 48,000 horses short for the cavalry and artillery of our European Army Corps. Their places were filled by untrained horses and long before these were fit to take their places in the ranks, they were led into action and the consequences were fatal. Untrained men on untrained horses under the fire of quick-firing artillery and modern rifles!

"Another great defect was the want of good roads. Even those in the immediate vicinity of the capital became veritable quagmires after a shower. No attempts had been made by Governors of Provinces to carry out the laws for the construction and maintenance of roads. You know that every Turkish subject has to give so many days' labour for the maintenance of roads and large sums are annually voted for this purpose. These sums have for many years been misapplied. We have an old proverb, 'He who drinks out of the waters of the Government is a swine.' In other words the man who does not rob the Government is a pig. Well there are few pigs in Turkey, for every man had dipped his hands deep into the pockets of the Malieh. Bad roads prevented the rapid concentration of our troops and then Marshal Von der Goltz's boasted mobilisation schemes failed utterly. The corps existed on paper it is true, and when the order to mobilise went forth the men did turn up as Turkish soldiers ever will. But where were the transport trains? Where was the money to purchase the animals? Money was forlorn ming and regiments were hurried off to Stambul without the equipment, without transport, without officers. In this state they crossed the Bosphorous and were pushed up to the front, arriving there like a pack of sheep, none knowing who was his leader, to what corps, what brigade he belonged. Yet the men fought well. It was not the Bulgarians or the Serbs, or even the Greeks who defeated us. It was want of organisation and hunger. Take the case of the fighting at Kirk Kilisich and thence to Lüle Burgas and the retirement to the Tchataldja lines. No transport existed at all in Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha's army. He was compelled to attack the Bulgarians who were swarming down from Jamboli threatening our communications with Adrianople, but his men had been without food for three days. They were thoroughly exhausted, they had no reserve ammunition, the roads were abominable and the horses sank up to their hocks in mud, stiff clay, the guns up to their axles. It was impossible to move them even with double teams, and the infantry owing to lack of food were too exhausted to lend a hand. The men fell out in numbers to search for bread and then some of the enemy's cavalry appeared and a panic took place. Mahmud Mukhtar endeavoured to restore order and even shot down men with his own hands, but starving men are not alive to reason and it was

not until he had rallied the best elements of his army at Lüle Burgas that he was able to reform his corps.

"All these stories of the crossing of bayonets, of the daring charges of the Bulgarians are false: I have been over our hospitals and I have spoken with numbers of officers who have been present in every action of the war. I have seen plenty of men with bullet and some with shrapnel wounds, but a bayonet or a sabre wound I have not heard of. I do not decry the Bulgars. Their Army was excellently organised, they chose a good time for their attack, but they are not the undaunted heroes of Lieutenant Wegener's fables. They are just ordinary mortals and were the war renewed we now would meet them on more equal terms and in a month we should be in Sofia.

"Now let me turn to the Peace Conference and the terms of the Allies. These are preposterous and can never be accepted. Adrianople is the ancient capital of Turkey in Europe and the burial place of our earlier Sultans. We have already lost Prizrend where Murad the First was interred after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, but we can never cede Adrianople. It is the Key of Constantinople. In Bulgarian hands it will always be a standing menace to Turkey. In ours it reveals been a menace to Bulgaria. It has not fallen. Why then should it be surrendered? We have an old proverb 'What was won by the sword, must be taken by the sword.' If Adrianople had fallen, the case would be different. We then might have reluctantly acquiesced in its transfer. Now we certainly shall not do so. We are prepared to bow to the wishes of the Great Powers and permit Albania to be created an autonomous State under a Prince of our own house and under the suzerainty of the Sultan and we must bow to the inevitable and allow Macedonia to pass from our hands. But Thrace we must and shall retain. And, of course, the Islands we can never cede. It is true that owing to accidents to our fleet some of the islands have been occupied by the Greeks, but you must remember that we have never had any garrisons in those Islands. They are principally inhabited by Greeks and it has been our custom to allow them a perfect freedom. This will be confirmed to them, but from a strategic point of view it will be fatal to the security of our Asiatic Empire to have islands at our very gates in the hands of people who still lay claim to Byzantium. We are determined not to abandon Thrace or Adrianople. If war is to be resumed we are ready for it. All our weak spots have disappeared. We now have 75,000 men, good fighting men, in Gallipoli and 200,000 at Tchataldja with another 80,000 between Konia and Scutari nearing the Bosphorus every day. Every day's delay brings strength to our forces, every day's delay weakens our enemy. If they reject our proposals, we are ready to fight and of the result I have no fear."

Principle and Performance.

THE *Vossische Zeitung* has a caustic article on the application of the "principle of nationalities" as practised or advocated by the Balkan Allies. The collapse of the principle of the *status quo* has been followed by the collapse of the principle of nationalities in the name of which the Balkan Allies went to war. The use to which it was put formerly is well known. In its name bands attacked each other and turned entire villages to ashes, and fraudulent statistics were thrown at each other's heads by Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians. Now the conquered country is being divided in a manner which has nothing to do with the principle of nationalities, and which aims only at one object, the acquisition of new territory by the Balkan States.

To take the vilayet of Adrianople. No one doubts that it is the most Turkish of all the European provinces of Turkey. The best proof of this—whatever "cooked" statistics may say now or hereafter—is the fact that it was the only vilayet which was never affected by bands and bombs. There were Macedonian committees and bands under various names, late in the day even a "revolutionary Macedo-Adrianople committee" was called into life. But the entire activity of this, as of the other committees, was concentrated in Macedonia. Yet Bulgaria is now claiming the vilayet and the city of Adrianople, in the name of what? Surely it cannot be in the name of the oppressed Bulgarian nationality. Or take the coast of the Aegean, to which Bulgaria aspires. Is it in the name of the principle of nationalities? Not in the least, since all that part is inhabited by Greeks. It is equally the case with Salonica, where the Bulgarians form only a small percentage of the population, and where the Greeks are not very numerous, and with Scutari, which even the boldest imagination will not call a Servian or Montenegrin town. The Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, it is true, is preponderantly Serb, but the further south one goes the less Serb is the country. About twenty years ago Uskeb was Serb, but now it is Bulgarian. At best

Serbs may be found down to Kóprülü, but no farther, yet the Servians claim quite a respectable piece of territory beyond that town. In short, wherever one turns one finds that the principle of nationalities is grossly neglected.

There is, however, this to be said—what does not yet exist may be made to exist, as witness the quick changes from one nationality to another which have constantly gone on in Macedonia. One day a man was Popoff, and was a Bulgarian, the next day he was Popovitch, and was a Servian. Before the Berlin Congress extended the borders of the then Principality of Servia southwards the population between Nish and the present Serbo-Bulgarian frontier spoke Bulgarian. At the present all the Servians there. Similarly some districts which are now Bulgarian were essentially Servian; now there is no trace of Servian there. Should, then, Uskub become Bulgarian, there would soon be no more ardent Bulgarian patriots than the brave Uskubians, but should it be annexed by Servia the patriotism of its inhabitants will all go over to the other side. The Berlin journal concludes:—"Such in reality is the Balkan principle of nationalities. Could it have been really applied in the matter of delimitation the Allies would have had no cause for quarrelling. As it is the negotiations on the subject of delimitation are giving rise to the greatest anxieties. Land, more land!—such is the watchword. The question of nationalities will come later on. It will be solved either because the population will acquiesce, or because it will be driven out, or because a new nationality will be imposed upon it by force."

With reference to Uskub, which presumably has been given away by Bulgaria to Servia, it is interesting to note that according to the best local computation, made before the war, its total population of about 45,000 souls consisted of 25,000 Moslems (almost entirely Albanians), 10-15,000 Bulgars, about 3,000 Serbs, 2,000 Jews, and a sprinkling of Gypsies, Greeks, Italians, and western Europeans. As for the vilayet of Adrianople, official Turkish statistics give the following figures:—Moslems 508,311, Greek Orthodox 316,863, Bulgars 107,843, Armenians 24,060, Jews 15,500, and Greek Uniates 1,096.

Adrianople.

The fate of Adrianople has become the crux of the Peace negotiations—a veritable bone of contention. A triumph of the Bulgarian demand would restore Christian dominion over that city after the lapse of five and-a-half centuries. For nearly a hundred years after its capture by Murad I. in 1361, the city was the capital of the Sultans, until 1453, when, upon the fall of Constantinople, they transferred their residence to the Golden Horn.

At this stage there is no need to insist upon the importance of Adrianople as a military centre—situated as it is at the point where the confluence of the Tundja and the Arva render the Maritza navigable. Its position, at the junction both of trunk roads and of a number of branch roads with the great eastern road to Constantinople, imposed upon the Turks the duty of constructing the elaborate system of fortifications facing the Bulgarian frontier which have offered such a prolonged resistance to its invaders.

Apart from its military importance as a fortress and as the headquarters of the 2nd Army Corps, Adrianople under Turkish rule has had little either to distinguish or commend it. The city has long since fallen from the high estate to which it had seemed destined when, some 1,800 years ago, the heathen Uskudama of the Bessi was rechristened Hadrianopolis by its second founder. Even in those far-off days it enjoyed unenviable favour as the cockpit of the East. It was in the neighbourhood of Adrianople that in 323 Constantine the Great defeated his rival Licinius and that five years later the Visigoths routed the Emperor Valens and destroyed the city. There too, in 1205, Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was defeated and made prisoner by the Bulgarian Tsar Kaleyán, who afterwards put him to death. In 1351 the city was besieged and taken by Murad I., and from 1363 until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the city remained the capital of the Sultans.

The ruins of the Eski Sarai, to the north of the city, are one of the few surviving memorials of this era. It was not until the 10th century that the great Mosque of Sultan Selim II., the glory of the city and one of the masterpieces of Turkish architecture, was erected. Legend has it that when the Sultan realized that the mosque was likely to be the finest building of its kind in the Empire he announced his intention of putting the architect to death as soon as he had completed his task, so that he might not be tempted to build a rival to it elsewhere. The architect, a Bulgarian, Sinan by name, who likewise designed the Shahsadeh or Prince's Mosque at Constantinople, heard of the Sultan's resolution and determined

to outwit his patron. When the last minaret of the mosque had been completed he fitted to his shoulders a pair of wings which he had made for the purpose, leaped out from the tower, and committed himself to the air, in the hope of escaping from the city. Unfortunately his movements were impeded by a carpenter's tool which he had disposed in the fold of his garment, and he shared the fate of many of his 20th century imitators.

The mosque itself, with its colonnade of marble and granite monoliths, which are believed to be the remains of Roman buildings, is crowned by a cupola in its dimensions almost equal to that of the Santa Sophia at Constantinople, and flanked by four slender, fluted minarets nearly 200 ft. high. The cupola is supported by four massive porphyry pillars, but the span of the dome is so vast that its expanse seems to be suspended in midair. Lovers of art will not be alone in hoping that the fire of King Ferdinand's gunners will have spared this jewel of the Orient, which its natural guardians have been none too solicitous to preserve. Even before the siege visitors who ventured to ascend the 300 steps which lead to the topmost gallery of the minarets were warned not to lean against the crazy balustrade! The Utah Sherifi Ujami, another quadruple-minaretted mosque, is used by the Turks as a depot for military stores. Yet another mosque, the Mosque of Murad IV., likewise with four minarets, the Dayazid Mosque at Yilderim, with a fine cupola, and the Muradiye, built by Murad I., go back to the palmy days of the city. The old palace of the Sultans, also built by Murad I. in the 14th century, in which Charles XII. of Sweden was confined for a time after the battle of Poltava in 1709, was blown up by the Turks themselves in 1878 before the entry of the Russians, who, when Field-Marshal Diebitsch-Sabalkansky captured the city in 1829, had done nothing to provoke this breach of trust to posterity. In connexion with the capture of the city by the Russians it may be recalled that the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 represents an important landmark in the history of the Balkans, and it was there likewise that was signed the armistice which brought to a close the campaign of 1878.

The picturesque dignity which these historic buildings impart to the city when viewed at a distance is belied at close quarters by its mean streets and tumbledown wooden houses. The greater part of the eastern quarter of the town was burned down in 1905 and had not been restored before the war broke out. Viewed from the railway station the city lies to the north-east, with the great mosque rising in the background as its most prominent feature. Grouped about it are the Greek cathedral, the colonnaded bazaar of Ali Pasha, the palace of the local Governor and other administrative buildings, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, various colleges, and a fire-tower. The central city expands into fine suburbs that in turn blend into a series of scattered villages, interspersed with vast and irregular tracts of woodland, in which poplars, cypresses, and plane trees predominate. Indeed, the whole of Adrianople has been likened to an immense overgrown village. The population, which is half Turkish and half Jewish, Greek, Bulgar, and Armenian, numbers some 85,000, but the inhabited area is so expensive that it is at first difficult to credit this estimate. After the insurrection in 1903, moreover, several thousand Bulgars, especially from the rural districts, fled across the frontier. Muhadjirs were settled in the deserted villages. The city nevertheless remained the see of two Bulgarian Bishops, as well as of a Greek Archbishop.

The situation of Adrianople in the most favoured portion of the plain of Thrace made it for many years the natural clearing house for the trade of the region. But the Russo-Turkish war and the disjunction of Eastern Rumelia isolated Adrianople and transferred to Philippopolis at least two-thirds of its foreign trade, which as regards seaborne goods, is carried on through the port of Budgaa. Agricultural products, raw silk, opium, stear of Russia and the dye of the madder-root, known as Adrianople or Turkey red, are among its principal exports. Its wines, although they are made by the most primitive methods, are the best in Turkey. The weaving, carpetmaking, and other manufacturing industries are not what they used to be. The rivers, which are spanned by a dozen bridges—one of them the Michael's Bridge, dated back to the days of the Greek Emperors—are no longer uniformly navigable, except for shallow-draught barges. Adrianople, in point of population and mercantile standing, ranks after Salonica. Edirne, as the Turks have called it, was the first capital of the Turkish dominion in the peninsula, and it was from this great camp that sprang and spread the might of the Osmanli. Adrianople has retained the impress of its history and remained the most characteristically Turco-Tatar city in Europe. Its destiny could be better calculated to make it lose this character than the reunion of the upper and lower portions of the Maritza Valley under Bulgarian dominion.—The Times.

Horrors of the War.

Bulgar Outrages.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH'S" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Jan. 1.

THE horrors of the Balkan War are coming gradually to the knowledge of the European public. The crimes of the Serbs against the Albanians, of Greeks against the Jewish population of Salonica, and of the Bulgarians against the Roumanians and Islamites form one of the most terrible chapters of modern history. An association has been founded in Constantinople with the object of collecting documents and information on the atrocities of Balkan armies and bands, which will be published in a Black and Red Book and circulated throughout the entire world. In this collection of facts the following narratives will be found, which an Austrian lady living in Kavalla sent by letter to her brother, who is living in Vienna. It must be remarked that the original of this letter, which chiefly deals with the cruelties of the Bulgarian *komitajis*, is in the hands of the Vienna authorities. This lady writes from Kavalla on Dec. 9 to the Vienna *Montags Zeitung*.

"Just a month ago five robbers—no, I mean *komitajis*, paid by the Bulgarian Government—arrived here suddenly at eight in the morning, took the Governor of the city prisoner, and declared it a Bulgarian town. The Greeks living here raised their voices in resistance, joined the robbers, and behaved as if they were possessed. During the afternoon twenty-five or thirty more robbers arrived and announced that the place was under Bulgarian rule. On the following day the whole town went to meet them, with the exception of we foreigners, taking the Greek bishop with them, and the ladies putting flowers in the barrels of the rifles carried by the robbers and bandits, while all the bells were rung, and in the evening the city was illuminated.

"MAN HUNT" BEGINS.

"On the following day a 'man hunt,' or, more properly speaking a 'Turk hunt,' began. People who had committed no other crime than that they were Islamites, and these the best situated in the city, were taken prisoners and executed without even the pretence of a trial in the cruelest manner. For this purpose the Bulgars employed two Armenians. The civilised nations will hear with astonishment what is possible among Christians in the twentieth century. At midnight the prisoners were awakened and bound together, half naked, in twos and threes, and then wounded in the abdomen, between the ribs, and in other parts of the body, with bayonets. The murderers then reversed their rifles and beat them to death with the butt-end of their guns like mad dogs. Age or rank formed no reason for mercy. On the first night thirty-four were tortured to death, on the second fifteen, on the third eight, and on the following night thirty, until 116 were killed in Kavalla alone.

"In Serres, a neighbouring city, the Turks defended themselves, and shot two soldiers. Thereupon their officer took out his watch and said: 'It is four o'clock now. You may do what you like to the Turks until four to-morrow.' That was enough for the soldiers. The brutal wretches murdered 1,200 Turks in twenty-four hours.

END OF THE DRAMA.

"At Xanthi the people took refuge in the mosques, but the bloodhounds followed them there, cutting them down and hacking them to pieces. All this was done in the name of the Cross, and in the honour of God! The drama concluded with the beheading of a rich Turk, whose head was then placed on the top of a box and a pipe placed in his mouth.

"When all the Turks were massacred the soldiers turned their attention to the Jews. But naturally only to the rich Jews. They were carried away to Schenkarba and tortured for six long days, and then liberated on payment of ransoms of £11,000, but the manner of their liberation was almost more horrible than their capture. At midnight the prison gates were suddenly opened and a cry of 'Forward!' was heard. Naturally they believed that their last hour had come, and they were nearly frightened to death. When they learnt that they were free they naturally begged to be allowed to remain there until break of day. This was not permitted. They were forced to travel on foot in the streaming rain for seven hours, and among them there was an old man of eighty.

FURTHER ATROCITIES.

"Here in Kavalla a solemn service was commanded for November 31, because it was believed that Constantinople had surrendered. At nightfall the city was again illuminated, while eighteen Turks were murdered. Thereupon all the mosques were proclaimed Christian churches, and the demolition of the minarets was proceeded with. The Turkish cemeteries, graves, and monuments were

devastated in the most dreadful manner, many of the gravestones being broken into pieces. The soldiers broke into the Turkish houses, where the men had been murdered, despoiled them, and maltreated the women. They terribly mutilated one woman, and killed her before the eyes of her children. These murderers are now no longer here, but a military dictator has been put in command, while the leader has threatened the resident Greeks that anyone who resists will be sent to the military court at Drama. The Greeks were not accustomed to such language under the 'oppressive' rule of the Turks, and they say that if the land remains Bulgarian they will emigrate. There are even some who sigh for the hated domination of the Turks, but it is now too late.

"The Khedive has already sent flour on two occasions, first 4,500 sacks and then 1,000, while 3,000 Turks have left the country to go to Egypt. The Khedive has shown more magnanimity than the civilised Christians, for he had these 5,500 sacks of flour distributed among the poorer population of Kavalla without distinction of religion, although he knew what cruelties had been shown towards his co-religionists.

"Everyone has fled, and a terrible time of trouble is approaching. The continual rain has ruined the crops, the labourers are dead or crippled, while others have left the country. I cannot imagine what will happen in the future, for robbers will spring up like mushrooms, and murder and plunder will then begin in earnest."

Atrocities in Albania.

Buda-Pesth, Dec. 31.

King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, in his proclamation of war, spoke of a conflict between the Cross and the Crescent. The Cross was the symbol of humanity and mercy, virtues which the Turks, in their numerous fights against the Christian peoples, frequently neglected to practise. In the last Balkan war, however, this did not hold good. Those fighting under the Cross betrayed the symbol of humanity and mercy in many cases. The atrocities which the Serbian soldiers and officers were responsible for in Albania are established by the reports of Austrian, English, Italian, and Norwegian war correspondents. It appears that the "man hunts" which Serbia perpetrated in Albania have been forgotten during the last few weeks in the more pressing cases caused by the possibility of a general conflagration in Europe. But now they again come to the light of day, for all the reports on the cruelties practised by the Serbian soldiers have been gathered by the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

EXTERMINATION POLICY.

I have had an opportunity of seeing these reports, and I am in a position to say that all the cruel persecutions related in the history of the world have been repeated in the most flagrant manner by the troops of General Jankovitch. On their march through Albania to the sea the Serbians did not only treacherously murder and execute armed Albanians, but their horrible cruelty did not stop at falling upon unarmed, defenceless persons, old men, women, children, and infants at the breast. The Serbian officers, intoxicated by victory, declared that the most effectual pacification of Albania would be the total extermination of the Muhammadan Albanians. This *mot d'ordre* was quickly adopted by the Serbian army of occupation, and was put into practice. Between Kumanovo and Uskub some 8,000 persons were done to death; near Pristina 5,000, exclusively Arnauts, fell beneath the hands of the Serbs. This was not in honourable fight, but by unjustifiable murder, and to carry out these crimes the maddened soldiers even invented new methods of cruelty to satisfy their lust for blood. In many villages all the houses were set on fire, and as the unfortunate inhabitants fled before the flames they were shot down like rats as they appeared in the open. Men were shot in sight of their wives and children, and afterwards the helpless women were forced to watch their children being literally carved to pieces with bayonets.

Even the papers which appear in Belgrade narrate the atrocities practised by the Serbian soldiers without shame. When the regiment of Colonel Ostoitch entered Prizrend the Colonel shouted "Kill." The Belgrade papers say that hardly had this order been given "than the soldiers rushed into the houses and murdered everyone who fell into their hands."

But the tale of the atrocities which were perpetrated in Albania is by no means exhausted. The deeds done in Prilep, Kocovo, and Werschitza exceed everything which the Albanian of note who fled from Prizrend to Graz, in Styria, and who had studied in Austria as a youth, relates the following story:

MURDERS IN USKUB.

"Whoever denounced an Albanian to the Serbians was sure that the man would be shot. It happened repeatedly that persons who owed money to Albanian Muhammadans informed, on them, designating them as traitors. They were invariably hanged, and

the debtor was enabled to purchase the house and farm of the victim at an absurdly low price. In Uskub unarmed Albanians were simply shot down by Serbian officers in the street, and if only a hunting knife was found in a house the owner was shot. No mercy was shown."

The loss the resistance of the Albanians to the invading army the greater were the atrocities.

At Verisovitch the Serbian commander invited the fugitives to return and lay down their arms. After they had done this 400 persons were cut down. In the whole of Verisovitch merely half a dozen Muhammadan families were left alive. At Pana the Serbs killed their prisoners, while at Varos and Pristina the population was literally decimated. The Serbian officers themselves say that they "hunted out" the Albanians, and an officer boasted that he had shot down nine Albanians in one day.

Lady Lowther's War Relief Fund.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR NOVEMBER.

Treasury Statement for first month, ending 30th November, 1912.

DONATIONS.

	£	s	d
I.—Received directly	8,385	43	
II.—Six remittances from Egypt, through Lord Kitchener (£1,500)	1,650	—	
III.—Two Grants from Mansion House Fund (£2,700)	2,970		
TOTAL	13,005	43	

AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED.

	£	s	d
I. Direct Relief, given by organized Sub-Committees	929	1	
II. Indirect Relief, given by special grants to approved local charitable organizations,	233	76	1,157 47
Working expenses			7 65
Suspense account			18 82
Unexpended Balance :			
(a) in course of distribution by Sub-Committees	238	18	
(b) value of stock in central depot :—			
clothing	806	01	
fuel	122	68	429 20
(c) cash at bankers :			
Imp. Ottoman Bank	3,078	86	
National Bank of Turkey, Ltd.	8,080	68	11,159 04 11,820 31
TOTAL	13,005	43	

Examined and found correct.

Constantinople, December 16th, 1912.

(Sd) HENRY P. KERRY,

Hon. Treasurer

(Sd) F. E. WHITALL,

Vice-President.

The above is the first statement published for the operations of Lady Lowther's War Relief Fund up to November 30th, 1912.

The fund as initiated by Lady Lowther with the co-operation of the British community in Constantinople was intended primarily to relieve the destitute families of soldiers at the front without distinction of race or creed and, should funds permit, of helping the refugees.

The first few days were spent in organizing the work. Two Central Committees were formed, one composed of ladies and the other of gentlemen, and a dozen Sub Committees were constituted which divided the town and suburbs into districts and undertook the work of personally investigating, with the local authorities, all the cases brought to their notice and of arranging for the distribution of relief which takes the shape of daily rations of bread, charcoal, quilts and clothing. A Central Executive Committee was also formed to control the weekly credits to be allotted to each Sub-Committee and generally decide questions of policy. It was deemed advisable to proceed at first with caution, but the distribution of

relief is growing larger week by week and is now working most automatically. Three new Sub-Committees have already been framed in districts hitherto untouched. Regular relief is given to some 3,000 individuals, at a cost of about £1,850 a week and over 4,000 refugees have been provided with clothing. The number of gentlemen and ladies who are giving their services to ensure the proper working of the scheme is over 150.

In no cases whatsoever has the relief taken the shape of money grants to individuals although a certain sum has been applied for soup kitchens, hospitals, etc.

As the funds at the disposal of the Committee increased, thanks in great part to the efforts made in England by the Committee under the temporary Presidency of the Rt. Hon. Sir Frank Lascelles, G. C. B., and in India and Egypt under the auspices of Lord Hardinge and Lord Kitchener, it became possible to undertake the somewhat difficult task of granting systematic and regular relief to the destitute refugees who were flocking in scores of thousands to Constantinople.

A special Refugee Sub-Committee has been formed and a sum of £1,8,000 has been put at its disposal to support entirely, throughout the winter months, some 5,000 of the most unfortunate of the refugees, chiefly unprotected women and children. A start has already been made with some 1,900 refugees to whom charcoal, clothing and medical attendance is being given. In the course of the next few days it is hoped that some 3,000 more refugees can be taken entirely under the care of the Committee and housed in buildings which the Turkish authorities are very kindly placing at the disposal of the Committee.

The extent of the work which can be done is naturally limited to the amount of funds available, every penny of which is carefully controlled and used to the utmost advantage, and all those who have so generously contributed to the undertaking, either by donations or personal service, may feel assured that they are participating in a work of humanity and charity of the highest order and bringing relief and consolation to thousands of their fellow human beings who, through no fault of their own, are in a state of misery and despair.

According to the latest information from London the fund now exceeds £20,000, which will enable the Committees still further to extend their operations, in the direction of relief for the refugees.

ADAM BLOCK,

Hon. Secretary.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

Through S. Hasan Raza, Esq., Sitapur—			
Muslimans of Police Line	13	0	0
Through Hamid Noman, Esq., Gorakhpur—			
Self	8	0	0
Through Ahmad Hasan, Esq.	10	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Rashid Khan and A. Rahim, rupees six each	12	0	0
Through Zafaryab Ali, Esq.	11	0	0
Nasairnd-din, Esq.	5	0	0
Messrs. Monla Baksh and Abdul Haq, Esq., rupees four each	8	0	0
Hashmat Ali, Esq.	2	1	0
Messrs. Abdul Shakur, Shamsud-din and Mujib-ulla, rupees two each	6	0	0
Miraj Din, Esq., Batala	0	8	0
Ghulam Hossain, Esq., Jhelum	10	0	0
Sheikh Fazal Ahmad, Esq., Gujerat	5	0	0
Dr. Ahmadulla Khan Sahib, Bareilly	10	0	0
Muhammad As'lam Jaisajpur, Esq., Aligarh	10	0	0
Muhammad Amin, Esq., Bhopal	15	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Gorakhpur	460	0	0
Saifud-din Khan, Esq., Saugar, in honour of the anniversary of the death of his mother	20	0	0
Through Sheikh Habib Bakhsb and Mirza Baqar Sahib, Farrukhabad	145	0	0
Through H. M. Amin, Esq., Maymyo	250	0	0
Through Sheikh Muhammad, Esq., Shahargah	244	15	0
Through Abdul Rahman, Esq., Chandpur, Dist. Azamgarh	168	0	0
Through Chandhri Abdul-lah Sahib, village Mirzapur, Dist. Moradabad—			
Muslimans of the village	31	8	0
Muhammad Yamin Khan, Esq., Agra	2	10	0
Syed Hamidul Haq, Esq., of Patna, Khorandip, Chittagong	12	0	0
Through Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila—			
Messrs. Karamat Hussain and Hafis Mahmud, rupees three each	6	0	0

Ohaudhri Sarfaraz Ali, Sahib ...	10 0 0	M. Abdur-Rahman Hajee Sajan Sait ...	15 0 0
A girl ...	8 8 0	Mr. Murad Sahab Mira Sahab ...	10 0 0
Ohaudhri Abdul Basit Sahib ...	25 0 0	A Mohomedan ...	20 0 0
Messrs. Abdul Kayyum and Jamilud-din, rupees five each ...	10 0 0	Mr. Abdul Sattar ...	10 0 0
Musammnat Sherin Jan ...	5 0 0	Messrs. Hajee Mohomad Hasham, Hajee Zaka Sait, Abdur-Rahman and Brothers, Ally Sahab, Khadar Khan Sahab, Altaf Hoosain, Munahi Fakrud-din Sahab Shop Keeper, and Maqsum Hoosain rupees five each ...	40 0 0
Sheikh Anjad Ali Sahib ...	4 0 0	Mr. Hajee Mohomad Maq-dum Sahab, Pesh Imam, Choty Musjid ...	10 0 0
Messrs. Bashiruz-zaman and Salam Ahmad, rupees two each ...	4 0 0	Mrs. Misama Hajani and Messrs Goolam Mohomad Khan and Ismail Khan, rupees 5 each, ...	15 0 0
Miscellaneous collections ...	7 13 0	Mr. Jaffer Sahab Jardos ...	4 0 0
Through Muhammad Fazle Haq, Esq., Bassi ...	150 3 6	Messrs Abdur-Rahman, Basha Sahab, and Ibba Sait Sahab, rupees two and annas eight each, ...	7 8 0
Inayat-ul-Mirza, Esq., of Lahore, Hongkong ...	29 0 8	Messrs Piyare Sahab, Haroon Sait, Sayad Hoosain Bin Abdul Aziz, Abdus Subhan Kaker and Mr Shaik, rupees 2 each ...	10 0 0
M. Maqbul Hussin, Esq., Bankipur ...	10 0 0	Mr. John Mohomad Noor Mohomad Sait ...	2 8 0
M. Anzul-la, Esq., Bikanir ...	25 0 0	Mr. Abdur-Rahman Bin Moulavi Abdul Khadar Muntashir ...	2 0 0
Abdur Rashid, Esq., Purnea ...	10 0 0	Mr. Shaik Haidar Sahab ...	2 8 0
Hafiz Muhammad Ismail, Esq., Moradabad ...	2 0 0	Mr. Ahmad Sahab Merchant ...	2 0 0
Through Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila ...	7 12 0	Mr. Mohadin Baba ...	1 0 0
Abdul Karim Khan, Esq., village Khaladih, Kodarma ...	8 11 0	Mr. Abdur-Razak Pan-wale ...	1 4 0
Through the Principal M.-A., O. College, Aligarh—Students and Well-wishers of the College ...	8,191 6 0	Mr. Gouse Khan Modykhanewala ...	1 4 0
Through A. S. M., Taisur, Esq., Ghiair—		Messrs. Siddy Noor Mohomad. Khatal (Shariff, Abdullah, Hasan Shariff, Alvas Chotoo Mia, Ahmad Abbey Hasan Bin Adoni, Fakrudin Butler and Hoosain Sahab Nadaff, rupees one each ...	9 0 0
Atund-din Haji Sahib ...	10 0 0	Mr. Gansoomia Bidit wala ...	0 12 0
Babu Puran Chandra Ghosh and Moulvi Abdur Rahman Sahibs ...	21 2 0	Messrs Hawaldar Shaik Ahmad and Thiby Sahab annas eight each ...	1 0 0
Babu Raj Kanta Ray, Esq ...	1 0 0	Messrs Masoom Sahab, Zever Khan Rahuman Khan and Hasham Sahab Ismail Sahab Sanady, rupees one each ...	3 0 0
S. M. Ghosh, Esq. ...	2 0 0	Rajoo Kakerni ...	0 8 0
Sheikh Khudi, Esq. ...	5 0 0	Bury Sahab ...	0 7 0
Mussalmans of Ghiair ...	60 14 0	Mr. Mungul Khan ...	0 4 0
Through Saidud-din, Esq., Sitamarhi ...	295 0 0	"Fakir" ...	0 4 0
Through S. M. Isahq, Esq., Anrangabad, Dist. Gaya ...	200 0 0	Mr. Khaja Mayanudin ...	0 8 0
Syed Liaqat Hosain, Esq., Wari ...	5 0 0	A Mussalman ...	1 0 0
"Anonymous," Indore ...	14 0 0	Mr. Gowsooma Maloor, Sawanoor ...	5 0 0
Syed Ghafurul Hasan, Esq., Bihar ...	2 0 0	Mr. Mohomad Sahab Kalaigar ...	1 0 0
Through Syed Zamrud-din, Esq., Sultanpur—		Mr. Cassim Bin Sayad Hussain ...	2 8 0
Through Chhedh Kassab ...	7 1 0	Mr. Abdul Shukur Sait ...	1 4 0
Servants of K. B. Muhammad Baqar Khan Sahib ...	11 8 0	"Dildar" ...	2 0 0
Ahmad Khan, Esq. ...	90 0 0	Mr. Mohomad Khan ...	1 0 0
S. Ghulam Akbar, Esq., Purnea ...	6 6 0	Mr. Abdus Sattar Sait ...	1 0 0
S. Fatah Muhammad, Esq., Jagayapat ...	9 4 0	The Bhisti Molesia Janayat ...	12 0 0
Abul Assad, Esq., Sardah ...	2 0 0	Proceeds of Kurbani skin ...	7 12 0
Waliuddin Ahmad, Esq., Maksaudpur ...	3 0 0	Mr. Mohomad Saleh Munshi ...	5 0 0
A "Sympathiser," Gwalior ...	20 0 0	Through M. Hasmat, Esq., Calcutta—	
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[We regret that in announcing the amount in our issue of the 4th January, received through Mr. Abul Mohamed, of Shahmadpur, the name of Mr. Mohi-uddin Molla who contributed Rs 7-0-0 was left out through an oversight and the amount of Rs 2/6 contributed by Mr. Karim Pramanik was printed as Rs 2/0—Ed., Comrade.]

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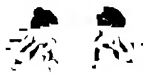
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I remain, Dear Sir,

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The Delhi Outrage.

The "Pioneer's" Bombay Correspondent telegraphs:—

The Bombay City Police are stated to have obtained a clue to the perpetrators of the Delhi bomb outrage. Suspicion points to a gang of Brahmans, an offshoot of the Nasik conspiracy.

The *Sind Gazette* writes:—It is reported that materials for manufacturing bombs have been found in or near a Hindu temple on the banks of the Lyari River in Karachi. The possible significance of such a discovery at a time when the Governor of Bombay has just been on a visit to Karachi, and will soon be passing through Karachi again, need not be exaggerated. But it is stated that just before His Excellency's arrival in Karachi, some Mahrattas from the Deccan suddenly discovered that they had business in Karachi.

The Mussalmans of Lahore assembled in a crowded mass meeting on the 26th January under the Presidency of Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah Peshawari. The following resolution was passed:—

The Mussalmans rejoice at the recovery of H. E. the Viceroy from the effects of a detestable and dastardly outrage on Lord and Lady Hardinge and convey their hearty congratulations.

The Viceroy's health.

A Bulletin issued from Viceroyal lodge on the 28 Jan. states:—In consequence of His Excellency the Viceroy's weak state of health and the presence of an unhealed wound, the duty of performing the opening ceremony at the Legislative Council yesterday was

only carried out by the exercise of great effort. His Excellency was in consequence much fatigued, but he has passed a good night. The wound is not progressing as rapidly as it should, this being possibly due to the presence of a small portion of dead bone or foreign body. An examination by X-rays will again shortly be necessary. The nountis previously reported does not at present show signs of abatement. As a complete rest for a further considerable period of time is absolutely essential, the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Hardinge, is proceeding to Dehra Dun, where it is hoped the change of air will accelerate His Excellency's recovery. Bulletins will be issued from time to time from Dehra Dun.

The Viceregal party left Delhi on Tuesday night by special train for Dehra Dun. Lord and Lady Hardinge were accompanied by the Hon. Diamond Hardinge, Miss Sanford, Colonel Maxwell, Military Secretary, Colonel Roberts and Major Blackham and Major the Hon. H. J. Fraser, Captain Tod and Captain Astor, Aides-de-Camp. The departure was private.

A Message from the Viceroy's Camp, Dehra Dun, dated the 30th January, states:—His Excellency the Viceroy stood the journey to Dehra Dun well and yesterday afternoon was examined by the X-rays, the result of which was the disclosure of some foreign bodies in the wound. This morning the Viceroy was operated on under chloroform when several small fragments of metal, wood etcetera were removed. His Excellency is doing well and it is hoped that the removal of these fragments will accelerate the healing of the wound.

The following news has been received from Dehra Dun:—

Jan. 31.

The Viceroy passed a restless night, the wound which was opened up at yesterday's operation giving His Excellency much pain and discomfort.

Later.

Though yesterday's operation was wholly successful in its result, it has necessarily made a considerable draft on the Viceroy's strength and he has now consented definitely to abandon his intention of attending the University Convocation at Calcutta in March: a function to the carrying out of which His Excellency's medical advisers have been strenuously opposed from the first.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

The Viceroy's Speech.

ALTHOUGH I have not yet recovered from my wounds, and have been compelled under doctor's orders to abstain from all public business of every kind, I have felt not only a desire, but that it is my duty, to come here to-day to open the first session of my Legislative Council in Delhi, and to give a cordial welcome to the newly elected and newly appointed Members of my Council. I am sure that at the same time none of you will begrudge me an expression of regret for those who have not returned: since after two years' loyal and active co-operation with my

Government in the legislative work of the Government of India, I regard them not only as former Colleagues in Council but also as friends. I am delighted to see some of the former Members of my Council again in their places, and I am confident that they will again bring to our Council the same spirit of harmony, goodwill and legislative ability as during the past two years that I have had the honour of presiding over their deliberations. As regards the new Members of my Council, I bid them a cordial welcome and I am sure that I can count on them to maintain the same high standard of dignity in debate as has so markedly distinguished our deliberations in the past.

I feel deeply grateful to you all for the warmth of your reception here to-day. I always knew that I could count on your sympathy in the suffering that has been my lot during the past few weeks; and if there has been one thing that has tended to alleviate those sufferings, it has been the knowledge of the sympathy shown towards me by all classes, creeds and communities throughout the length and breadth of India. I should like to take this opportunity when addressing my Council, who represent the whole of British India, to express my profound gratitude for the genuine outburst of sympathy, the devout prayers and good wishes that have been heard on every side; and if I may be allowed to say so, I feel convinced that those prayers have not been unanswered. When five weeks ago I had recovered consciousness and was able to think over what had passed, my feelings were, in the first instance, those of profound gratitude to Almighty God for His merciful protection of Lady Hardinge and myself, of real grief for the poor man who had lost his life in the performance of his duty, of very deep disappointment that it were possible that such misguided men as those who plotted and committed such a senseless crime could now be found in India, and of sorrow at the thought of the injury to the sentiments of the whole of the people of India who would, I knew, regard with horror and detestation the perpetration of a crime which is contrary to their own precepts and instincts of humanity and of loyalty, as well as to their religious principles. The gratitude that I felt at the miraculous preservation by the Almighty of Lady Hardinge and myself from the hand of the assassin was, I know, also deeply felt throughout India, but words fail me when I think of the cruel murder of those humble people who were ruthlessly killed and I deeply deplore the loss which their families have sustained. In my desire for kindly intercourse with the people and accessibility to them, I have always discouraged excessive precautions, and I trusted myself and Lady Hardinge more to the care of the people than to that of the police. If it was an error, it is an error that I am proud of, and I believe it may yet prove not to have been an entirely mistaken confidence, for out of evil good may come. Is it too much to hope that the storm of public indignation evoked at the outrage may give Indian terrorists cause for sensible and humane reflection and repentance? It is difficult to believe that these individuals are a class apart, and that they do not belong to communities and mix with their fellow-beings. Are they really susceptible to no influence and no advice? Have they no contact with moderate and wise men? Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course.

What I have said so far has been somewhat of a personal character, but I have one word more to say to the people of India which I say with a profound sense of the gravity of the import of my words. I need hardly recall to the memory of anybody that the recent incident is not an isolated episode in the history of India, but that during the past few years both Indians and Europeans, loyal servants of Government and of India, have been less fortunate than I have been, and undeserving of the cruel fate meted out to them, have been stricken down by the hand of the assassin. Those deplorable events cast a stain on the fair name of India and the Indian people, to whom I know they are thoroughly repellent, and I say to the people of India—not merely as a Viceroy intensely jealous of the honour of the country that he has been called upon to govern, but as one of the many millions in India of the fellow subjects of our King-Emperor, and one who loves India and the Indian people amongst whom he is living—I say that this stain must be removed, and the fair fame of India must be restored to a high and unassailable plane. Knowing, by the kindly and genuine manifestations of sympathy received from every side, how profoundly repulsive such crimes are to the people of India, it may be asked what remedy can be applied to prevent their recurrence. To this I would reply that such crimes cannot be dismissed as the isolated acts of irresponsible fanatics, and that they are in most cases the outcome of organised conspiracies in which the actual agent of the crime is not always the most responsible. The atmosphere which breeds the political

murderer is more easily created than dispelled. It can only be entirely and for ever dispelled by the display and enforcement of public opinion in a determination not to tolerate the perpetration of such crimes and to treat as enemies of society, not only those who commit crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crime. Amongst such incentives to crime should be included every intemperance of political language and methods which are likely to influence ill-balanced minds and lead them by insidious stages to hideous crimes. The universal condemnation throughout the whole of India of the crime of the 23rd December, and the anxiety shown for the detection of the criminals have, however, filled me with hope for the future, and have inspired me with confidence in the determination of the people of India to stamp out from their midst the fungus growth of terrorism and to restore to their beautiful motherland an untarnished record of fame. Imbued as I am with this hope and confidence, my faith in India, its future, and its people remains unshaken, and if, as I confidently anticipate, the realisation of my faith is confirmed, then I may add that the two innocent lives so sadly lost on the 23rd December will not have been sacrificed in vain.

After Sir Gangedhar Chitnavis and Sir Charles Armstrong had spoken His Excellency rose again to thank his Council for the sympathetic and friendly sentiments which had been voiced by these two members and added, "I fear I shall not be able at present to preside further over your proceedings. I should have liked to shake you each personally by the hand, but you see my arm is still in a sling. So I am sure you will all take the will for the deed, and will also forgive me for leaving you so soon on this occasion of my first public appearance."

The All-India Medical Mission.

We publish below the letter received from Dr. Ansari from which a few extracts were given in our last —

In my last letter I gave you a resume of my doings in Constantinople, but in this one I am going to give you full details which may prove of some interest.

As our boat approached the Straits of Dardanelles we saw three men-o'-war going towards the Bgean sea some distance from the Isle of Tenedos. These were probably the units of the Hellenic fleet which had engaged the Turkish fleet the day previous in that vicinity. It was a beautiful clear day and the sea was as calm as a lake, the air was transparent and you could see the coast of Europe and Asia converging towards the Dardanelles with little villages dotted here and there along the coast. The approach to the Straits showed steep hills with hidden fortifications. Here and there the muzzles of big guns were to be seen from behind the earth works pointing towards our boat. In some places long flagstuffs pointed to there being an arsenal and some soldiers on duty could be seen walking along. We were told that there were some seventy thousand soldiers stationed there. There is no doubt that the entrance to the Straits is well fortified and would smash up any fleet which tried to enter into it. Our boat was timed to reach the entrance to the Straits at about 1 p. m., and as we neared the entrance we saw a number of ships all in one line passing through the Straits. We were told that no boats were allowed before 1 p. m. and after sunset. We soon reached the wharf at the entrance of the Sea of Marmora called Dardanelles, and we could hear from a distance a band playing the Turkish National Anthem. We stopped here only for half an hour and as we proceeded on our journey we saw the Turkish fleet which consisted of 4 gunboats, the "Medjidiyeh," bearing the Standard of the Admiral, and three torpedo boats. We were also shown the Greek boat which was captured in the beginning of the war. We were not much impressed by the strength of the Turkish fleet although taken individually the boats appeared to be in the best working condition. The Turkish fellow-passengers naturally took great pride in their fleet and thought no end of it. The boat "Medjidiyeh" which was reported to have been struck by a torpedo from a Greek boat and sank was there in a very good condition. Here two Turkish doctors boarded the steamer, one a military doctor and the other Dr. Adani Bey, Member of the Council of the Croissant Rouge. We got a lot of information from Adani Bey about the working of the Red Crescent Society. He informed us that the most likely places where field-hospitals would be needed should war be declared were at the Dardanelles, Gallipoli and another place on the shores of the Marmora. He gave us a great deal of information about things in general. It was most amusing to see our attempts to make him understand our meaning as he knew only French and Turkish. He also informed us that Enver Bey was in Constantinople and Niazzi Bey was at Scutari and Fethi Bey was in charge of a battalion in the Dardanelles. We passed Gallipoli at about 8 p. m. It was all dark and we could see only the lights on the shore.

Dec. 31.

Orders had been given to our Transport Department to get all the baggage ready by 6 A. M. At 6-30 we were all ready after a hurried breakfast, groping in the dull cloudy and misty morning to see any landmarks of the Capital of the Turkish Empire. About 6-45 we could clearly discern the shadowy outlines of the minarets and domes, the old fortresses and the new buildings along the shores of the Bosphorus. There lay Stamboul in its proud but sad dignity, and the feelings it aroused in one's mind were difficult to analyse. Those hills and old forts now crumbling down had seen the advent of the mighty Turks, the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the rise and glory of the Osmanli. Now, alas! the time had come when they were watching the gradual dismemberment of their Empire and the decadence of Moslem rule.

As the boat approached the quay a large crowd of Turkish people could be seen waiting on the shore. We were met by Colonel Mehemet Ali Bey, the Inspector-General of the Croissant Rouge, and two military doctors of the rank of Colonel and many other notabilities. The ubiquitous "Man from Cook's" was there, and we were also met by a man with a note from the British Ambassador. But the Croissant Rouge with the help of Cook's man took charge of our baggage. We formed a line walking in twos, and as we came down with Colonel Mehemet Ali Bey, the Guard of Honour gave us a salute and the band played the Turkish National Anthem. That was the first and would probably be the only place for representatives from India to be honoured with a salute. You could imagine how much we all appreciated this and felt the honour bestowed on us. In one action our eternal brotherhood was sealed.

We were driven in 8 carriages to the Kadergah Hasta Khaneh (قادرگاه حستخانه) (hospital worked under the auspices of the Croissant Rouge). In the course of our breakfast here Basim Omar Pasha—the Vice-President of the Croissant Rouge—arrived with several other notable personages. The Pasha is a very eminent surgeon and Gynecologist of European fame and the real backbone of the Red Crescent movement in Turkey. He made a speech in Turkish, which was translated to us by Saleh Effendi in Urdu, welcoming us in the name of the Croissant Rouge and the Turkish nation and thanking us for the Islamic love and brotherhood which we had shown in coming here for their help and succour. He said that the Croissant Rouge was yet an infant and that its foster-father was India. In reply to his speech I thanked him heartily on behalf of the Mission and pointed to him that this infant which was brought to life by the famous accoucheur (himself) had soon under his skilled care become a vigorous and lusty child proving itself most useful to its mother Turkey in time of her need.

We were taken round the hospital by a Turkish gentleman who is one of the surgeons in the hospital. He showed us some very interesting cases of bullet wounds and gangrene due to cold. Afterwards Baroness Rosen, who is a Belgian lady at present working in this hospital, took us to her wards. It is a hospital with 200 beds comparatively clean and the patients are fairly well looked after. Dr. Solmani Bey, the Director of the Hospital, and the Baroness have shown us every kindness and hospitality and have made us very comfortable. So has Ujevdet Bey, the Manager of the Hospital.

Thomas Cook's man could give me no information about our field-hospital, nor could Mr. Monney, the Second Secretary of the Embassy, who had called to see us at the hospital. I asked Mr. Monney to make inquiries about our field-hospital which was due before our arrival and which would probably be in charge of a store-keeper. I felt very anxious and decided to make inquiries at the British Post Office and Cook's the next day.

Jan 1.

We started after our breakfast with our interpreter for Pera. The streets of Stamboul are made of cobble stones and very badly kept. They are steep and often the gradient is so sharp that one would never imagine that driving in a carriage would be at all possible. But the horses and carriage in Stamboul seem to be made specially for these bad roads and stand the bumps and the sharp turns very well. The houses are built on European models and generally three to four storeys high, with the only difference that all the Muhamadan houses have screens in the front windows. The women are seen going about in the streets freely with a "charshaf" which is generally made of silk and covers the entire body and face. But the outline of the face can often be made out even through the thick black veil. On our way we passed the central municipal buildings where we saw a crowd of women, about 1,000 to 1,500 in number, in very ragged and torn clothes, looking the very picture of misery and helplessness awaiting food and clothes. These, we were told, were the refugees from the different Turkish villages now in possession of the Balkan Confederacy. But the Government is very good to them. They are clothed, housed, and fed by the Municipal Funds and are provided with money when they are sent to the provinces in Asia Minor.

However, on making inquiries I felt sure in my mind that an organized relief fund to help these sufferers from the war would greatly mitigate their suffering and materially help them to start in life. I have not yet had sufficient time to make a thorough investigation in the matter, but I have been assured by the Croissant Rouge and several other people connected with the different charities that all is being done for them that is possible. On our way to the Galata or New Bridge as it is now called we passed the Bureau Centrale of the Croissant Rouge, the Persian Embassy, the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, the Finance Office and the General Post Office buildings which would be considered first class in any European capital. There are a number of big shops just before you come to the bridge, kept mostly by Armenians, Greeks and Jews. The bridge itself is made of iron and is of modern construction. It spans over the commencement of the Golden Horn and connects Stamboul with Galata and Pera, the European town. There is a toll to be paid by every man who crosses the bridge excepting the military people and the Croissant Rouge men. Pera is situated on a hill. The streets are narrow and winding although the buildings are mostly made of solid stone and of modern type. Neither Thomas Cook's office nor anyone at the Embassy could be seen, it being the New Year's Day, but we left our cards at the Embassy. We sent the cable to you after considerable discussion with the chief of the staff of the Turkish Telegraph Office, where we had to keep a copy of our unicode to assure them that our cables were not in any way connected with war news. In the afternoon Col. Mehemet Ali Bey went with us to the War Office where on inquiry we found that Nazim Pasha had gone to the Grand Vizarate. However, we paid a visit to Fuad Pasha, his Chief of the Staff, who received us very cordially and gave us coffee and cigarettes after the Turkish fashion. We gave him full details of our Mission and the field-hospital and made urgent request for immediate work. He suggested to us a place near Hademkui, which is about 15 kilometres from Tehataldja, where we could fix our hospital tent and start work as soon as we were ready. We simply jumped at the suggestion and to make the arrangements complete we went to see the Inspector-General of the Sanitary Department of the War Office, Weiner Pasha, who is the person in charge of field hospitals. He confirmed the arrangement and told us to proceed to Sanjaktapah as soon as we were ready. We came away well satisfied with the progress we had made so far as we were informed by Dr. Mohamed Insan, the Director of the Bombay Mission, that so far they had not been given any work as their things had not arrived.

Our visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nuradaghian Bey, was very short and could not have lasted for more than three minutes. He received us in great hurry, read the letter of the Consul-General and talked to Mehemet Ali Bey and our interpreter and then said goodbye.

On our return home we found a letter from Mr. Monney which he had left in the hospital saying that no trace could be found of our hospital. This news rather upset me and I sent two telegrams at once, one to you and another to Mr. Ameer Ali.

Jan. 2.

As this is the rainy season here I found it necessary to provide all the members of the Mission with water proof over-coats and a pair of boots with gaiters. This item came rather expensive and cost us about £145, but it was necessary as you would see for yourself. The boots were paid for by the members themselves. We went to Cook's where we were given the bill of lading from Mawson & Sons for the goods they had sent by the Messagerie's boat—altogether 301 packages. This relieved me of my great anxiety about the cables on the previous evening. There was also a letter from Mr. Ameer Ali and one from Dr. Snyed.

In the afternoon we went to the War Office again and were presented to General Nazim Pasha, who was very nice to us. I told him every detail about our field-hospital arrangements which seems to have pleased him immensely. He said our hospital would prove very useful should war commence. He is a very broad, tall, military looking man of very few words, but genuine and sincere. He offered us coffee and cigarettes and when we were taking leave of him he promised to speak to His Majesty about us before the Selamluk the next day.

We visited the دارالفنون (the University for Science and Arts) now converted into a hospital under the Croissant Rouge. The Director of this hospital is a Turkish gentleman who was very hospitable and kind to us. He took our party round to all the wards and showed us the food which was given to the patients. There are altogether over 1,000 soldiers and, although they are overcrowded and the wards are not very clean, they are by no means uncomfortable or badly looked after. The Bombay Medical Mission is quartered here. One of the doctors, Dr. Nazar Haq of Bhopal, who was laid up with influenza was about to return to India. We paid him a visit and we met the members of the Bombay Mission.

We had intended to see the Shaikhul Islam this afternoon, but on telephoning we found he was not at home.

A photograph was taken of all the members of our Mission with Dr. Sohami and Madame la Barone Rosen of Belgium.

Jan. 3.

We were all dressed in our uniforms and looked our best in the corded breeches and the new boots with goloshes and left the Kadergah Hospital at 10 A. M. for the Central Office of the Red Crescent, where we were to be joined by Col. Mehmet Ali Bey, who accompanied us to Dolmeh Baghcheh Mosque. We drove in eight carriages and arrived at the mosque by 11 o'clock. Here we were given a place very near where His Majesty the Sultan's carriage stopped. We stood there in two rows and awaited His Majesty's arrival and watched all the soldiers standing on both sides of the rows and the corps diplomatique awaiting His Majesty's arrival at the entrance to the grounds of the mosque. At the sound of music two men proceeded from the mosque bearing silver incense-burners in their hands and met His Majesty's carriage as it entered the archway. The Sultan drove in a pair and carriage with a postillion in front. The horses were wonderful grays such as I had never seen before anywhere in my life. I was told that these horses are of a special breed which has been preserved generation after generation and are used only by the reigning monarch. As His Majesty was passing us, at the sound of a drum we shouted in one voice "*Parkasham Chooq yasha!*", in response to which the Sultan gave a very gracious bow towards us and smiled at us and called the chief A-D-C, Saleh Pasha, who came to us with a message from His Majesty welcoming us and expressing His Majesty's gracious appreciation. Nazim Pasha also came and spoke to us and, after shaking hands with me, asked me if I was pleased with the way His Majesty had received us. On entering the mosque I found that the place was already too crowded, but I could see the interior from my place. It is built like a London theatre, only the building is square instead of being round. The public prayers where the stalls and pit would be and His Majesty, with his suite and the Cabinet Ministers, occupies the place where the dress circle would be situated. The first half of the *Khutba* was read by one man and the second half by another man in green cloak and turban. They had beautiful voices and recited with perfect *Kir'at*, a chorus of Qaris repeating "*Ameen*" and other suitable responses during the *Khutba*.

It was really a most artistic and musical *Khutba* one has ever heard.

The *Namaz* was very short, only *انا اعطى الله* being read in the two *rak'ats*. After *Namaz* His Majesty departed and we drove in our carriages to the tomb of Hazrat Ayyoub Ansari.

A long drive through some of the oldest parts of Stamboul brought us to the shrine of the Saint. Here we read *naft* and *fatiha* and after seeing a copy of Quran written by Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror we started on our way back. We drove through a different route and passed the old Byzantine fort with its moat and drawbridge before we reached the mosque and tomb of Sultan Muhammad Fâthi. There is also a Madrasa and a library attached to the mosque. The tomb of this great Monarch is comparatively simple, but we noted that the tomb itself is very long, and on inquiry we were told that he was a very tall man. As it was getting very chilly we gave up the idea of visiting Sultan Abdul Aziz, and arrived home frozen to a jelly.

The carriages are very expensive here owing to the horses having been acquired by the War Office. The cost of our drive came to £2.8 and was paid by the Pasha in spite of our repeated protests against it.

Jan. 4.

The Manager and Ghulam Ahmed Khan went with an agent from the Croissant Rouge to the Customs House and took delivery of 252 packages which had arrived from London and stored them in the

اتارملا This took them all the day and a great deal of very hard work and supervision as the people here are not very prompt in their methods.

In the evening we heard that peace negotiations were broken off and war would be resumed. We were greatly excited at the news as we felt that at last we were going to have some chance of doing good work. Mehmet Ali Bey came and dined with us that evening and appreciated Masoor's singing very much.

Madame la Barone gave the best compliment that could be given to the members of the Mission for their excellent behaviour. She said they were all very cultured young men (beyond slaves). This naturally made me feel very happy and proud of the members of my Mission.

Jan. 5.

We paid a visit to the hospital which His Majesty the Sultan has prepared out of his own private purse for 300 soldiers. Col. Hkiri Bey, the chief physician to His Majesty, received us and showed us every thing in the hospital. He is a very pleasant and courteous gentleman and volunteered to arrange for us a private presentation to His Majesty. Here we met some Armenian ladies who had been nursing in the hospital and now that the work at the hospital was coming to an end they volunteered themselves to go out to Sanjaktapa with our hospital. As they spoke English fluently and Turkish was their mother-tongue they would have proved very helpful to us had we been in a position to utilize their services.

In the evening I prepared a list with the help of Dr. Sohami Bey of all the articles necessary for the kitchen together with provisions and stores. A few other things which had not been included in the list sent out to London were also included such as Radiator for heating the wards lamps, slippers, dressing-gowns, boilers for hot water, etc.

I have kept a copy of this list given to the Croissant Rouge. I took this list to the Central Office and explained every thing in detail to Bassim Omer Pasha. I had a long talk with him about the water supply to the hospital and the arrangements I had made for clarification, by means of Ishigibagi as used by the Japanese or by the Alum process, the boiling and filtration of the water. He went into ecstasies over the perfect arrangement and said how many lives would have been saved had our Mission arrived here at the time of war. He paid great compliment to the organisers of the Mission who must have spent a great deal of time and care in going into every minute detail. He thought ours was the most complete and the best-equipped hospital that has been sent to Turkey.

I also arranged with him to go to Sanjaktapa to inspect the site where our hospital was to be pitched and have every thing ready against any possible delay.

Jan. 6.

I went to Thomas Cook's office and found a draft for 8,000 piastres had been sent to our credit from Bombay. This greatly relieved me as we have been having to pay expenses which we had not calculated.

Jan. 7.

I paid another visit to the Central Office of the Croissant Rouge and discussed a few details of the list with the Pasha.

In the afternoon Dr. Edeni Bey took me to meet a Turkish lady whose name I have forgotten, but will write to you later. She is a very cultured and very well educated lady, has studied French, German and English and can speak English most fluently. She was the first Ottoman subject with whom I had long and most interesting conversation about all the present affairs in Turkey. I shall have to give this interview to you in detail in my next letter as time is pressing and the letters must be posted at once. She promised to become a regular contributor to the *Comrade* and give weekly report of all the Turkish news. I have promised her a copy of the *Comrade* and also to put her directly in communication with you which I will do very soon. She belongs to the Young Turk party, is intensely interesting and very earnest.

There is a rumour about the commencement of hostilities at once which I hope would turn out to be true as I am sure the resumption of war would be of advantage to the Turks. I had a long interview with Bassim Omer Pasha in which it was fully discussed and decided that arrangements for the rations of the members of the Mission should be made with the War Office and that a monthly bill for the same would be paid by us. I also made it clear that the Mission would pay for all the expenses incurred for its maintenance in Constantinople and all the articles ordered for use in the hospital.

Invoice was received from Mawson & Sons of London with a covering letter from Mr. Amir Ali. It gave details of all the packages sent in the first batch numbering 252. Another bill of lading was also received for 19 packages.

Dr. Abdul Pahman, M. B., Ch. B. (Edin.), and Mr. Mirza Raza Khan who has passed in all his final subjects for M. B., Ch. B. (Edin.), except Medicines, arrived here yesterday. This makes our number 24. Their uniforms fitted them as if they were made to measure. They were also provided with waterproof coats and boots.

I have decided to employ the services of four interpreters one for each ward as without them it would be impossible to get on with the work.

I have not received any letter from you nor the copy of our beloved *Comrade*. Please ask the Manager not only to send me my own copy but a few spare ones. Do not forget to send even if it is a line, as a letter from the father of the Mission would be very cheering and reassuring to his children in Turkey.

MURRAY.

TETE À TETE



WHILE the fall of Kiamul Pasha has caused genuine relief to all real friends and well-wishers of Turkey, his *exit* was attended by a peculiarly tragic episode. The welcome change of Ministry has cost the Ottoman Empire one of its finest soldier-patriots. As the brief drama was proceeding at the Sublime Porte of which the chief actor was that popular and determined hero, Enver Bey, Nazim Pasha was struck down by a stray bullet from the crowd that had gathered outside in a frenzy of passion. It is some consolation to learn that the crime was in no way deliberate and premeditated. The Committee of Union and Progress, while differing in some respects from the political views of Nazim Pasha, entertained sincerest respect and admiration for his great talents, upright character and genial personality. He was a stout liberal of the school of Midhat and had consequently passed several years of his life in exile under the régime of Abdul Hamid. The revolution of 1908 restored him to freedom and he was soon after appointed governor-general of Bagdad. His administration in that Velayet was in the highest degree successful. He enforced respect for the law, pacified the Arab tribes, curbed the lawlessness of the turbulent Kurds on the Turko-Persian frontier, established peace and order throughout the province and initiated useful administrative measures for the happiness and well-being of the people. After a short time he resigned his post and returned to Constantinople. Party differences and tension were at that time very acute in the capital. Nazim Pasha was one of the few men of weight and influence who were opposed to some aspects of the policy of the Committee of Union and Progress, and he soon became the rallying centre of the officers and politicians who were dissatisfied with the Unionist Government and who shortly after organised themselves into the Military League that played a prominent part in the crisis which led to the resignation of Said Pasha's Ministry. Nazim Pasha was entrusted with the Portfolio of War in the cabinet of Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha. Before many months were over the events in the Balkans led to the outbreak of the War. Nazim Pasha was appointed to the supreme command of the Turkish Army in this fateful struggle. He was gifted with every quality for generalship, he was popular in the Army, he fought with courage and tenacity, he was moved with noble devotion to his cause. Fate, however, had reserved for him the anguish and bitterness of a luckless and defeated general. The causes of his failure were diverse and as far as he was concerned they were irremediable. It is infinitely to his credit that, immediately after the disasters at Lake Doiras and Teherin, when the shattered hosts poured back in utter confusion into the Tchataldja lines with the Bulgarians in pursuit, he stayed the retreat, sorted the confused mass into order, infused new spirit into the men, offered splendid resistance to the Bulgarian onslaught and even inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. After the Armistice he had been striving hard to repair the defects in the military organisation and defence. As the Peace negotiations proceeded in London and the attitude of the Kiamul Government showed signs of irresolution, it was rumoured that Nazim Pasha had openly expressed his alarm and had even consulted several leaders of the Committee with a view to establishing a strong Government fully in accord with the public opinion of the country. His views about the military situation, which were expressed at the meeting of the so-called national assembly, must have surprised many, but so one on that account can have the least doubt about the honesty, courage and patriotism of Nazim Pasha. His end has been tragic and his loss will be deeply mourned by his nation as well as his Moslem brethren and many other admirers throughout the world. It may be recalled here that the late Nazim Pasha had paid a short visit to Bombay en route from Bombay to Constantinople. The news of his death has created a

profound sensation amongst the Bombay Moslems who had the honour of forming his acquaintance. In a recent letter from him to Mr. Karimbhoy Adamjee Peerbhoy Nazim Pasha said:—"I am sure that this Medical Mission with a chief having the ability and experience of Dr. Ansari will be of great use to our Red Crescent Society and that our sick and wounded soldiers will bless the name of their Muhammadan brothers of India." A pathetic interest attaches to the account which Dr. Ansari himself gives in his letter of an interview with Nazim Pasha and which is published elsewhere. A *coup d'état* has given Turkey the best Government she could have under the circumstances; but a *coup d'état* invariably costs dear. And none can say that the price has been small in this case.

The Hon. Miran Mohamed Shafi has been elected to preside at the forthcoming session of the All-India Moslem League. We have received several communications doubting the wisdom of this election which, however, we refrain from publishing now. The main objection of our correspondents is based on the character of the political views which the Hon. Mr. Shafi has from time to time expressed during his career as a public man. They regard those views to be obsolete and opposed in spirit to the new policy and the creed of the League recently announced at Lucknow. Our correspondents, however, ignore the educative force of circumstances themselves, which have such a decisive influence on the making of ordinary politicians and public men. It is true that the political outlook of the Hon. Mr. Shafi has in some aspects ceased to be relevant, but we trust he is shrewd enough to perceive that he must keep himself abreast of the new political currents in the country if he is to retain the confidence of his community and his people. We do not know if the Hon. Mr. Shafi has signified his acceptance of the League's offer. If he has, we presume he has done so with the full knowledge of the ideals that the League has set itself to achieve, for his acceptance would involve his tacit approval of the goal to which the political activity of the Mussalmans should be directed. It is needless to say that the Moslem public opinion has enormously grown in strength and solidarity on certain questions affecting the political future of India, and the Moslem leaders who formed their political convictions a generation ago will have to revise their catalogue of "opinion" or leave the task of leadership to others who believe the world is moving ahead and India is not stationary. There was a time when political thinking could be done along with the help of a few conventional formulae. India has had enough of that kind of stuff. What is now wanted are men who have the intellectual strength to think hard and the courage to point the way that leads straight to the goal.

We have the pleasure to state that a sum of Rs. 21,842 has been sent to Lady Lowther, at Constantinople, on behalf of Her Excellency Lady Hardinge's Fund for the relief of the women and children of the Turkish killed and wounded. In addition to those already acknowledged, subscriptions have been received as follows:—

Maharaja Sahib of Butwa Rs. 1,000. Bibi Khodjatulkabra of Gaya, Rs. 170. Sir Aunil Seal, Rs. 60. Mussalman Officers N. C. O. and Sqdys of 100th Infantry, Secunderabad, Rs. 610-7-1. Women of Mussalman community of Palamoor, Rs. 500. H.H. Mahomed Maharan Shih of Panna, Rs. 500. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Shukh Usam Ali, Rs. 60. Sardar Bahadur Jar Muhammad, Rs. 25. Sardar Muhammad Sawar Khan, Rs. 25. Sheikh Mohamed Ali Rais, Rs. 15. Khan Sahib Saikh Isalam Muhammad, Rs. 10. Collector of Bareilly, on behalf of Nizam Begum Rs. 100. Mrs. Akazak, Rs. 10. Bano Achomi Dobi, Rs. 2. Amir Rs. 2.

Any further subscriptions to this Fund should be sent to Capt. Nielson, A.D.C., Viceroy's Lodge, Delhi.

As we go to press we have received a long and very interesting communication from Dr. Ansari, for which our readers will have to wait till our next. We may, however, state here briefly that Omerali, a place near the line of defence and an important railway station, was selected for the establishment of the field hospital of the Mission. According to Dr. Ansari the hospital was to be in perfect working order on the 25th January. Dr. Ansari gives a detailed and very interesting account of the Turkish Medical organisation and of the splendid work which the Ottoman Red Crescent is doing and requests his fellow Moslems in India to send help to the Society with perfect confidence that every penny will be most economically and usefully spent. He speaks with admiration of the devoted efforts of the Turks to relieve suffering and distress and exposes the baseless calumnies which have been appearing in the European press as to the utter breakdown of the Turkish medical arrangements and the false stories regarding "thousands of Turks left dying on the battlefield." We publish elsewhere an earlier letter from Dr. Ansari from which some extracts were given in our pictorial Supplement last week.

The All-India Medical Mission.

The Comrade.

The Balkan Situation.

Those who had foreseen the fiasco in which the Peace Conference has resulted in London had quite intelligible and solid reasons for their scepticism. The Peace negotiations conducted under a Vigilance Committee imposed by selfish Europe, would have in any case little prospects of arriving at a successful termination. But the imposition of the Powers was not exercised with equal regard or disregard for the feelings of the belligerents. It was from the start a one-sided, overbearing and unjust inquisition. And the Turk, as usual, was its helpless and devoted victim. Had the Turks and the Allies been left to settle their account themselves, peace would have been ere now in sight. But they were never left alone, as the European diplomacy had declared that no settlement of the European heritage of the Turk would be allowed without the consent of Europe. A conference of the Ambassadors was consequently organised in London to keep in touch with the progress of the Peace negotiations. What it actually did was to exert an occult pressure on the Turks to induce them to accept the terms of the Allies. There was no question of justice or fairplay in this novel proceeding. It simply suited the expediency of the moment and the convenience of some of the great Powers that the Balkan crisis should end and that the Turk, —the familiar scapegoat of European diplomacy—should be forced to pay the ransom for the peace of Europe. The Allies could not be coerced as they could confidently count on the powerful diplomatic backing of Russia and her friends. The question was long since reduced to the simple issue, whether the Turks would bow to the mandate of the European diplomacy without a protest. That question was to a large extent solved when Kiamil Pasha resigned at the bidding of an outraged and indignant people.

When the Allies saw that the grandmotherly advice, which the Powers had offered on their behalf to the Porte, had indirectly led to the establishment of a strong determined and patriotic Government in Turkey, they assumed an offended air and began to talk big and menacing words in the hearing of Europe. They decided to make a formal announcement that the negotiations were at an end. They informally gave it out that the Armistice would be ended on the evening of the 3rd instant and the war would be resumed. All this was a piece of clever bluffing and it was intended to frighten Dame Europa into more coercive methods against the Turks. The Allies had not even awaited the reply of the Porte to the joint Note of the Powers before breaking off the negotiations. Since the reply was delivered they have made the whole world ring with their shrill threats of war and vengeance. The present Turkish Government is not afraid of putting its trust once more in the sword. It will not shrink from any sacrifice that it may have to bear in trying to save national honour. As far, however, as can be judged from the existing circumstances, hostilities will not be resumed till European diplomacy declares itself bankrupt. The Allies are simply playing on the nervousness of Europe, and if the war breaks out again some of the great Powers will be morally responsible.

The Turkish reply to the Note must have come as a great revelation to those who had received the return of the Young Turks to power as little short of a catastrophe. A set of firebrands, we were told, had purposely come to ride the whirlwind in a spirit of sheer bravado to defy Europe. One might well wish they had defied Europe as every unrighteous and organised tyranny should be defied. Europe has no conscience to appeal to. The extreme moderation of the reply would have justly caused grave alarm to all friends of Turkey had they not known that it was not the hand of a Kiamil Pasha that drafted it. The chief bone of contention has been Adrianople. The Turks have agreed to cede a part of the city and no compromise can go further. As regards the Aegean islands, the Turkish Note urges that any diminution of Ottoman authority would transform them into fresh foci of agitation which might spread to the neighbouring coasts and result in a situation similar to that in Macedonia constantly endangering peace. The Porte, however, expresses confidence that the Powers in determining the status of the islands will have regard to the above-mentioned consideration. The Note concludes with the hope that the Powers will recognise the extent of the sacrifices proposed and will agree that Turkey would be right in rejecting further demands.

While presenting their joint advice to the Porte the Powers had promised to lend powerful aid in the development of Turkey if the advice was accepted. Now that Turkey has made every possible concession consistent with her honour and interests, one may hope that the promises of Europe will materialise. The most

pressing need of Turkey is that the irksome restrictions on her fiscal freedom should be removed. She must, as an independent Sovereign State, have the right to establish autonomous customs tariff, to conclude treaties of commerce on modern principles, to suppress foreign post-offices and to abolish capitulations. Will Europe agree to forego these privileges, which were wrung from Turkey in her weak moments, and have ever since proved so many sources of danger to her internal peace, of enormous material loss and of intolerable humiliation? It is difficult to imagine that Europe would be capable of this degree of self-abnegation, and we doubt a weakened Turkey can lead Europe into the paths of righteousness.

But the most pressing question at this juncture is whether the conciliatory tone of the Turkish Note will induce the Powers to exercise the necessary pressure on the Allies. It is well understood in diplomatic quarters that the latter, in spite of their bellicose attitude, have no desire and little resources to renew the fight. Their demands have been so uncompromising and extravagant because they have all along been sure of the diplomatic support of Europe. This support has been freely lent on the pretence that Turkey had nothing to gain by a renewal of the fighting and that any such eventuality would greatly endanger the European peace. Every device known to diplomacy has been shamelessly applied to undermine the resolution of the Turk. He has been threatened with invasion by Russia. Schemes of partition about his Asiatic possessions have been loudly discussed to overawe him. All financial assistance has been refused him. And now that he has been forced, by these tactics, to make the heaviest sacrifices, and part with almost every thing he possessed in Europe, the Powers decide to stand aloof and do nothing if the Allies choose to resume the war! If European peace was the fetish so devoutly worshipped by diplomacy, is it not just, right and reasonable that the Allies should be restrained from further aggression and forced, like Turkey, to abate their exorbitant demands? Does not Europe feel its moral responsibility in the matter? Was Turkey's just claim to safeguard her vital interests a danger to the peace of Europe, and does not a similar danger exist in the aggressive and boastful attitude of the Allies? It is not out of consideration for Turkey's plight, supposed to be miserable, or in sheer terror of the threats of the Allies that we put these questions. Even to a casual observer of the situation and of the diplomatic currents and cross-currents that play upon it, the striking disparity in the treatment of the two cases would be apparent. The Balkan war has been full of important lessons for the world. The most important lesson has been that the modern diplomacy can resort to practices which every child in the schools and every baby in the nurseries of the world are taught to shun and despise. When an angry protest went up from the Mussalmans of India against the coercion of Turkey by the great Powers including England, some of our contemporaries were led to indulge in amusing sophistries. The Mussalmans were told that no coercion was being exercised, that the Powers had simply addressed "friendly advice" to the Porte which was meant exclusively for its benefit, and that they should not detract from the weight and value of their pronouncements by passing "hysterical resolutions." We would like to know what our contemporaries have got to say just now. Will they recant and the presentation of a similar "friendly advice" to the Allies? Or will they suddenly discover the formal obligations of the Powers and begin to discourse on the virtues of neutrality?

It is extremely difficult to say what the course of events may be within the next few days, as the situation is both complex and critical. The war may appear to be imminent, but it is not inevitable and we will not be surprised if it is entirely averted. In any case Turkey should be prepared for eventualities and should stand firm and resolute. She has already made concessions that come perilously near a complete surrender. She can not submit to further demands without stultifying herself and incurring "the reprobatation of Moslem opinion throughout the world." The dangers that threaten her are great. But no danger can be greater than the terrible shock that is bound to result to her national self-respect if the Allies' demands are granted in full. Thrace is virtually a Moslem province, and the fate of the hapless Macedonian Moslems should be a clear warning to the Turkish Government as to what would happen if the Moslems of Thrace, too, fall into the hands of the "Liberators" of the Christian races in European Turkey. If the Turks can not keep this Moslem province with the sword, let them, at any rate, redeem their great obligation with the blood of martyrdom.

Lord Hardinge's Message.

This first meeting of the new Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi will remain a notable event in recent Indian history. The occasion would have been significant enough in itself as it marked the inauguration of the legislative work of the Government of India in the new capital of the Empire. The first public appearance of Lord

Hardinge after the outrage that had so nearly cost him his life, invested it with special import and a peculiarly solemn character. The representatives of the people as well as of the Government had gathered in the Council Chamber under the shadow of an atrocious crime, consoled and relieved, however, by the thought that they would have the privilege of welcoming back in their midst the man whom a merciful Providence had preserved from the hand of the assassin to guide the destinies of India. The feeling was equally shared by the people at large in a spirit of thankful expectancy. The applause that greeted the Viceroy from the crowded galleries of the Council Hall as well as from his colleagues, as he walked slowly in bearing the marks of his bodily sufferings, was as much an expression of genuine admiration for the courage and fortitude with which he had gone through the terrible ordeal as that of gratitude and joy at his miraculous escape from death. The whole atmosphere of the place was for the while tense with emotion. And in those short, electric moments one felt as if many a moral wound had been healed.

The opening speech of Lord Hardinge was worthy alike of the man and the occasion. The strain of the effort was only too visible, but it was courageously borne and every word of the remarkable utterance fell clear and distinct on the hushed and crowded house. The Viceroy cordially welcomed the newly-elected and newly-appointed members of his Council and expressed regret for those who had not returned. Referring to the outrage he said:—

I feel deeply grateful to you all for the warmth of your reception here to-day. I always knew that I could count on your sympathy in the suffering that has been my lot during the past few weeks, and if there has been one thing that had tended to alleviate those sufferings it has been the knowledge of the sympathy shown towards me by all classes, creeds, and communities throughout the length and breadth of India.

The whole speech was instinct with sorrow at what had happened and with abiding sympathy for the people of India. There were some very important passages in the speech embodying the genuine reflections of the Viceroy about the character of anarchical crimes in this country and their possible remedy, which we are sure will be carefully studied, marked and inwardly digested by the Indian people. Speaking of the Indian terrorists, Lord Hardinge truly remarked that it is difficult to believe that they as individuals are a class apart and that they do not belong to communities and mix with their fellow-beings. "Are they really susceptible to no influence and no advice?" he asked, "have they no contact with moderate and wise men?" These are questions that must have occurred to all who have pondered over the growth of terrorism in this country. And yet they do not admit of an easy answer. Anarchism, paradoxical though it may seem, is not an individual freak, but an organised revolt against society or a State with a definite purpose and a method. It takes its birth in a peculiar set of political and social forces. Anarchical ideas may germinate in individual minds without any mutual relation, but they can not find practical expression unless the minds draw together to think, to plan, to organise and to act in concert. Lord Hardinge was, therefore, quite right in holding that anarchical crimes "can not be dismissed as the isolated acts of irresponsible fanatics and that they are in most cases the outcome of organised conspiracies in which the actual agent of the crime is not always the most responsible." The anarchist no doubt belongs to communities and mixes with his fellow-beings. It is, however, difficult to estimate the degree to which he is susceptible to influence and advice without knowing the class of persons from which he springs and the political and social conditions that give him birth.

We know the soil where anarchism has mostly flourished in India and we may to a large extent gauge the character of the forces that have favoured and helped its growth. It is needless for us to set about to study in detail the conditions as well as the type. The supreme question is how best they can be eradicated. As the Viceroy remarked, the atmosphere that breeds the political murderer is more easily created than dispelled. According to him, "it can only be entirely and for ever dispelled by the display and enforcement of public opinion in a determination not to tolerate the perpetration of such crimes and to treat as enemies of society not only those who commit crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crime. Amongst such incentives to crime should be included every intemperance of political language and methods likely to influence ill-balanced minds and lead them by insidious stages to hideous crimes." This is an eminently wise counsel and we are sure it will be taken to heart by those who are jealous of the honour of India and deplore the slur of anarchism that rests on her fair fame. But will it not, at the same time, be a wise course and a much more effective method to search for the real causes that produce the political murderer and try to tear them up by the roots. Healthy, temperate and strong public opinion is a good deterrent to political and social crimes, and it is one of the admitted needs of the Indian situation to create and foster such opinion. What is, however, more needed is to adopt preventive measures that would cleanse the atmosphere of evil and render the existence of the political desperado impossible. This might well appear to be a counsel of

perfection, especially in view of the peculiar political conditions that obtain in this country. The existence of anarchism even in homogeneous and organically developed States is not a rare phenomenon. The only thing that might make its appearance strange and surprising in India would be the hoary political instincts and traditions of the East. Tradition and instinct alike have, however, been losing their force ever since the modern political influences and ideas began to flood the land. The governance of India by England has been, on the whole, a mission of beneficence. It would be an unutterable calamity if it were to end abruptly before its great task is finished. But it has been the inevitable result of the peculiar bond that unites India with England and of the welter of new ideas that the great process of intellectual and moral revolution has created social and political distemper and a certain amount of violence in thought and feeling. The responsibility of the Indian people is great, and no Indian patriot can feel confident of the future if the enormous task of political reconstruction is constantly imperilled by a set of destructive and desperate revolutionaries. The body-politics, it must be readily admitted, has been infected with a malignant and dangerous malady, though its vital organs are yet sound. Has anarchism come to stay in this country? Is it possible to stamp it wholly out of existence? We wish it were easy to find a definite and satisfactory answer to this question.

The only things about which one can be certain are that terroristic developments are an undoubted evil, that they are the extreme outward expressions of impatient idealism working on weak and ill-balanced minds, that they strangely persist when once they appear in a social organism, and that they as often as not elude the influence of healthy public opinion. The Viceroy's exhortation to the people of India to try to make the existence of the terrorists impossible will evoke a ready and whole-hearted response. But the people's efforts will not be as effective as they should be when "public opinion" is as yet a mere journalistic expression in this country. The universal outburst of indignation and sympathy after the outrage could not be more genuine, whole-hearted and sincere. It was the public opinion of a people who had been united on the moral plane, through the great shock of a horrible crime, by the elemental instincts of humanity, creed and race. But the sort of public opinion that expresses common aims and purpose and is sure of ways and means is scarcely articulate in India. The people are face to face with shifting horizons in politics, arts, science and religion, neither sure of the goal, nor of the path, still busy revising their catalogue of first principles. The terrorist lives, moves and has his being in society and he must needs come into contact with men who abhor his doctrines and his methods. But it is manifest that he does not feel the silent moral rebuke and censure in the presence of these men, who, though they feel a mortal horror of anarchism, lack the self-assurance that comes from a strength of conviction and only imperfectly realise that they are individually responsible for the safety of society and the State. It is not their fault that they are State-blind. The fault lies partly with their history and partly with the conditions that govern the period of their transition from a nebulous stage of political existence to what, for want of a better name, may be called democracy.

Under the circumstances we can only fall back on certain admissions. The people of India detest anarchical tendencies of every kind and yet their efforts to stamp them out might not be as successful as could be wished. Terrorism in India, in view of the peculiar social, political and intellectual conditions will die hard. The British government of India has got to be carried on in spite of the existence of terrorism. It has a twofold task before it. It should suppress all anarchical manifestations as well as patiently strive to remove the causes that feed the ghastly underworld of political crime. For the latter consummation it is absolutely essential that the ideals of the State and the people should, as far as possible, be identical. Every patriotic Indian will recognise with gratitude that considerable efforts have been made in the direction of broad-based Indian Government on the will and affections of the people. Political crime should be repressed with unsparing thoroughness. It is, however, much more important that the rulers of India should steadfastly hold to their course and look straight on. In Lord Hardinge we have the best guarantee that our rulers have the fullest sense of the magnitude of their task and of the demands that it will increasingly make on their wisdom, courage and generosity. No one can clearly read the future and all that it has in store for India. One can only hope for the best. This hope is strengthened into confidence when one sees India's best sons moved to great devotion and sacrifice for her sake and her rulers keeping a cool, collected mind, unworped by bitterness, amidst violent political shocks. Terrorism can have no terrors for the well-wishers of this country when they remember these noble words of Lord Hardinge:—

Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course.



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

"*Jhujoo-Jhoo! Jhujoo-Jhoo!*" The Rajah's new palace is growing up and the old palace is tumbling down. Old woman, take off all your pots and pans, *Ara-ra-ra-dhoo!*" This the time-honoured formula of Indian nurseries when chubby babies creeping into mammy's bed were lifted up tenderly on maternal legs and equally tenderly brought down to the soft bed with just a tiny shock to create baby's little sensation and make life eventual in Babyland. Those were ancient days of despotism; but things have changed now, and King Demos rules in our political nurseries. There are no Rajahs now whose palaces may be destroyed and rebuilt in the dreadful fashion of despotism. It is now democracy that brings down one house of cards and rears up another in the shape of its Council Chambers. So a grandmotherly Government after a period of three years when things begin to grow slow and stale creates a little sensation in democratic India's Babyland, and while preserving the ancient spirit changes the letter of the old formula and proclaims "*Jhujoo-Jhoo! Jhujoo-Jhoo!*" Democracy's old Council is tumbling down and its new Council is growing up. Old woman—Collector or Deputy Commissioner (as the case may be)—take off your pots and pans, *Ara-ra-ra-dhoo!*" After three years of playing at legislation with just sufficient seriousness to prevent satiety, the first reformed Council disappears from the scene and the second one comes into being.

To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow
Comes at a devilish pace from day to day
To the last syllable of the Council's time,
And all our yesterday's light Honourees
The way to dust-bins and munit-pal carts,
Dim reeky lamps and roads Sahara-like
Of India's Local Swaraj—(tasteless food
For those who feasted on the kingly viands
Of Sandow's Press-Dag and Seditions laws,
Mild Hindu's soldiers three and million schools,
And Bhupen's luckless matrimonial venture
Out, out brief candles! Motus of politics
Don't gather round the lights of other days.
Even the substance of a burly Rajah
To-day is but a shadow, vain and empty.
He who till yesterday so loftily
Upheld an unborn Nation's dignity,
To-day lies levelled with kutuberry dust.
Last night of light a pillar, in the morn
A pillar still he is, but now, alas!
Of smoke and cloud The Orient's second tower,
That in his lavish stress and emphasis
Made up for Babel's great variety,
Is now his unborn Nation's Tower of Silence.

Disdaining competition with the Kutub,
Longfellow keeps Cross-Bencher company.
Ungrateful land of Magadh! was it meet
To push Cross-Bencher also off his stool
In this the first flush of thy victory?
Compelled by thee, ungrateful Motherland!
He sought a kingdom in the Pandits' realm,
And sitting two Provincial stools between
Cross-Bencher found at last on mother earth
The safest seat. Let none dispute his claim.
Council succeedeth Council. Each poor player
Thus struts his hour upon the stage, and then
Is heard no more. But still the play goes on.
Succeeding players will soon repeat the tale
Told by their predecessors, full of sound
And patriot fury, signifying nothing.

With the new Council also comes a new Council Chamber. Of course, this is only a make-shift, for the new capital of India has yet to be built, and with the guttapurcha qualities of Indian Finance four million sterling will stretch as usual into fourteen in order to provide India its St. Stephen's and India's Governor-General just a little house attached thereto. This is only the kuchcha Capital, and a paltry 49½ lakhs could do no more than rear up Aladin's new magic palace, where Government will work for half a year and Councils would meet on a dozen occasions. The temporary St. Stephen's of India is shaped like a horse-shoe, that is to say, if the horse has a somewhat unique foot. The dull, unvarnished teak panelling and furniture are artistically relieved by the olive green of the carpets and the hangings. On one side is the Presidential Throne with its high back and canopy overhead, surmounted by a crown, all of unvarnished teak. On both sides of this Throne are three rows of seats meeting at the other end of the hall in a semi-circle, and in the arrangement of this Government, imitating the Creator, says to the Hon. Members, "we have created you in pairs." For each seat accommodates two members who are provided with a small desk that also serves the purpose of a little shelf for keeping papers and office boxes. It provides for the Railway Sleeper sufficient accommodation as accommodation on sleeping berths goes in railway carriages under his management, even if it fails to provide the Advocate-General sufficient room for stretching his go-ahead legs. H. E. has a door at the back of the Throne all to himself, and Hon. Members come in from side doors opening into the back verandah of the building. The prophecy of the Calcutta journals is, however, fulfilled in one particular. In one thing at least the Press will be a stranger in Delhi, for the same two back doors admit the Press and the Strangers to the Gallery above. But if the Cassandra of Calcutta are justified in one respect the optimists of the 12th December can still snap their fingers at the prophets of evil. Autonomy is clearly in sight, and even if it be not so, Government have seen to it that a colorable imitation of autonomy should be provided for the Councils. The benches of the Indian St. Stephens are green!

Up among the gods and goddesses the Hon. Mr. Gup, who alone never loses his seat, scanning with eagerness new faces and figures in the new Council, while recognising some of the old familiar

ness, indeed not a few that were the unfailing source of his inspiration and the world's gaiety. Owing to the injury caused by the villainous attempt on his life, H. E. was not yet strong enough to sit throughout the proceedings on the initial day of his new Council, and in his absence Sir G. G. J. J. among the grave and reverend signers of the Executive Council, presided. When the members came trooping forth to St. Vincent's table to take their oaths of allegiance to the King Emperor and a pledge of doing their duty as Councillors truly and faithfully, first came Muggan who took the oath gaily. Then came the representative of dethroned Calcutta, red in tooth and claw, and ready to be revenged on Delhi. After him the Ghasnevide, no longer owing his seat to the cast of the die but to his prayerful and holiday-loving co-religionists. Then followed Maharajah Mir Kasim, successor of all-round Dig'er-Patty, and then Midnapur Macpherson. Bengal united and re-partitioned has yet two new members to elect, and Mr. Gup eagerly looks forward to the day when the result is announced of the great fight of Bengal's Triumvir, Bhupen, Suren and Rash.

Bombay's Mild Hindu is cross-questioning the Bureaucracy in Bengal and making them very cross, and has reserved his allegiance for the next confession day. But there were three new faces from India's Sunset Land, Fazoolbhai, amiable and generous as ever in the place of Bombay Duck, cool and plausible and modish, Wa-Rahmatullah, keen in counsel and temperate in debate, in the place of that massive champion of Bombay's Commerce and Industries, Vital Thackeray. The "Reign of Law" has come to India in a form that Dicey did not contemplate, for Vakili Raj has been making encroachment even among the Sardars of Gujarat and a Vakili has succeeded in being returned to the Council even if only in name.

Madras Landowners had sent to the last Council the Rajah of vairy-vairy difficult names. But even he did not run like the present representative of Madras into two volumes. The representative of the Madras Council who supplants Pantaloon has not like his confrère half a dozen names, and is satisfied with only a couple, one of which is the familiar Chakravarti. But the other makes up for the simplicity of the first and its want of variety, the nearest intelligible approach to it being Madras-Chutney-pickle-achai. The Dapper Nawab once more comes back, but the Mussalman Member from little Banganapalle has followed in the footsteps of his predecessor of Aroot who never turned them towards the Council.

From the Punjab Council a new representative comes once more, for the meteoric course of the Khan Bahadur is over. In his place comes a true Singh of the Punjab like Kuar Sahib, who comes back once more, and is one of the two stoniest pillars of Punjab loyalty. The fertile land of Five Rivers is represented no more by the Free Lance of the Tiwanas, but has a Rajah to take his place. But what could any Council be without its Free Lance? Had Government excluded him from among the legislators of India hundreds of nations and millions of people would have had to mourn the loss of that fountain-head of the gaiety of the nations. These no longer the days of the despotic Deputy Commissioner, who, like Parliament, could make everything except making a woman a man, although, unlike the British Parliament, they made many an honest and bold man a hesitating and irresolute woman. These are the days of the Supreme Government, and its supreme resourcefulness is marvellous. When inelastic Regulations forced upon Government the necessity of nominating a Hindu to represent the landlords of the Punjab, alternating with a Mussalman in the last Council, was the Supreme Government dismayed? Not a bit! It promptly became a Missionary and as the political evangelist of India converted the landlord of yesterday into the True Believer of to-day! So the Council once more had its Tiwana Free Lance, dispossessed no doubt of his land but saddled by the Supreme Government with the faith of Islam.

Process of swearing is generally tedious and dull, but nothing like an oath to judge the temper and character of a man. Bob Acres was a man of many moods and his oaths accorded with his moods, so that as a "Fighting Bob" he swore by nothing else but hilts and triggers. The Council composed of men of different tempers, and the best thermometer is the manner of a man's swearing in. When it came to the turn of Free Lance, the Council and the gods and goddesses above were dazzled by the glare of the Field of Cloth of Gold in which the hero of the Tiwanas had decked himself. As he dashingly marched to the table of St. Vincent in the centre, the medals of war and peace and such like charms, jingling like merry silver bells, announced his martial approach. The ordinary humdrum formula became in the mouth of the Moslem Herald a living thing, lyric in the expression of inmost feeling, dramatic and even melo-dramatic in the manner in which he thundered it out, and truly epic in the grandeur which he imported into it. All was accent, stress and emphasis, but, in spite of the high key in which the whole oath of allegiance was pitched, the Moslem Herald could yet play on the whole gamut of emphatic expression. While others prided themselves on having been elected by the suffrage of their peers, Free Lance

laid stress in the very first instance on the word "nominated." His "faithful" was italicized; his "true allegiance" was underlined, and his "Fakhtfully" was in bold type and marked with a thousand N. B.'s, and a million marking flats so beloved of the advertiser. Having delivered himself of this tremendous oath, the Free Lance was dashing back to his seat, when St. Vincent held up his hand and barred the way. His further progress thus arrested, the Free Lance turned back and found he had still to undergo an ordeal far more exacting than the ordeal by fire which could win him the Victoria Cross. His colour changed to the Khaki of his regimental kit on field days. All the five rivers of the Punjab rolled down his cheeks in streams of perspiration, and with a heart beating like a kettle-drum the gallant Tiwana bowed low before the blast of fate which was bent on humbling him. The hand that was used to the firm grasp of the sword hilt and the lance, and the fingers that cunningly used to touch the trigger of the rifle or the revolver, as a lady's run over the keys of the piano, clumsily and tremblingly, took up the grey goose quill and dipped it in the ink-well with the same reluctance which a less gallant man than the Free Lance would have shown in descending into the lion's den. But with heroic endeavour he rallied to his side the courage that had deserted him, and with one supreme effort he dashed the pen across the red Morocco bound register of Council Members as if 'twere a horse galloping under the grip of the wiry limbs of a Tiwana in a glorious charge hurled at the enemy. Thus was it that the Free Lance succeeded in the great ordeal of the pen and proved himself not wholly unworthy even of the Beneit of the Clergy. What matters it that St. Vincent's eyes have grown dim and he is unable to decipher the names inscribed in the register even with the help of Egyptologist versed in hieroglyphics. When Alexander the Great set out for the conquest of the world, he drew his great sword and conquered the lands he coveted and left the lazy sons of peace to settle the justice of it. Free Lance, who has now made his mark on the chronicles of the Council, leaves it to the lazy sons of learning to dispute its legibility.

Sir Ross Kippei, much annoyed at discovery that the same world which was adorned by him gave asylum to lesser beings like Hota-Mardan, newspaper editors, Members of Council and M. P.'s. As a concession from the ideal to the stern and unpleasant realities of life, commanded Government of India to include among nominated officials his representative, and sent to Delhi Force-Majeure Don't-Brook-Blaze-away, C. I. E., who took the oath of allegiance in a very superior and nonchalant manner.

In England Field Marshall Sylvia Pankhurst has ordered the resumption of hostilities after the Franchise Bill fiasco, and Cabinet Members who live in glass houses will now have a rare treat of it. But we in India are far ahead. If the people of Ajodhya returned Sri Ramji, our Government, with an unfailing affection not so much for the world as for his wife, promptly nominated Sri Sitaji. Dressed in drab from top to toe Sitaji also took the oath of allegiance and that too before Sri Ramji, and so superior and ungentle is the sex to-day that all such extras as bows to the Chair were dispensed with. As if this e-man-cipation was not enough, Government greatly concerned at the desertion of dear Madge, who, failing to get a regiment for the Domiciled Community, at last secured a Commission for himself. But so used had Government become to the company of Madge and so disconsolate was it without his sex's soft ways and gentle seductive manner, that it looked about for the other consolation and procured through Sir Charles Bayley the nearest approach to dear Madge in darling Maud.

But this not the only link between the old Council and the new. Some in this world are wise, some otherwise. The last Council had a Hooda and this has an other Hooda. The sun and the moon never shine together, so when Shams-ul-Hooda set in a Council seat in the East, Qamar-ul-Hooda rose in the West. So Hooda succeeds Hooda. The second one walked slowly and deliberately to the table of St. Vincent and whispered his oath of allegiance into the privacy of his waist-coat. After him came one whose name and titles were familiar to St. Vincent and came trippingly on the tongue. Only one mistake. The Hon Member now spells his name as Shikari, though intimate friends not unoften still use the Ticagarri.

Then followed Mand, Mir Jafar, the Raja and Khushhal who, although only the shadow of a Rajput to look at, showed even in his name that the landlord of Kotla was a man of substance. Sri Ramji who had had a walk in into the Council, thanks to his popularity not only with his own community but also with Europeans and officers of Government, felt a little doubtful whether he was a nominated or an elected Member and while being sworn in corrected himself just in time as he was betraying that he was a nominated Member. He was followed by the white-robed angel of Prag who took the oath of allegiance and rushed on, but remembering somewhat late that he had left one of his bows behind him, stopped half way, returned to the place where

he had forgotten it, picked it up and sent it per Special Messenger to Sir Guy in the Chair. After him sauntered in Saunders, rubicund and self-satisfied like a thirty-five hundred rupee Commissioner, and then Slippery Eel from Burmah where they have evidently an unco good conceit of themselves. As if Never-Shut-up-Gates had not made this clear enough, they have sent us Eel who thinks he is "lovely," and has not a bit of scruple in calling himself so. Assam is not so particular about an elegant nomenclature and is quite happy with her Barua to push forward her superior claims.

Osbery Chitnis, *clayen* of non-official members, returned once more from the Orange Free State, otherwise known as Little-Maryland or the Central Provinces. But Mud Holkar has been made to abdicate and his only consolation in his enforced retirement must be that if he is no longer there to speak for his Province, Dashing Boy is there no more to speak against it. Well may the latter say to-day, "Had I served my constituents half so well" etc. etc. In his place comes the Second Pandit, and speculation is busy discussing if his name would belie him.

At this stage St. Vincent sought the ear of Sir Guy, and the Vice-President announcing that H. E. was about to arrive, thoughtfully smoothed the seat and the cushion for one whom the Council had hitherto morosely missed. After a few minutes' interregnum, borne with feelings just the reverse of those which prevailed during the interval of H. E.'s leaving the Elephant of State and Sir Guy's riding on at the head of the procession, St. Vincent walked in from behind the throne and then the A. D. C. announced H. E. Pulled down a great deal, but, the House noticed with thankfulness, not pale or otherwise altered,—except for the right arm still carried in a sling—H. E. stood in front of the Throne and received the well-merited applause of that assembly. At first the cheers came with conventional propriety; then some one less used to curb human emotions than others cheered a little more lustily and was followed by some one with a faint and hesitating "hurrah," and then a good ringing cheer that defied convention, reverberated in the Council Hall and was echoed back from the Gallery where, bound by rules and regulations, Strangers and Press representatives had hitherto been in the habit of sitting mutely.

A few more officials to take their oath, and then in a speech delivered in a voice ideal for the President of such an assembly, clear and well modulated at all times, but now deeply touched by irrepressible emotion, H. E. surpassed himself to-day in saying the right thing at the right moment and in the right manner. Another of the historic change which brought back to historic Delhi her ancient heritage, H. E. naturally felt a keen desire to open the first session of his Council in Delhi in his own person. But more than personal desire was the sense of duty which even in the hour of his sore trial had prompted him to proclaim that the King's Government must go on. Both personal desire and public duty had combined to make the Durbar possible, and once more both combined to bring H. E. to the Council Chamber to open the first session of the Council in Delhi. Regret at the disappearance of some of the old familiar faces from his Council, delight at the sight of yet a few left, and cordial welcome of the newcomers were all expressed, in H. E.'s best manner. But it was something more than the manner of one trained in a school of life where manner maketh man, when H. E. referred to his feelings at and after the inexpressibly sad occasion when the vile assassin had put an end to a career of no less benevolence than brilliance. Profound gratitude to Almighty God for His merciful protection, and real grief for the humble victim of the conspirators' plot were feelings that would naturally arise at such a time. But H. E. had also felt sorrow at the thought of the injury to the sentiments of the whole people of India who would, he knew, regard with horror and detestation the perpetration of a crime contrary to their own precepts and instincts of humanity and of loyalty as well as to their religious principles. Against the vile conspirators themselves he bore no feelings other than a disappointment that it was possible such misguided men as those who had committed such a *useless* crime could now be found in India. In his desire for kindly intercourse with the people and ready accessibility he had discouraged excessive precautions. He had trusted himself and Lady Hardinge more to the care of the people than to that of the police and if it was an error, it was an error that he was proud of and long may he live to be proud of such generous "errors."

With these kindly sentiments H. E. gave expression to some sage advice appealing in an irrefragable manner to the moderate and wise men to use their influence and advice; for it was difficult to believe that these conspirators were a class apart and belonged to no communities nor mixed with their fellow-beings. The fame of India could only be restored to a high and accessible plane not by disavowing such crimes as the isolated acts of irresponsible fanatics, but by regarding them as the outcome of organized conspiracies, and by the display and enforcement of public opinion in a determination not to tolerate the perpetration of such crimes and to treat as

enemies of society not only those who commit crimes but also those who offer any incentives to crime. But whatever he may feel on the subject of the crime itself, H. E. assured the Council and the whole of India that that incident would in no sense influence his attitude. He would pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years and would not waver a hair's breadth from that course. Well may H. E.'s coat of arms bear the motto: *Mens aequa in arduis*. Well may the terrorist be terrorised in his turn by the inevitableness of a rule which would continue, despite such crimes, as if nothing had happened, and by the serenity and unwavering kindness of a nature which even well concerted plots of evil-doers would no more embitter against innocent millions than the isolated acts of fanatics living in an underworld of warped sensibilities and abnormally criminal minds.

Chitnis then rose to express the feelings of the Non-Official Members and Headstrong the separation of the Europeans and their belief in the virtues of firm government. After them H. E. rose again and pointing to the arm in the sling regretted he could not shake them by the hand but wished them to take the will for the deed. As he was leaving, he received applause from the assembly even louder than that which had greeted his entry.

The occasion was unique in its seriousness and the hearts of all were full. But life loves not uniformity, and is intolerant of a monotony of colour. Even the feeling of the audience at the moment was the mixed one of sweet sadness; but little could anyone suspect that the gay would soon be jostling the grave on that occasion. Yet while H. E. was in the Council Chamber and all the avenues to it were carefully guarded by police of all sorts and conditions and of every province, demanding from the most distinguished Strangers of both sexes the production of Admission Tickets,—not to mention the yellow ticket-of-leave which the Press of a wholly different hue had to carry aloft like a torch in outer darkness—there walked in from one of the side entrances reserved for Honourable Members a dignified and sedate individual who calmly took a seat in the Council. Lynx-eyed Sir Charles in the Strangers' Gallery, sitting behind the Under-Secretary of State to see that he did no mischief, failed to recognise in the newcomer the features and figure of any Honourable Member snapshotted for eventualities by the Dark Room Branch of a still darker department. Out of sheer curiosity he went down the steps and across the Members' Lobby into the Council Chamber, not a little fearful of being himself challenged, as a Stranger on the floor of the House by some Member standing up for the sacredness of the legislative penetralia. Soon after reaching the newcomer, Sir Charles discovered him a veteran of the Police itself whose rebellious originality had earned him a pension and a doctor's certificate that he belonged to a species of thinkers near allied to men of genius, for whom the Police Commission had not discovered a requisite rank or adequate salary. Although Sir Charles's persuasiveness drew him away from the Council, he was more than a match for the best in his Service in the matter of logical argument. He now rests in a lunatic asylum as the result of distinguished and long-continued service in the Police. But although he is shut out from the world and incarcerated in that abode of Supermen, as one irrationally judged to be devoid of reason, Sir Charles cannot shut out from his own mind the poor ex-policeman's reasoning. "Why object to one when so many others are in that Chamber?"



Petty Larceny.

(By OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC.)

[Wit is your birth-right: therefore steal it wheresoever you find it.—*Rigmarole Veda*.]

The peasant is the chief beast of burden in Egypt, India, South Africa and America.

"Honorary Secretary" or "Honorary Treasurer" means they are supposed to be honest.

The seven great powers of Europe are gravity, electricity, steam, gas, horse-power, fly-wheels and motors.

Little Girl: "Your papa has only got one leg, hasn't he?"

Veteran's Little Girl: "Yes."

Little Girl: "Where's his other one?"

Veteran's Little Girl: "Humb, dear. It's in heaven."

REPRESENTATIVE HENRY of Texas was praising a Washington heiress

"She is the right sort," he said. "She went abroad last year and on her return a friend asked her:—

'Did you see many picturesque old ruins over there?'

"Yes," she answered, with a faint smile, 'and one of them proposed.'"

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Jan. 26.

THE Balkan delegates in London sent lengthy telegrams to their Government last night asking for further instructions in view of the possibility of a long delay in receiving the reply of the Porte and the Powers. The Balkan delegates declare that they would have broken off the negotiations, but they desired to consider the feelings of the Powers.

The Turkish peace mission is still without instructions.

A Constantinople message states that when the demonstrators, headed by Enver Bey, forced their way into the Grand Vizierate they sought to enter the council chamber, but Nazif Bey, aide-de-camp to Kiamil Pasha, fired his revolver at the demonstrators who replied, killing him. Nazim Pasha's aide-de-camp also shot a demonstrator and was himself immediately shot dead. Nazim Pasha, hearing the disturbance, rushed out and called the demonstrators "ill-mannered curs." Almost immediately he was struck by a bullet and killed. An agent of the secret police, an attendant of Sheikh-ul-Islam, was also killed in the mêlée. Leading members of the Committee of the Union and Progress declare that the shooting of Nazim Pasha was unpremeditated, and they regret the death of a man whom they respected. All the ex-Ministers were liberated yesterday, and they returned to their homes.

A Malta telegram states that the cruiser "Yarmouth" has been suddenly ordered to proceed to Suda Bay forthwith.

Two Italian battleships have been ordered to Turkish waters.

The Vienna *Fremdenblatt* says that without doubt Enver Bey was inspired by lofty patriotism in his recent action with regard to the Cabinet, but that the *coup d'état* amidst a serious crisis must be reprehended throughout Europe. The paper says that he has exposed his country and people to incalculable dangers as Europe intended to smoothe the path of the sorely tried Turkish Empire. The new turn of affairs is merely a passing episode and an ephemeral success. Europe is unanimously in favour of peace.

London, Jan. 27

Reuter as a result of enquiries in diplomatic quarters learns that the aim of the Powers is to maintain close touch and unity.

It is authoritatively stated that the reports of proposed French activity in Syria are unfounded. France does not in any way intend to intervene in the Asiatic provinces. This is also the case with Russia, which while working to protect its own interests and subjects does not contemplate any separate policy. A meeting of the Balkan States representatives in London on Thursday decided to add to the war indemnity the charges involved by the loss of time since the suspension of hostilities.

A Cettinje message states that two million kilograms of corn, the gift of the Tsar of Russia to relieve distress among the Montenegrins, have arrived at Antivari.

A Bukharest telegram says that a Cabinet Council at which the King presided has decided on the course to be pursued in order to bring the negotiations with Bulgaria to an immediate issue and has decided not to mobilise troops.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* discussing Balkan question says that the most important consideration for the further treatment of the Eastern trouble is the maintenance of unity among the Powers and the continuation of their common work for the restoration of peace. It says that there is no ground for the presumption that individual Powers intend to leave the concert with the object of intervening in their own interests; nor is there any question of coercive measures with regard to joint European action. Such measures, it says, would not be in accordance with neutrality and might have serious result.

The semi-official *Rossiya* (St. Petersburg) says that Russia is ever more conscious of the necessity of ending the war and will direct all her efforts to that end. Europe whose attitude is unchanged in the result of the events in Constantinople expects that the new Cabinet will display that same spirit of reasonable conciliation as its predecessor.

The Balkan delegates have decided to break off the negotiations. They have appointed a committee to draft a letter to the Turkish delegates announcing their decision. The letter will probably be presented to-morrow.

The battleship *King Edward* and the *Zealandia* have been ordered to proceed to the east from Malta.

The French Minister of Marine has ordered the despatch of two more warships to the east in case of necessity.

The British cruiser "Dartmouth" arrived at Salonica on Saturday night.

According to an uncensored account of Thursday's happenings which has been received from Constantinople, Enver Bey was accompanied into the Grand Vizierate by Kadi Bey and Talaat Bey and a party of officers. After the revolver firing was over Enver Bey told Kiamil Pasha that he must either swear to continue war or resign. Kiamil was perfectly cool and chose to resign. The ministers remained prisoners till two in the morning when they were released. The crowd outside increased to hundreds, and patriotic and warlike speeches, prayers and chants could be heard. Two British Indians harangued a Moslem gathering. They said that India was with Turkey heart and soul.

Opponents of the Committee of Union and Progress were hunted but took refuge in the different Embassies.

The letter from the Balkan delegates to the Turkish delegates will declare that the Conference has been broken off owing to Turkey's refusal of their proposals. A draft of the letter was to be submitted to another meeting of the Balkan delegates on Sunday who were then to decide the time of presentation and also whether the negotiations should end with the presentation of the letter or whether some brief period should be allowed to intervene before the rupture was made effective. In the Allies' view Turkey alone is responsible for the rupture of the negotiations, the change of Cabinet and the new Government's manifesto clearly indicating that her reply to the Powers will be of a negative character.

The opinion is held in some quarters, especially in view of a certain indefiniteness with reference to the immediate effects of the decision of the Balkan delegates, which their statements do not seem to remove, that their action is a piece of bluff intended to induce the Powers to exercise stronger pressure on Turkey.

The *King Edward* and *Zealandia* have gone to the Aegean.

The Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Port Said yesterday and left almost immediately for Beirut.

The British Indians who harangued the gathering at the Porte on Thursday, apparently belonging to the Red Crescent Mission, said that India wanted to see the Turks conduct the war to a victorious finish.

An autopsy shows that Nazim Pasha was stabbed besides being shot.

A Constantinople wire says that Prince Said Halim has been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs.

London, Jan. 28.

Though the Note of the Balkan delegates has been drafted, the meeting of delegates to approve it has been deferred as the Servians lack instructions. It is understood that it will be considered at a "farewell luncheon" which the Servians are giving to-day, but its presentation will probably be further delayed, to give Turkey an opportunity of replying to the Powers.

A Constantinople wire says that the acting Foreign Minister states that the Turkish reply to the Powers will probably be sent on Friday.

Mr. Asquith, replying to Sir J. D. Rees in the House of Commons to-day, said: "I am aware that reports of the treatment of Moslems in territory occupied by Bulgaria and Servia have attracted widespread notice, and attention of Bulgaria and Servia has been drawn to the matter."

It is announced in Constantinople that the Porte has signed an agreement with a syndicate, headed by the Deutsche Bank, conveying a concession for the Metropolitan Railway to the latter which will immediately advance a considerable sum to the Porte.

A Gibraltar wire says that H. M. Cruiser "Argyll" has been ordered to the East.

The Balkan delegates in London after a prolonged conference approved and signed the note regarding breaking off negotiations, but the date of presentation was not fixed. The time of presentation of the note has been left to the discretion of the senior delegate. It will probably be presented to-morrow. The delegates consider that presentation will end their mission in London. M. Venizelos, Greek

delegates, and most of the others will leave London this week. The note makes no mention of termination of the Armistice.

Replying to Colonel Yates in the House of Commons, with reference to the letter from the All-India Moslem League calling attention to the reports of outrages on Mussulmans in Macedonia, Sir Edward Grey said he was informing the League of the steps which were being taken by Government.

Replying to Mr. Walter Guinness and Mr. Johan Dillon with reference to the representations addressed to Bulgaria and Serbia respecting the treatment of Moslems, Sir Edward Grey said the Bulgarian Premier had stated that no atrocities had been committed by Bulgarian Regulars, any such actions by Bulgarian bands were directly opposed to orders issued at headquarters. Sir Edward Grey proceeded: "It is extremely difficult to judge of the degree of authenticity attaching to the allegations made. In the only case in which information that reached me was sufficiently detailed, a further communication is being addressed to the Government concerned, and His Majesty's Minister has been instructed to express the hopes that those proved guilty of excess will be dealt with as justice demands. I am unable to say whether any other Great Powers have taken similar action."

London, Jan. 29.

In an interview Mahmud Shefket Pasha, Grand Vizier, said: "Foreign collaboration is indispensable for the reform of the administration: so we shall appoint foreign advisers to all ministries. We shall also divide the Empire into great administrative zones and engage a foreign inspector for each zone. Without waiting for the summoning of Parliament we shall exact by *trade laws* permitting the working of land banks and instituting freedom of contract with liberty to establish joint stock companies and conclude agreements for the construction of railways and the carrying out of public works."

Although the presentation of the Allies' Note to-day will mark a definite rupture of the conference the diplomats in London still hope that a renewal of war may be avoided owing to Turkey's grave position. Information from Constantinople indicates that the Ottoman troops are not fit to take offensive and that the new Cabinet will probably be compelled to make peace terms not dissimilar from those proposed by Kiamil Pasha.

In an interview at Constantinople Mahmud Shefket Pasha said that peace was certain if Europe made it possible for Turkey. He added: "We have not come into power to defy Europe, but to appeal to her conscience. We shall only draw sword if compelled to choose between war and the reprobation of Muhammadan opinion throughout the world."

It is rumoured in Vienna that Ahmad Abuk Pasha with the Fourth Army Corps is marching on Constantinople to revenge the death of Nazim Pasha.

A message from Toulon says that a squadron of four battleships and cruisers which has just returned has been ordered to hold itself in readiness to leave for the Near East at a moment's notice.

The attitude of Rumania is again disquieting. It is announced at Bukharest that the claim to the possession of Silistria has not been abandoned and that if Bulgaria does not reply definitely by Thursday the Government will decide on its course of action.

Rumania has contracted a loan for six million sterling with a German Syndicate.

Telegrams from Bukharest indicate that public opinion is forcing Government to make larger demands from Bulgaria. Numerous meetings have been held at which resolutions have been passed fervidly in favour of insistence on a large cession of territory.

In Vienna the official *Kronenblatt* says that the Triple Entente are completely agreed that in the event of Turkey's non-compliance with the Powers' Note Turkey can in no way reckon on the support of the Powers. The Powers are also fully agreed that no isolated action shall be taken if the Turkish reply is unfavourable.

London, Jan. 30.

The Serbian Chargé d'Affaires yesterday afternoon handed Rechid Pasha the Note of the Allies declaring that the negotiations are broken off.

The Allies have written a letter to Sir Edward Grey asking him to convey to the King their respectful gratitude and expressing to Sir E. Grey and Government their high esteem and sincere thanks for their cordial hospitality.

The German ambassador at a banquet in honour of the Kaiser's birthday affirmed that the future of Turkey lay in Asia Minor. German interests there were very great and were tied up with those of Turkey. The recent Note of the Powers had promised that after the conclusion of peace they would assist Turkey in her future development, and Germany would lend powerful aid in the same sense. But in any case Germany would apply the powerful

injunction *non propter* in regard to Turkish possessions in Asia Minor.

Dr. Danoff, President of the Bulgarian Chamber, M. Mishe, representing Rumanians, and the Rumanian Minister in London yesterday signed a protocol which will serve as a basis for further negotiations in Sofia and Bukharest. The protocol records the new demands of Rumania, namely, that the Rumanian frontier shall extend from Turtukai upon the Danube westward of Silistria to Balchik, twenty miles northward of Varna.

The Bulgarians are indignant at the fresh demands while the Rumanians believe that all will ultimately be settled amicably.

The diplomats are favourably impressed by the indications of the nature of the Porte's reply to the Powers and believe that it will serve as a basis for settlement or at least for a resumption of negotiations.

It is stated in Vienna that the Bulgarian headquarters have been ordered to denounce the armistice to-day.

A Sofia message states that General Savoff in an order to the army says: "The enemy are anxious by a stroke of the pen to destroy all that you have won. Will the heroes of Kirk Kiliseh, Bunarlissar, Lule Burgas, and Tchataldja allow this affront to go unanswered?" He urges the troops to prepare for fresh victories.

Later.

Turkey has presented her reply to the Powers' Note. The reply is moderate in tone and stipulates for the retention of the quarters in Adrianople where the holy shrines are situated.

Turkey agrees to the dismantling of the fortifications and proposes to leave to the Powers the disposal of the land on the right bank of the Maritsa. She requires the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty in the Aegean Island, which she maintains are strategically important owing to their proximity to the coast; but she agrees that the Powers shall settle the form of administration in the island.

Said Pasha, an ex-Grand Vizier, has been appointed president of the Council of State.

It is reported from Suez that the Turkish warship *Hamidiyah* is anchored twenty miles to the south of Suez and is receiving coals and stores despatched by train by a Turkish agent in Port Said.

The chief of the Balkan delegates are leaving, but the secondary delegates will remain in London to keep in touch with the Foreign Office and the conference of ambassadors.

Moslem Feeling.

Barielly.

A MEETING of the District Moslem League of Barielly was held on 23rd January, 1913, and the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

(1) That this meeting feels it deeply that Britain, instead of using its influence to put a stop to the atrocities of the Balkan States, has, in spite of the declaration of neutrality, joined the European Powers in pressing the Note, and protests against all the attempts made to force Turkey to accept a dishonourable peace.

(2) That in view of the undue pressure brought by the Powers upon Turkey, this meeting deems it necessary that all Moslems declare a general boycott of the goods of their respective countries and buy articles manufactured (purely) in India or Japan, America, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, or Switzerland, etc.

Lahore.

The Mussalmans of Lahore assembled in a crowded mass meeting on the 28th January under the Presidency of Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah Peshawari. The following resolutions were passed:—

(1) The Mussalmans pray that His Excellency would impress on His Majesty the King-Emperor's Government in the name and on behalf of His Majesty's seventy million loyal Moslem subjects in India that believing in the Government's desire to shape the policy of the Empire according to the wishes of all His Majesty's subjects and trusting in its consistency and justice, they pray His Majesty's Government to remain absolutely neutral and take no part in coercing Turkey in the peace negotiations, if the Government cannot take up arms on behalf of Turkey.

(2) This meeting also trusts that His Imperial Majesty the Sultan's Government will do its utmost to uphold the honor and prestige of Islam and that every Turk would either maintain the glory of Islam or perish in the attempt.

(iv) This meeting offers to their Turkish brethren the hearty sympathy of the Indian Mussalmans.

Madras.

At a largely attended open-air meeting of the Muhammadans of Madras in the South Indian Athletic Association grounds, under the presidency of Hon. Hajee Ismail Sait, the following resolutions were passed:—

(1) Madras Muslims deeply sympathise with the Turkish people in the present crisis, and deplore the unjust attitude of the Powers at this juncture. They have full confidence in the wisdom of the present Government in safeguarding the national interest and honour of Islam.

(2) Indian Muslims view with consternation the unwarranted European concert in coercing Turkey to accept an ignominious peace. They specially feel deeply concerned at Great Britain being a party to this unjust policy, regardless of the feelings of millions of its Muslim subjects.

(3) This meeting in common with the whole civilised world condemns the atrocities perpetrated on unarmed men, helpless Muslim women, and innocent children in Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace, which is a distinct disgrace to civilisation and humanity. The meeting also feels intensely surprised at the atrocious silence of civilised Europe at such barbarities and strongly protests against British inactivity in this connection.

One noteworthy feature of the meeting was that a Hindu also took part in the proceedings. Mr A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu, a well-known citizen of Madras, in supporting the third resolution, said that he was sure that the Hindu community had whole-hearted sympathy with Turkey.

Lucknow.

At a meeting of the Majlis Moayad-ul-Islam in Lucknow on the 24th January it was resolved that the following cablegram be despatched to the Sultan:—"Change of Cabinet highly gratifying. Pray resume fighting. Trust God for victory."

It was also resolved that the resolution be forwarded to the Viceroy, appealing to the Government to inform the British Government of anger and disgust created among Moslems, and praying the British Cabinet to refrain from joining the Powers against Turkey.

Karachi.

A largely attended meeting of the local members of the Red Crescent Society, Sind, was held in the Islam Club, Karachi. Mir Ayub Khan, Bar-at-Law, President of the Society, occupying the chair. The subject for the day was introduced by the Chairman in a short speech. The following resolution was passed and conveyed by cablegram to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Minister:—

"Sind Red Crescent Society strongly protests atrocities of Balkan Allies in occupied territory in name of humanity and civilization and prays Great Powers maintain declared neutrality and fairplay in peace negotiations, thereby win gratitude of millions Mussalmans on earth."

The meeting concluded with solemn prayers for the honourable extrication of the Caliphate from the present troubles.

Text of the Turkish Note.

REUTERS' Agency gives the following as the text of the written Note submitted to the Conference on the 6th January by Reshid Pasha:—

"In the Note they handed us at the previous sitting the delegates of the Allied States expressed the opinion that we had not taken the results of the war into account. We will point out that we have consented to important territorial cessions. With the exception of two points, we have complied with all the desiderata of the Allied States.

"By demanding to replace the term 'occupied' by that of 'situated' in the Turkish proposal for the cession of the occupied territories to the west of the vilayet of Adrianople, the Allies recognised that some of the territories they claim have not been occupied by them. We nevertheless acceded to their demand. The Allies, however, have made no concession whatever in exchange for all those we have made.

"If we refuse the cession of Adrianople, it is, amongst other reasons, because the cession of that town is impossible from the point of view of the security of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

"Further, we must add that we have come here with the firm intention of establishing a durable peace on conditions which will ensure friendly and commercial relations, profitable to both parties.

"To-day we have come to discuss the question of the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier. But Adrianople must remain on Ottoman territory.

"In order to further mark the conciliating character of our attitude we consent to give up all our rights on Crete on condition, it should be well understood, that the Allied States will not demand the cession of any of the other islands in the Aegean.

"If, notwithstanding all these sacrifices on our part, the Allies refuse to make any concessions and wish to break off negotiations, all the responsibility of the consequences will fall on their shoulders."

"In such case we withdraw all the concessions we have hitherto made."

Interview with Osman Nizami Pasha.

(SPECIAL TO THE "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE")

A REPRESENTATIVE of the *Westminster Gazette* was received yesterday by Osman Nizami Pasha, Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, one of the Ottoman peace delegates.

His Excellency who speaks English with ease and idiomatic accuracy, expressed his opinions with great freedom.

"There is, I find," said his Excellency, "a mistaken view in this country, as well as abroad, on the real situation and on the points at issue. Upon the outbreak of war the Powers solemnly declared that the *status quo* would be maintained whatever the results of the conflict. The Allies themselves announced that their sole aim was to better the condition of their brethren in Macedonia. Thus being the case, all that they can fairly claim to-day is a form of government which would ensure to those populations a reformed administration, and it is all the more true as it does not follow that because a country has been invaded by the enemy it must remain in the possession of that enemy. The results of territorial adjustment which followed the Franco-German war and, later, the Russo-Japanese war bear out this statement. Indeed, it is well-known. Therefore the demands of the Allies at the Conference are totally inconsistent with their own professions. They are, moreover, contrary to international usage. What has been applied to other countries in the interests of permanent peace should, I submit, be applied to Turkey. Be this as it may, out of deference to the manifest wish of Europe, to avoid a general conflagration, or a renewal of local hostilities, the Ottoman Government, in a genuine spirit of conciliation and with the earnest desire to stop further bloodshed and suffering to non-combatants, has practically granted all the reasonable demands of the Allies, consistent with the dignity of the Ottoman Empire and the safety of the dominions of the Sultan."

And is Adrianople and the islands the stumbling block? inquired our representative. "Precisely not," replied his Excellency. "We have naturally refused to grant Adrianople and the Aegean Islands because the city has a population almost exclusively Moslem, and is the key by land to the Capital; and the islands, by their close proximity to the Asiatic mainland and to the Dardanelles, would in the occupation of a foreign State be a constant menace by sea and entail heavy expenditure to the Turkish Exchequer in fortifying the adjacent coasts. Having in view what has been stated both as to Europe and the professions of the Allies, we may fairly claim to have approached the consideration of their latest demands in a spirit of equity—asking for justice and conceding justice to others. Let it be remembered that we have conceded a territory as large if not larger than that owned by the four allied kingdoms. Can we, I ask, be expected to do more?"

Then, Excellency, you do not anticipate the intervention of the Powers?

"If any pressure is to be brought by the Powers, who have declared their neutrality, surely it should be directed to the Balkan States, for it must be clear that to coerce Turkey would be a one-sided operation. We are of opinion that the Allies should of their own accord give way upon points which it is impossible for us to yield. Perhaps the Allies in their hearts already realise that, else it would be difficult to explain their conduct at the last meeting of the Conference. To our explicit note stating the maximum of Turkey's concessions—which was a reply to their ultimatum—they did not break off negotiations—they merely declared the work of the Conference suspended in a form contrary to all procedure. Perhaps, also, they hope that some occult power may yet intervene to help them to re-open discussions at St. James's Palace under more favourable auspices.

"It is, indeed, the only explanation one can give of the expedient they have resorted to, for I should be doing them an injustice to think that they were reckoning on the surrender of Adrianople. They surely must be aware that if Adrianople falls during the armistice it cannot be regarded as the result of an 'act of war' from which they could profit. All international conventions would negative such a view. Nor need I remind you that the cruelty of not re-victualising Adrianople is the cause of the civilian residents in Adrianople, women and children mostly, being condemned to the pangs of starvation and lingering death from hunger and disease. I thank you most heartily for visiting us. I feel sure that British sympathy will not be withheld from our cause. We have met in your capital with pleasure, hoping for a sure and lasting

peace. We have to remember the obligations of duty to our own Sovereign and to our own people. It must be remembered that in the belt of territory between Adrianople and Constantinople the population is mainly Moslem, and if the British nation—in whose justice and impartiality we have complete confidence—have the facts fully exposed they will, we do not doubt, agree that we are at the end of concessions which can legitimately be demanded."

Then, Pasha, you decline all responsibility for the suspension of the work of the Conference?

"Most certainly we do. It was in no sense our seeking, and we deplore the procedure adopted. It is now for the Allies to yield, or to assume full responsibility for the acts of their representatives before the tribunal of public opinion."

War and After.

(By DR. E. J. DILLON.)

In a day or two, able correspondents assure us, the Delegates may be expected to come together again, with a view to taking up the threads of the negotiations where they so abruptly dropped them last Monday night. Instructions from Stamboul, it appears, have been received by Reshid Pasha rejoining him to arrange to meet his colleagues in St. James's Palace anew, and unfold the modified frontier line to which he made allusion in the last version of his counter-proposals. It will not include Adrianople, but at least it will mark a noteworthy advance on the concessions made heretofore. And once the business of bargaining has been resumed, it may be persisted in until a workable settlement of all outstanding differences is reached. As the Turks put it, "It is by stepping from rung to rung that you climb to the top of the ladder."

I confess I cannot discern the intrinsic probability of that story. The grounds brought forward in support of it lack force. Why should the delegates foregather again in the Palace Picture Room? To hear each other's arguments for and against the cession of Adrianople and the *Ægean* Islands? For that is what the issue has been narrowed down to.

Surely the *pros* and *cons* can be found in the newspapers and appreciated serenely in the tranquillity of the study. Hearing them at the council board will not invest them with additional persuasive force. No. There is nothing to be gained at the present moment by resuming the discussions—for it was only a discussion, a pouring from an empty vessel into void space.

The written proposals and counter-proposals and the speeches by which they were enlarged upon failed to satisfy those for whose behalf they were written and delivered.

BEHIND THE SCENES.

The real work of treaty-making will be achieved not on the stage, but behind the scenes. As it is, Greek and Bulgar and Turk see each other from time to time, and talk things over with winning frankness, in their private capacity. As soon as the Ottoman delegates have received powers to improve on their last counter-proposals and to satisfy the Allies, they can apprise the latter of the fact, and they will all meet again. Before that a sitting would be fruitless, it might even be dangerous. Meanwhile, the Powers are having their tonings. And they do not let the grass grow under their feet. Representations, promises, covert threats, have been lavished on the statesmen at Stamboul, with no visible effect as yet. The Porte has been ever ready with an unanswerable response: "Nothing would be easier than for us to agree to your proposals and draft the Peace Treaty on that base; but by doing so we should forfeit our official capacity and become mere private individuals. For the country would repudiate us. Our signature would bind no one. The document thus indited and signed would not be worth the paper on which it was written. And you yourselves do not want that." None the less, there are some symptoms of a change in the situation.

"From the meeting at Tchataldja of the two commanding Generals—Nizam and Savoff—and the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gabriel Effendi Noradunghian, much is expected. It is surmised that they have hit upon a way out of the difficulty which, while dissatisfying both sides a little, will dispose of the matter definitively. The Bulgarians, it is explained, do not lay stress on the possession of the town of Adrianople, what they care about is possession of the railway connecting the Bulgarian system with Southern Macedonia and the *Ægean* ports. The railway, it is added, is situated a couple of miles away from the city on the farther side of the River Maritza." All this is, indeed, welcome intelligence, and one hails it with pleasure. If it be true, a compromise is easy enough; but then it can be arranged like everything else that matters, behind the scenes. Hence the resumption of the sittings at the present moment is unnecessary and, unless the Tchataldja interview has brought an accord, unlikely. Much more probable is the supposition that the Governments of the Great Powers will proceed with their action in Stamboul, make energetic representations there, and then, if absolutely

necessary, follow them up with a naval demonstration, announcing their plan of campaign to the Porte in advance, and thus disarming resistance. This method will require some time, and if it succeeds will settle the difficulty of the frontiers. But a hundred and one other contentious matters will still remain to be settled, which also need patience and time.

Of these issues the possession of the *Ægean* Islands the most momentous, the final decision really depending upon the Great Powers. Greece, of course, will also be heard, but at the bar of the Ambassadors her voice will carry only the weight inherent in the arguments it articulates, and perhaps not even that. What has been actually done in the matter down to the present moment is extremely little, and may be set forth as follows.

ISLAND QUESTION.

When the Great Powers, as represented by the Ambassadors, first broached the subject, the form in which the question was propounded was this: "Shall the claims of Greece, founded on the right of conquest, of ethnology, of race, religion, be allowed or challenged?" Italy's Ambassador was ominously silent. Russia's spokesman classified the islands into those which could be ceded to Greece and those which ought to be left in Turkey's possession. That was the first phase of the deliberation. Later on the subject was mooted behind the scenes, where men are less theatrically attuned, more frank, direct, and business-like. There the nature of Russia's objections was inquired into, and it appeared that they were but a paraphrase of those of the Porte. Four islands Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, and Imbros are absolutely indispensable to the defence of the Dardanelles, while two are required for the strategical protection of the coast of Asia Minor—Chios and Mitylene. It was argued that however much territory one may take away from Turkey in Europe, her possessions in Asia must remain inviolate, otherwise they would merely excite longings and tempt aggression, and it would be infinitely better to carve them up at once and parcel them out among the Powers. And as the islands mentioned cannot be given up without endangering the existence of Turkey they cannot, of course, be ceded to Greece. This line of reasoning, say the Greeks, is plausible enough until it is analysed. Then it passes away like mountain mists in the summer sun.

ITALY'S OMINOUS SILENCE.

There must be something in this contention, if we may judge by the fact that this first objection to the cession of the reserved islands to Greece has been dropped. Russia is converted. A certain other Government perceived its fallacy, and made no secret of the discovery. The British Press also advocated the Greek cause wholeheartedly. Soon the belief became general that the question was settled by the Ambassadors' meeting, at least in principle. All the islands, without exception, we were told, will be ceded to Greece. But that was never my belief. Mindful of Italy's ominous silence, I felt instinctively and said in plain words that something was brewing in Rome which was intended to be employed as sauce for some of the *Ægean* islands later on.

Ever since the Italo-Turkish campaign, during which I visited several of the islands, but was refused admittance to Rhodes, my political intuition told me that Italy coveted two of them—Rhodes and Astypalaia (also known as Stampaglia). It was objected to me by the Greeks, to whom I communicated my conviction, that the supposition was not merely groundless, Italy having allowed Greece's demands to pass unchallenged, but was unjust over and above. "Italy is the embodiment of the principle of nationalism," they argued, "she owes her very existence to that, she has never repudiated it; indeed, her statesmen have recently reaffirmed it, and they would cover themselves with odium, were they now to thrust it aside in favour of a policy of grab. Besides, they have had their little war with Turkey, and have carried off what they deemed adequate spoil. The island, although occupied by their troops, they did not annex. On what principle could they now utilise Greek victories over Turkey, for the purpose of robbing Greece of what belongs to her by right of conquest? No, Italy is incapable of such baseness."

"TIME IS AN HONEST MAN."

Silence was the only fit answer to this line of reasoning. Accordingly I fell silent. "Time is an honest man," says the proverb, and the time, short though it was, which elapsed since then has revealed a little more of the hands of the players. Greece notified the Powers through the Press and otherwise, that all she wanted was merely reunion with her own sons, not naval or military bases, and that she is ready to push this declaration to the furthest self-denying consequences if the interested States desire it. But Italy has come forward and lodged objections to the cession of certain of the islands, amid the ominous silence of her neighbours. And now the whole question which was so felicitously settled in principle, according to the Press, a few weeks ago, has waxed acute once more.

That King Victor Emmanuel's Government intends to claim any of the islands during the liquidation of the Balkan War is, I feel

certain, out of the question. The incongruity of the things would be too glaring, and the precedent too dangerous. It would raise the question of compensation all round. But, so long as certain of them remain under Turkey's sceptre, the chances of expropriating one or two as soon as the opportune moment arrives are considerable. Any how, the goal would be attainable and worth striving after. But if they are once grafted on Greece they will grow together organically, become one with her, and all hope of amputating them later on will have vanished. The islands now in dispute are not merely the two groups enumerated above—those which are needed for the defence of the Straits, and the two claimed by the Porte as indispensable to the efficacious protection of the coast of Asia Minor. Rhodes and Kos are also, it is anticipated, to be left with Turkey—as long as is expedient.

GREEK'S STANDPOINT.

The Hellenic Government, denouncing energetically to this way of solving the matter, has delivered messages of anxious warning to the interested Governments, and called upon them to look at the issues fairly and squarely, and adjudge them in consonance with equity, international law, the interests of Greece, of Turkey, of the Islanders, of the Turks themselves, of South Eastern Europe, and of peace. For from each and every one of those points of view it will be seen that the Archipelago should be handed over to Greece and people who set a high value on the desirability of peace in the South-East should not grudge a close and careful regard to the *pro* and *con* of the vexed problem. For, although to Europe generally, preoccupied by immense interests the matter may appear at first blush of secondary importance, it is really formidable in the political and moral issues which it raises.

What has taken place in Rome shows a curious inversion of the parts generally ascribed to the Powers. Austria-Hungary has often been taxed with a lack of respect for the principle of nationality, whereas Italy never tires of preaching it. Yet the only proposal which heretofore emanated from Vienna embodied this principle and compelled its recognition by the disgusted Allies, the inviolability and autonomy of Albania. Italy, on the contrary, by demanding the severance of Greek islands from Greece, scorns the principle of nationality. And that is a false position.

The procedure of the Roman Consulta lays on the great Powers of Europe the onus of descending into the arena, aiding directly in the partition of Turkey, and taking sides against one of the Allies. Why thus interfere with Greece? Intervention is about to take place in favour of Bulgaria. That is comprehensible, Turkey is disappearing from Europe, Slav and Hellenic States are taking her place, and the Powers are oppressed by the necessity of leaving nothing behind to rankle and fester in the body of the growing Bulgarian nation. But why reverse this wise policy in the case of Greece? No justification of this course can be offered.—*The Daily Telegraph*

Horrors of the War.

Murder and Pillage.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Jan. 9.

ENTITLED "Liberators of the Christians," the greatest Hungarian journal, the *Budapesti Hirlap*, to-day publishes a long article of several columns, with new details of atrocities. The journal says it is remarkable that during the Peace Conference everything has been discussed except the thousands of persons who were unjustly slaughtered, while no one in Europe thought of the villages which had been burned down and the cities which had been destroyed.

The writer then proceeds to give the following details from an official source, arranging them in four groups:

(1) Slaughter of Albanians by Serbs: What the Serbs have done to the Albanians is putting all international law to ridicule. Albanian prisoners were fearfully tortured, then buried alive. Our Vice-Consul in Mitrovitz, Ludwig von Taly, relates that the Serbian troops slew the Albanians in masses. He himself saw them kicking rows of Albanian corpses with their feet. During the massacres of Albanians in Prizrend he himself saw Serbian soldiers dragging small children into the streets, perpetrating atrocities upon them openly. Young girls and women were fearfully maltreated in the courtyard of the Consulate in Prizrend. At Uzbeg, Kumanova, and Velles Turkish soldiers who had been captured by the Serbs were cut down, while innocent women and children were killed before the very eyes of our Consul at Uzbeg. Hundreds of corpses were seen floating in the Vardar river, while Turkish prisoners on their way to Belgrade and Nish were also killed.

FIVE THOUSAND WOMEN BURNED.

(2) Atrocities of Bulgarians and Bulgarian bands: The Bulgars murdered more than half of the Mussulman population of the vilayet of Salonica—55,000 men. Only those were saved who embraced the Catholic religion. The same thing happened in the vilayets of Petrici, Monlio Demirhissar, Strumitza, Osmanje and Serres. The Turks were forced to accept Bulgarian nationality and adopt the schism. Not a single Mussulman was left alive at Radovista and Avrathissar. Nearly 5,000 women who took refuge in the mosques in the neighbourhood of Serres were burned alive at the order of the band leader, Sandansky. Hundreds of these corpses can still be seen under the ruins of the mosques of Tetova and Viterne, which were destroyed by fire. At Standsha the slaughter of human beings lasted twenty days. Some 960 Mussulmans were murdered, while the Bulgars slew 200 Mussulmans at Toiran. In the small village of Bungeo ninety men were killed. The Turkish inhabitants of Kirbasabala, Vesir, Vessitardi, and Bultas were also forced to accept the Christian religion, while many robberies were perpetrated. Chatnojeff, the leader of a robber band, for example, managed to steal over 2,000,000 kronen in a few days. These bandits will be the richest persons in the Balkans. The Bulgarian *komsitchez* perpetrated fearful atrocities in the neighbourhood of Kavalla. In the city itself forty-six respected Turkish citizens were taken prisoners, among them Ekhib Bey, then robbed and shot. Many members of the Jewish population were robbed and murdered.

OUTRAGES ON JEWS.

(3) Atrocities of Greeks and Bulgars in Salonika: Greek soldiers attacked the defenders' Chaungdi quarters, penetrated to the houses and threatened to murder the inhabitants if they did not give up their money. Fourteen persons were bound, gagged, and carried away to places unknown to their friends. Greek soldiers entered the Jewish synagogue and demolished it, destroying all the sacred objects. A dead Jewish man was being carried to burial, when suddenly Greek soldiers attacked the mourners and insulted them. A fierce combat followed, during which many Jews were badly injured. In the Aktimespid quarter the synagogue was also broken into, and valuables were stolen. The houses of eight Jewish families who lived near the synagogue were set on fire. Greek soldiers even attacked the hospitals of Red Cross, in which wounded Turks were lying. At Salonica, also, 250 Turkish soldiers were slaughtered, while the band leaders, Sandansky and Hantschhoff, blew up the powder tower, thus causing the death of 310 Turkish soldiers.

(4) Greek Atrocities. Travellers from Salonica to Florena see hundreds of corpses alongside the railway line—old men, with noses and ears cut off, corpses of women whose eyelids had been slit, and bodies of women who were hanged by their hair, and all be seen. Further, corpses of young men, with the heads served from the bodies, and of infants murdered in their mothers' arms, are visible. At Metelin the Greeks tore off the beard of Sheikh Sar-liecho, and beat him to death with the butt-ends of their rifles. The Turkish houses at Metelin were fired, and the population of Polionit and Kolonia taken prisoners and conveyed to Metelin, the old people were thrown into prison, while the women were forced to walk the streets without clothing. A Greek priest at Jere killed Hassan Bey and his three friends with his own hands, and similar inhuman atrocities occurred on the island of Chios.

Protest by the London Moslem League.

At a special meeting of the Committee of the London All-India Moslem League held on the 2nd instant, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted—

1. That the Committee of the London All-India Moslem League place on record their horror and indignation at the terrible barbarities perpetrated on the Mussulman population of Albania and Macedonia by the Balkan invaders, which will always remain a blot on the vaunted civilisation and humanity of Europe; and their sorrow at the general indifference with which the news of the atrocities, coming from unbiased sources with every guarantee of the truth, have been received by the British public.

2. That the Committee of the London All-India Moslem League desire to give expression to their deep regret that whilst the Peace Negotiations have been in progress in London, the British Press generally, instead of maintaining absolute impartiality and advocating a spirit of compromise on both sides, should have indulged in minatory and almost abusive language towards one party whilst inciting the other belligerents to assume a totally uncompromising and unyielding attitude.

3. That the Committee of the London All-India Muslim League desire to record their full concurrence in the programme of work to be undertaken by the Central League under its new constitution; and, in view of the support that has been accorded by British public opinion to the movement for autonomy among nationalities not nearly so advanced as the great communities of India, with their historic civilisation and culture and their great traditions, the Committee endorse the policy of the Council of the Central League in regard to self-government for India under the aegis of the British Crown, so as to secure proper consideration to Indian public opinion in the administration of the Empire and equality of treatment and status for His Majesty's subjects in the British Colonies.

4. That copies of the above resolutions be submitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and be also forwarded to the Press.

The Relief Work in Turkey.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SYED AMER ALI,

President, British Red Crescent Society

Constantinople, 23rd December, 1912.

Sir,—On behalf of the Central local Committee formed to co-operate with you in giving temporary aid to refugees and, especially, in constructing for them permanent residences in Asia Minor, on land presented for this purpose by the Imperial Ottoman Government, we are directed by an unanimous vote of this Committee, to express then sincere thanks for the interest you have taken in the matter and the confidence you have placed in its members.

After a discussion it was considered that it would be more respectful to His Highness the Khedive of Egypt that you, as Honorary President of the Committee, should express to His Highness the high appreciation which is entertained by the Committee, of his generous and magnificent contribution to the needs of the enormous number of refugees from Salonica and other places.

This Committee especially requests that, in tendering the thanks of the Committee of which you are the President, you will kindly associate us in the fullest manner in such appreciation.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

(Sd.) DAWAD FAKIR,

President.

(Sd.) C. J. HOLMES,

Secretary.

Schema of His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha's Committee.

PROPRIETOR.

Introductory

Thousands of refugees with their families remain between the Tchataldja lines and the walls of Constantinople. Others in larger numbers have crossed the Bosphorus and have dispersed themselves in Asia Minor, as far as Konia. They are without shelter, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and in urgent need of food and clothing.

Their numbers exceed 100,000, the greater portion being old men, women and children, who, if not relieved, will most certainly perish through the severity of the winter, which is now making itself felt throughout the country.

To preserve the lives of these unfortunate creatures during the cold season, shelter and food must be supplied until they can provide for themselves. They should also, as far as possible be given land in proximity to the cottages which will be built for them, and provided with agricultural implements and seed for the first year.

To facilitate the execution of this scheme the most practical course would probably be to settle the refugees in groups in suitable localities.

With the object of co-operating with the Committee of which the Right Honourable AMER ALI is President, a Central local Committee has been formed in Constantinople.

FIRST PART

Central local Committee.

This Central local Committee will be composed of six persons of whom 3 will be British and 3 Ottoman, under the Presidency of His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha.

In each of the localities where refugees are assembled in considerable numbers, a Sub-Committee will be named whose members shall be British and Ottoman.

The Central local Committee will take decisions in accordance with the programme adopted and these will be carried out by the Sub-Committees in the provinces.

The expenses to be incurred and the finances of the Central local Committee will be supervised by two Englishmen named by this Committee. They will be chosen exclusively amongst the British members.

The first care of the Central local Committee will be to meet the urgent and immediate wants of the refugees, but it is also intended to build villages on plans drawn up by the Central Committee and on a scale commensurate with the financial means at its disposal.

The Central local Committee has reason to believe that the Imperial Ottoman Government will grant the Committee suitable lands for refugees in the localities settled or to be settled by such refugees.

SECOND PART

Each village will consist of one hundred dwellings of different sizes, some composed of 3 rooms, a kitchen and a stable at the side of the house and others with more rooms, a kitchen and stable likewise.

There will be a school in each village. The education to be provided is to be free.

Each family, according to the number of its members, will receive 10 or 20 donums of land, the cultivation of which will provide them with the means of livelihood.

Further each family will receive—

1. a pair of oxen,
2. the necessary agricultural implements, and
3. seed in sufficient quantity for one year only.

Moreover 30 donums of land will be assigned to the community to be cultivated by its members for the good of the whole, or also to be used as pasture land for their cattle.

The lands given by the Ottoman Government must be inscribed in the name of the head of each family. The property of each family will then be indivisible and will be inherited always by the eldest member of the family; it cannot be sold nor transferred; it will form a sort of majorat.

In the event of the extinction of the direct line the land can pass to the younger branch and failing this to the collateral branch.

In case of total extinction of the family, the property will revert to the community who will devote the revenues of the land and the house to the up-keep of the school. It is only when the property has become communal that it can be sold, with the consent of the Council of Elders, to any person intending to live in the village or to one of the villagers.

In every village there will be a Council of Elders chosen from the oldest and most respectable inhabitants and to be composed of 12 persons.

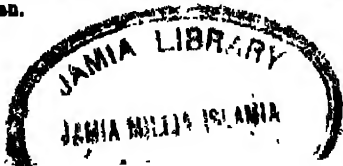
The duties of this Council will be—

1. to manage the finances of the community,
2. to maintain and keep the school in repair,
3. to attend to the water supply,
4. to attend and keep the village streets and Parish roads in order, and
5. to organise the police of the village and to watch over the morality of the inhabitants.

Children who have lost their parents will be lodged with the most respectable families at the expense of the community at large, until they reach an age at which they can earn their own living, the boys by work and the girls by marriage.

To ensure the economic development of the community a Savings Bank will be established in each village, with the money thus saved and accumulated, these small capitalists will be enabled to purchase land in the neighbourhood, and the members of the community will further increase their wealth.

The family possessing a large property of 20 donums will be required to pay 20 piastres a month and the owners of a smaller property of 10 donums will pay 10 piastres a month. The money thus collected, together with other revenues, will form the budget of the community.



TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

Sultan-ul-Haq, Esq., Meerut ...	1	0	0
Basharat Hussain, Esq., Arwal ...	20	0	0
Messrs. Ghulam Kadir Khan and Nathu Khan, village Lehga, Dist. Ambala ...	126	9	0
Through Faizul Haq Khan, Esq., Bassi—			
Haji Abdur Rahim, Esq. ...	100	0	0
A Moslem Lady ...	10	12	0
Bahim Bakhsh, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Sale-proceeds of clothes and ornaments realised through L. B. Dass, Esq. ...	80	14	3
Messrs. Najmuddin, Azam Khan, Gandhi, Habibulla and Rahmatulla, rupee one each ...	5	0	0
Sale-proceeds of two skins ...	3	8	0
H. M. S. Nazirul Hasan, Esq., Allahabad ...	5	0	0
Through Badrud-din Ahmad, Esq., Ormangh, Ranchi—			
Self and Mr. Hidayat, rupees five each ...	10	0	0
Messrs. Rahim Khan, Chamru, Riaz Ali, Amir and Akbar Ali, rupees three each ...	15	0	0
Messrs. Ahmad Khan, Hussain Bakhsh and Abdus Samad, rupees two each ...	6	0	0
Through Sheikh Muhammad, Esq., Shakargarh, Dist. Gurdaspur ...	40	0	0
Muhammad Ismail, Esq., Agia ...	10	0	0
Through Khuda Bakhsh, Esq., Bhahhus ...	29	6	0
Through Abul Hasan, Esq., Aligarh—			
Collections from Mumtaz House ...	105	0	0
Refund from National Bank of India, Delhi—			
Amount disbursed on 25th January for telegraphic transfer sent to Grand Vizier, Constantinople ...			Rs 73,000 0 0
Less Rate of exchange @ 1s. 4. 1/3 2d. for the telegraphic transfer for £5,000 ...			Ra. 74,858 12 9
T. T. charges ...			Ra. 16 8 0
	74,870	4	9
	129	11	3
Through K. S. Zulfikar Ali Khan Sahib, Gehara, Dist. Rohtak—			
Self ...	85	0	0
Messrs. Abdur Rahman Khan, Amanat Khan, Sher Muhammad Khan, Faizdar Khan, and wives of late Muhammad Yaqub Ali Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan Sahibs, rupees ten each ...	60	0	0
Sister of Faiz Talab Khan Sahib ...	25	0	0
K. B. Wazir Muhammad Khan Sahib ...	25	0	0
Wife of Risaldar Taleemud Khan Sahib ...	20	0	0
Khan Sahib Muhammad Hossain Khan Sahib ...	10	0	0
Wife of Muhammad Abdus Samad Khan Sahib ...	20	0	0
Messrs. Wali Muhammad Khan Sahib and Faiz Muhammad Khan Sahib, rupees fifteen each ...	30	0	0
Sale-proceeds of cow skins ...	8	0	0
Price of ornaments given by wife of Zulfikar Ali Khan Sahib ...	9	8	0
Price of ornaments given by wife of Amanat Khan Sahib ...	4	0	0
Messrs. Bashir Ali Khan, Faiz Talab Khan, Babu, Nauq Shah, Sabit Shah, Wazir Muhammad Khan, and mother of Faiz Talab Khan, and wife of Muhammad Omar Khan Sahib, rupees two each ...	16	0	0
Karim-ud-din, Esq. ...	8	0	0
Messrs. Barkat Ali Khan, Hussain, Kura, Yaru, Dost Muhammad, Ismail Shah, Yaru, Tibbi, Karim Shah, Faiz Muhammad Khan, Imam-ud-din, Kalu, Sen Din, Alladia, Samad Khan, Wazir Ali Khan, Muhammad Shafi Khan, Mumtas Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Hussain Khan, Amir Ali, Rahmat-ullah, Ismail Khan, Muhammad Isahq Khan, Muhammad Yaqub Khan, Asimullah and Mina, rupee one each ...	27	0	0
Shuman Shah ...	1	8	0
Messrs. Muhammad Shah, Omar Khan and Basharat Ali Khan, rupees five each ...	15	0	0
Gold Rajput ...	1	0	0
Petty contributions ...	42	10	0

Messrs. Ahmad Khan, Abdul Karim Khan, Abdur Rahman Khan, Basharat Ali Khan, and Wali Muhammad Khan, rupees five each ...	25	0	0
Afzal Khan, Esq. ...	15	0	0
Messrs. Ahmed Khan and Abdul Karim Khan, rupees six each ...	13	0	0
Messrs. Alla Dia Khan and Kasim Khan ...	8	0	0
Hashim Ali Shah, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Haji Ghulam Muhammad Khan Sahib ...	10	0	0
Haji Ismail Khan Sahib ...	20	0	0
Messrs. Hussain Khan and Ramzan Khan ...	4	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Karim Khan and Musammat Sakina, rupees four each ...	12	0	0
Messrs. Murad Ali Khan, Habib Khan, Imam Ali Shah, Alum Ali Shah Kapura, Abdulla Khan, Abdur Rahman Khan, Rahim Bakhsh, Abdul Ghani Khan and Niyawar, rupees two each ...	20	0	0
Nur Muhammad Khan, Esq. ...	6	0	0
Petty collections ...	30	6	0
Sale-proceeds of an ox given by Kamruddin Rangar ...	12	0	0
Through Dr. S.M. Hossain, Kaliganj, Dist. Jessore—			
Raja Promotho Bhushan Deb, Rai Bahadur, Raja of Naldanga ...	50	0	0
Mazhar Ali Mandal, Esq., of Jalalpur ...	50	0	0
Messrs. S. C. Bannerji, N. Rai, and J. Biswas, rupees five each ...	15	0	0
Messrs. B. C. Gangooly, Mobarak Ali Biswas and Ezzat-ullah, rupees ten each ...	80	0	0
Maulvi Rahimuddin Sahib ...	11	0	0
Abdul Munshi Sahib ...	20	0	0
Babu Satkon Sircar ...	5	0	0
Aziz-uddin Biswas, Esq. ...	4	0	0
M. Ghulam Rabbani, Esq. ...	6	0	0
Muhammad Hussain Biswas, Esq. ...	14	0	0
Anonymous ...	5	8	0
From village Alampur ...	25	0	0
Messrs. Nazim Biswas, A. C. Biswas, A. M. Mukerjee, R. Gangooly, Mazhar Biswas, Koslean Lashkar, Munhaj Mundle, A. Biswas, Abdul Kabir, K. Sen, P. K. Shah, P. Biswas, Mahtab-uddin and Yaqub Hasan, rupees two each ...	24	0	0
Messrs. Golab Din Mella, Kam-uddin and Nabae, rupees three each ...	9	0	0
A mattress-seller ...	2	8	0
Other Petty Collections ...	91	14	6
Through Abul Ala, Esq., Pertabgarh—			
Through Messrs. Habibullah, and Muhammad Yusuf, President and Secretary, Anjuman Refahul Muslemun, Laliganj ...	175	0	0
Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin ...	49	4	0
Through Jamal-uddin Sahib ...	4	1	0
Through Firoz-uddin, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Minor Subscriptions ...	4	11	0
Through Irtiza Khan, Esq., Hisar ...	8	7	0
Muhammad Wasi, Esq., Sagri ...	11	10	0
Through A. R. Adhami, Esq., Allahabad ...	19	0	0
Hasan Jan, Esq., Laheria Sarai ...	25	0	0
Ahmad Mohi-ud-din Esq., Ukkamarambakam ...	10	5	0
Dr. Syed Jamil Muhammad, Esq., Barihi ...	9	1	0
Masud Alam, Esq., Allahabad ...	2	0	0
Through Wadudul Haq, Esq., Joint Secretary, R. C. Society, Sitamarhi ...	125	0	0
Through Latafat Hussain, Esq., Barh, Patna ...	250	0	0
Syed Aisaz Rasul, Esq., through Syed Mukhtar Ahmad of Sandila ...	2	15	0
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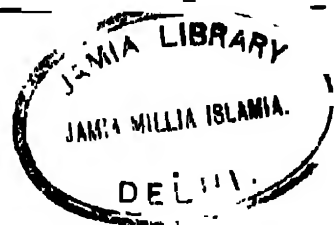
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The Week.

Home Rule Bill.

THE House of Lords has rejected the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill by 326 votes to 69. The closing scene in the House of Lords was brilliant. Peers with their jewels thronged the galleries, and there was the largest muster of Peers since the passing of the Parliament Act. Lord Curzon and Lord Lansdowne were the chief Opposition speakers. Lord Morley, winding up the debate, declared that the Government believed that the Ulster difficulty would pass, and the Bill be worked in a good spirit. There was no excitement when the division was taken, as the result was a foregone conclusion.

The German Navy.

The Budget Committee of the Reichstag has announced that the Naval Estimates amounted to £18,370,000 sterling.

The Committee is reported to have described as incorrect Mr. Churchill's comparison of the strength of the fleets last June because he added the German ships just laid down to the ships already completed.

In the course of the discussion the Secretary for the Navy declared that no grants would be asked for beyond those provided by the Navy law. He further dwelt on the defensive principle of the Navy law.

China.

A letter from the Chinese Finance Minister to representatives of the Six-Power group expresses regret at learning of the further difficulties preventing the immediate execution of the promise of the Six-Powers to sign the loan agreement.

The Minister points out the urgent need of money and intimates therefore that the salt revenue may now be hypothecated as a security for a loan with another party. This will necessitate a proportionate reduction of the ultimate Six-Power loan, which will be secured by any unhypothecated salt revenue remaining.

Sir Edward Grey in reply to Mr. Ginnell in the Commons said: "It is understood that various appointments under the Chinese reorganisation gold loan will be made in consultation with the representatives of the Powers interested. So far as I am aware none has yet been made."

Mr. Ginnell asked that in the expenditure of loan all contracts and orders for materials which China was unable to obtain from native sources should be put up for public tender for the respective nationalities in proportion to the amount of loan subscribed by their respective sections of the group.

Sir Edward Grey: "Provision has been made for such arrangement."

Router learns that the Chinese Minister has received a telegram announcing a hitch in the loan negotiations. He awaits the arrival in few days of Chang-Toung-Yuan, Vice-President of the Finance Board, who was appointed Chinese financial representative in England and who will at least remain here until a settlement of the difficulties has been reached owing to the urgent necessity of settling outstanding obligations before the Chinese new year.

China has received an advance of £750,000 sterling, being the final instalment of the Crip Loan.

Morocco.

The French in Mogador are resuming operations against tribesmen who are in revolt with a strong force, composed of six battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry with artillery and numerous machine-guns.

Mongolia.

Yuan-shi-kai has written to the Kutukhta declining to negotiate for the separation of Urga from the Republic, and reminding him that persons endangering the Republic have been punished according to law.

The letter adds that he and his troops have committed shocking barbarities and the Republic cannot allow its citizens to be thus treated without taking action. All members of bands in inner and outer Mongolia except those in the immediate vicinity of Urga, who have been overawed, are anxious to join the Republic and oppose him. Many have implored permission, to march against him, but in order to avert bloodshed, Yuan-shi-kai has persuaded the Chinese people to wait and see whether a peaceful settlement is to be obtained, in which case the Republic offers kind treatment of Buddhism.

A telegram to the *Daily Telegraph* from St. Petersburg says that the Mongolian Ambassador visited General Jilinsky, Chief of the General Staff, and begged for further military assistance in organising the Mongolian forces against possible Chinese attack in the spring. At present there are two Russian officers in Urga, and the Ambassador asks for at least ten more, with a corresponding number of subalterns and instructors.

TÊTE À TÊTE



WE HAD written and telegraphed to the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay several times in connection with the Ottoman Treasury Bonds, and failing to get an answer Mr. Mohamed Ali went to Bombay to settle matters finally with the Turkish authorities. It appeared that the Consul-General had forwarded all our communications to Turkey, but had not himself been favoured with a reply to his letters and telegrams. In the meantime, Dr. Ansari sent us a cable which was only so far intelligible that Turkey urgently needed money. We, therefore, cabled to him at some length, intimating that the success of the Bonds would largely depend on the resumption of hostilities and the constant supply of war news to India. We requested the Turkish authorities through him to have the lowest Bond of the value of Rs. 5 each, and inquired what final decision had been arrived at as to the total amount of the issue of Bonds, the rate of interest for such as took it, the period and instalments fixed for redemption, the source and amount of the revenue to be earmarked for the payment of interest and the repayment of the principal, and the agency in India selected for this purpose. We requested the Turkish authorities to send immediately some Bonds to the Consulate for sale to Banks which had received deposits from intending purchasers. The Consul-General also sent a cable recommending our suggestions and requesting for a detailed and immediate reply. We have not yet heard from Dr. Ansari, but we presume that the cable which the Consul General at Bombay has received is an answer to our requests and enquiries. It is intended to issue Bonds for five millions, bearing interest at 5 per cent. to be redeemed in five years, by annual instalments of a million each. The Turkish Government is shortly sending out a number of these Bonds to the Consul-General at Bombay, who would deliver them to the Banks against payment, and we are glad that the Ottoman Government has accepted our request that the value of some of these Bonds should be low enough for millions of poor Mussalmans to be able to take a share in the good loan. The lowest Bond will, therefore, be issued for half a sovereign which is equal to Rs. 7-8-0. One or two small matters have yet to be settled, but the Ottoman Government wishes the Banks to receive deposits in the meantime and issue provisional receipts. We trust many purchasers will come forward and remit deposits to the Alliance Bank of India at Delhi, which is prepared to effect purchases of these Bonds for an inclusive charge of two annas per cent., but with a minimum of two annas for each transaction. The Bank of Bengal has also agreed to undertake this at the same rate of commission, but with a minimum charge of one rupee for each transaction. We hope other banks will also take up this work, so that every purchaser may be free to purchase the Bonds through any bank he may like. We may, however, state that these Bonds have nothing whatever to do with those of the Orient Bank of Lahore which desires to obtain presumably a very large sum, without interest, and on the security of its own credit, repayable in ten years, with the promise that after a time it would negotiate with Turkey for lending her the money thus borrowed without interest, and with the option to the purchasers of its Bonds to recall their money if repaid earlier than after 10 years by the Turkish Government. It must be remembered that in this case it is the Bank's credit that will be a security and not the credit of Turkey, and in such cases naturally every purchaser would have to judge of the security from the paid-up capital of the Bank and the amount of money it wishes to borrow. Some time is also likely to elapse between the receipt of deposits by the Bank and its lending the same to Turkey, and, similarly, unless the money is recalled by the Bond-holder immediately when Turkey repays the money to the Bank, the Bank would receive the full benefit of the loan for five or more years without any profit to its Bond-holders in return. We wish to cast no reflections on the

Orient Bank, but it is our plain duty to make things quite clear so that the people may choose the alternative which may appear to them safer and better in the light of the facts. We trust whatever the Mussalmans would do in the matter they would do it without delay. Indian Mussalmans showed no little anxiety when it was believed that Turkey was concluding peace on humiliating terms, and they showed their relief when Mahmoud Shevket Pasha came into power. The war has now been resumed, and it is no use crying over Bulgarian massacres and Servian atrocities, or condemning the Powers for thinking of coercion and ignoring the cruelty of the Allies. There is a time for everything, and the time has now come to prove the true inwardness and intensity of Moslem feeling in India by lending at least a crore and a half of rupees to Turkey. Are there not in the whole of India two million Mussalmans who will lend the small sum of Rs. 7-8-0 for the ransom of Islam, or a smaller number of people willing to lend more? As we go to press we have received a cable from the Committee of the Ottoman National Defence thanking us for what we have done for Turkey and appealing to us to "work with them still further for the defence of the prestige, honour and glory of Islam and the Ottoman Nation at this critical juncture." We know what we are, and we are sure that in appealing to us the Committee appeal to the millions of Mussalmans in this country in whose name we have often spoken. It is not we who can render any assistance to Turkey, but the many millions whom we represent.

THE annual meeting of the Aligarh College Trustees came off on the 26th January, and we regret that we were unable to note on the proceedings of the meeting in the last issue. The most gratifying feature of the meeting was that no less than 22 Trustees attended the meeting, and, although we must add that this is but a fifth of the total number of the Trustees, it is distinctly better than the absence of a quorum of seven which the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk had to deplore probably more than once during his régime. Nine of the 22 were non-resident Trustees, and five of these were Old Boys, some of whom had travelled long distances to attend the meeting. We must not, however, omit to mention that Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah had travelled from Amritsar in spite of increasing infirmity, and we only trust that after this no Trustee would put forward the excuse of indisposition when his absence from such meetings is in reality due to a disposition to avoid all trouble while securing all the honour accruing from a Trusteeship. Mr. Mohamed Ali proposed and Mr. Misbah-ul-Osman seconded a vote of thanks and congratulation to Nawab Ishaq Khan for his acceptance of the Secretaryship of the College to which he had been unanimously elected. The new Secretary read a speech of great force and ability, with which we shall deal later. He was thanked by Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami who was in the chair, and Mr. Haji Swalih Khan Sherwani presented Rs. 100 to the College in honour of the occasion. It was decided to perpetuate the memory of the late Moulvi Nazir Ahmed of Delhi, who was a Trustee of the College, by raising a fund and offering from its income a gold medal for an Urdu essay for which Aligarh undergraduates and post-graduate students could compete. This was the form suggested by Mr. Mohamed Ali who offered Rs. 100 for the purpose. Apparently the item round which most of the interest centred was the election of no less than nine Trustees. For these vacancies 18 names had been proposed, and Trustees had been flooded during the preceding five weeks with letters sent by and for the candidates, the least worthy of whom had perhaps tried the utmost to show the voters the number of "wounds" that they received in defence of the community and to recount their "services." The successful candidates were Mr. Ross Masood who secured 79 votes. Mr. Ibrani-Ahmed came next with 64; and Mr. Ibrahim followed him closely with 63, in his turn being hotly pursued by Mr. Seraj Ahmed with 62. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim (60) was bracketed with Mr. Syed Wasir Hasan; and then came Mr. Shaukat Ali with 56, and at his heels Mr. Yakub with 56. Mr. Ahsan-ul-Haq brought up the rear with 48 votes. Of those who failed to get elected the most prominent were Mr. Masbar-ul-Haque who secured 44 votes, Mr. Zahur Ahmed of Allahabad (37) and the Editor of the *Faisla Akbar* (29). We are, indeed, extremely gratified that Mr. Ross Masood is not only elected a Trustee, but also heads the poll. We are sure that these votes reflect not only the goodwill but also the great talents and the benevolence which Mr. Masood has inherited, and we trust that before long his work as a Trustee of the College would be such that his own acquisitions would challenge comparison with his great heritage. It was his great ancestor to whom has been attributed the couplet:—

بَهِتَ الْقِيَمَتِ مَنْ قَوْلَ مَا آتَا
لَيْسَ الْقِيَمَتِ مَنْ قَوْلَ كَاتِبِ

(Verily he is the hero who says: "Behold! I am such a one"; he is not the hero who says: "My father was one.") We are confident that

the career of Mr. Ross Masood would fulfil the condition of greatness laid down by that hero of heroes, and his community and his College would acclaim him as worthy successor of his father and grandfather. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim is one of those distinguished men who confer an honour upon any assembly that elects them as a member, and his election is an appreciation not merely of his great talents, but also of the quiet but sustained and fruitful work which he has been doing in the cause of Moslem education in Southern India. Mr. Wazir Hasan is a man of great ability who has already been honoured by the community in being selected to officiate as the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, and we trust that his exacting profession will permit him to devote to his duties as a Trustee as much time and attention as he desires to do. Mr. Shankat Ali comes back into the fold after an interval of many years spent in the service of his Alma Mater in a manner which should be an example to many who never left the fold as well as to those who aspire to enter it. But his success is chiefly useful in illustrating the value of discontent which never degenerates into disgust, but spurs one on to action and is satisfied with nothing short of the attainment of the ideal. We hope his optimism would be infectious to such of the Old Boys as ignore the fact, that one can combine work for the good with railing at the evil. We should, however, like to know who Mr. Ibrahim is, and what he has done to make the Trustees so desirous of including him among those who must be consulted in the settlement of the educational policy of one of the greatest colleges in India. If we are not mistaken he is the Wazir of Khairpur, and one of the first acts of his régime is the stoppage of the annual grant to the College. If this deserves an election as a Trustee of that institution, let us hope His Excellency Salar Jung III will never deserve to be a Trustee of the College. What would happen if the poet's prophecy was fulfilled?

حور کی واسطی زاهد فی عبادت کی
صبر تو جب ہی کہ جنت میں نہ جانی پائی

(The recluse has been worshipping for the sake of the houri. What a fun if he is not allowed to enter heaven!!) We much regret that Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque should have just missed an election this year; but we are confident that his love for his community and his devotion to the cause of education will suffer no diminution, and that he will prove to the Trustees of the College that one can work outside the house as well as in it. Before the meeting was adjourned Mr. Mohamed Ali drew the attention of the Trustees to the alarm evidently felt by some officials, including the Patron of the College, as regards the excitement which was said to prevail among students of the College, and requested the Honorary Secretary to inquire into its extent and character, unless the Trustees were assured on the subject by the Joint Honorary Secretary who had been officiating recently as Secretary of the Trustees. On this Nawab Musawwir-ullah Khan Bahadur gave the clearest possible assurance that the feeling among the students was both healthy and natural, and that this opinion was shared by the Principal of the College. After the appointment of a small sub-committee for the purpose of expressing its opinion on the subject of the Public Services, which the Local Government desire to communicate to the Royal Commission, but which it was not possible to refer to the general body of Trustees within the time allowed by the Local Government, the meeting was adjourned.

ALTHOUGH it is gratifying to see that the number of new subscribers to the *Comrade* has steadily increased since its transfer to Delhi, the net growth in its circulation has been comparatively small, inasmuch as 682 names have had to be removed since October last as defaulters. The amount of the arrears thus accumulated is Rs 3,734-4-0, which represents a dead loss to the proprietor. Even if he possessed the wealth of Croesus the proprietor could not view this loss with equanimity. But in this instance his sole asset has been his trust in the support and goodwill of those for whose service the *Comrade* was launched into existence. A loss such as this is manifestly beyond his utmost resources to bear; and, if he is to be perpetually harassed with the problem of realising his dues, we are afraid he may some day find his self-imposed task a little too heavy even for his audacious shoulders and may have to give up the struggle in despair. It would be ungrateful not to recognise the spontaneous services of many of our readers but for whose sympathy and ready help the *Comrade* could not have risen to the position it holds to-day. And we are confident we can count on that sympathy and help as much now as at any time in the past. Our only complaint is that we should have to be put to great financial embarrassments through the indifference of some of our readers whom we have been serving at so much expense and who never refused to receive the *Comrade* until it reached them in the shape of a V.P. All we need say is that it is hardly fair. It would be a long and

wearisome story to detail the heavy expenses we have lately had to incur. The setting up of a new press of our own in Delhi has been an extraordinarily costly affair; and though money has been ungrudgingly spent we have hardly yet reached the end of our troubles, chiefly because Delhi can not adequately supply our needs. Then, again, the anxious times through which the Moslem world has been passing, have enormously increased our labours and added to our expenses a good deal. The collection of the Turkish Relief Fund alone has been a great task in itself, requiring the services of a large clerical staff. Indeed, the state of things in Turkey has claimed much of our time and efforts and we readily confess we have, in consequence, been obliged to neglect the *Comrade* editorially for some time past. Several complaints have reached us on this account and we plead guilty to the charge. Our only excuse has been that we found ourselves face to face with a more imperious call and we consider our duty in this respect has been much more important and urgent than journalism. However, we hope we will soon be able to make ample amends for our recent shortcomings and try to remove the just complaints of our readers. We also expect that the subscribers of the *Comrade* will do their duty. We trust those whose names have been struck off the list will pay up their arrears and will not leave the *Comrade* under a heavy financial burden. It is difficult to imagine that they will refuse to discharge their obligations, even if they do not continue to subscribe for the paper which was never started with any idea of commercial gain.

WE HAVE noticed with great anxiety and regret that the enthusiasm of the Indian Moslems to send help to Turkey has waned since the Peace negotiations were begun in London. As would appear from the weekly announcements in the *Comrade*, contributions to the Turkish Relief Fund have been steadily diminishing every week, and we confess we could not regard this as creditable either to the sense of duty of the Mussalmans or their appreciation of the immense need for relief to their suffering brethren in Turkey. Now, however, that the war has been resumed, we trust Moslem enthusiasm in India will revive in full vigour. It is needless to detail the amount of suffering already existing in Turkey—with thousands of families left desolate and thousands of refugees, mostly women and children, who have been driven from their homes and have lost their all, wandering helplessly about without food, without clothes, without shelter. The resumption of hostilities will enormously add to the appalling mass of existing misery, suffering and destitution, and the need for immediate and extensive help has increased tenfold. There was a general feeling amongst the Indian Moslems that the Turks should not submit to a humiliating peace. Well, they have not submitted, and consequently the war has broken out afresh. We trust the Indian Mussalmans realise fully what this war has hitherto meant and would mean again and the enormous difficulties under which Turkey has to carry on the struggle. If they are precluded from actively sharing in the stress and burden of the struggle, they would not surely be indifferent to the sufferings of its victims. It has been possible through the help of the Indian Moslems to send a well-equipped Medical Mission to Turkey. Dr. Ansari has informed us by a cable that the field-hospital of the Mission has been attached to the 2nd Division of the army at Tchataldja. The Mission has a heavy task before it. We trust enough funds will be forthcoming to enable it to do its work effectively and thoroughly. We hope the Indian Moslems will rise equal to the needs of the occasion and prove that their sense of duty to Islam is not dead and that they possess the capacity for a sustained effort in a noble cause.

When the Balkan States declared war on Turkey, they professed to have been moved by the sufferings of their oppressed Christian brethren under the Turkish yoke. The course of events since the beginning of the war has demonstrated only too clearly how far those professions were genuine and true. Territorial aggrandisement was the real motive of the Balkan aggression, and it was admirably hid under the facile and catching cries of freedom and justice. All the vital prejudices of Christian Europe against the Turk were thus astutely exploited to the full. "Freedom" and "Justice" have been achieved through rapine and slaughter. Thousands of innocent Moslems and Jews have been massacred. Neither age nor sex has been spared. Entire villages have been burnt and the era of "Liberty" has been ushered by forcibly converting Moslems to Christianity. These horrors have been wrought with a set purpose and a method and in the full glare of publicity, and civilised Europe has not moved a muscle. Every interested schemer, faddist, liberty-monger and sentimental quack in Europe had long ago prepared the theatre for these shambles. Every rebellion that Turkey had to put down before the war had been due to foreign incitements. Europe had been responsible for the chronic state of ferment and agitation in her European provinces.

Mischievous Incitements.

The Christian races knew they had loud and gushing friends abroad. They were consequently encouraged to revolt and render peaceful government impossible, for they were confident of European sympathy in their unruly behaviour and systematic defiance of the law. Acts of lawlessness, pillage and murderous outrages committed by these savages were freely baptised as valiant efforts for freedom. Whenever Turkish Government tried to deal with them as they deserved a storm of indignation would burst forth in Europe and the Turk would be denounced as "unspeakable." The methods of the Balkan Allies have at last exposed the heart of the Balkan problem in its true nakedness. But we doubt if Europe would still be willing to talk less morality at the expense of the Turk. All we know is that the old prejudices are still as vigorous as ever, and canting busybodies are stirring up fresh agitations amongst the Christians of Turkey in Asia. The Syrian Christians have been suddenly discovered to be groaning under heavy wrongs. The woes of Armenia are being loudly echoed throughout Europe. The Muscovite, whose administration of Poland and Finland is the scandal of modern times and from whose iron heels thousands of Armenian refugees have been seeking deliverance by migration into Turkey, is ready to stand forth as the champion of Armenia. An 'organised agitation for Armenian autonomy is being carried on in the European press, and the Powers are being exhorted to settle the Armenian question once and for all. Only a short time ago there was no such thing as an Armenian Question. With the inauguration of the new constitutional régime in Turkey the Armenian grievances were declared to have, if not wholly, at least enormously, disappeared. The Armenians were supposed to be living quite happy and contented without any fear of oppression and abuse. The Balkan crisis has offered rare opportunities to the enemies of Turkey to incite her Christian subjects in Asia to revolt. The methods are plain enough. The ends are unmistakable. If the Powers would refrain from profiting by the existing situation, it would not surely be on account of their excessive love of altruism or any chivalric regard for Turkey.

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* recently remarked that amazement was expressed by those most closely in touch with Persian affairs about a leading article in the *Times* where the idea of an expedition to occupy

South Persia, and bring the British frontiers up to the Russian limits, was gravely put forward as an issue of the immediate future. After all that has happened, it is difficult to imagine that there should have been any room for amazement. The British Foreign policy in Persia has all along been one of subservience and drift. Each successive surrender to the Muscovite will was inevitably leading up to "the issue of the immediate future," put forward by the *Times*. Now that Russia is firmly established in Northern Persia, the successor of Mr. Shuster is the Muscovite tool, the Majlis is dead and the ex-Shah and his brother are being supported in their intrigues over the border, the time is an ideal one to declare that the Persians are unfit to govern their own country. To divide it up at last would seem to be the simplest solution. All this had been clearly foreseen. The *Times* leader is merely an indication of the final step that the British Foreign Office may have decided to take in regard to the situation. The ostensible ground for such a radical and grave departure would, of course, be the unsatisfactory condition of things in Southern Persia. Those having trade dealings with Persia report that the disorder is much exaggerated; and as to Russia's restorative work in the North, a recent visitor there reports that the taxes, which are largely paid in kind, are not collected, but the crops are allowed to rot or be used by the landowners, and that nothing is coming in to the Central Government to allow it to pay for military assistances to keep order. The necessary loan for which the Persian Government has been appealing for the whole year past has not been advanced, nor is it allowed to raise money in foreign markets. According to a Reuter's message from Teheran, the Foreign Minister called on Sir W. Townley, the British Minister, and discussed with him the situation in Southern Persia. He said that the Government was sincerely anxious to improve the conditions on the trade routes, but its efforts were paralysed by the state of Persian finances. But the question is: Will the Persian Government be allowed the loan it sorely needs for urgent administrative reforms? Or will the country be practically split up into "Protectorates" on the familiar pretence that it has become a prey to chronic disorder? We yet hope the Government of India will be strong enough to dissuade the Imperial Government from a false step, so alluring at sight, but fraught with untold consequences. In this melancholy muddle about Persia, all that Sir Edward Grey has been able to do has been to sit still and think nervously while the Muscovite has been boldly carrying out his designs. Is the issue still within the grasp of Sir Edward Grey?

The Comrade.

Turkey and the "Times."

We waited for a letter from Dr Ansari with the hope that it might give a detailed and reliable account of the *coup d'état*, but the letter received from him with the English Mail was posted on the 20th January and naturally it contains no account of the events that took place three days later. Nor do the Turkish papers received to-day contain any such account as evidently the mail left Constantinople on the 23rd January. But the English mail has brought the morning papers of the 24th January which contain the earliest news of these events published in England. It is curious, however, that while Reuter's Constantinople correspondent wires on the 23rd that "a crowd drawn from all classes of the proletariat has declared for war" and mentions "a tremendous ovation which was renewed with even greater frenzy" which was accorded to Enver Bey, and states that the crowd's "enthusiasm was kept at fever pitch by fervent addresses," the *Times* correspondent gives one the impression that everything was carried out in the quietest possible manner. We give below the account supplied to the *Times* by its Constantinople correspondent, and if it is the correct version of what took place, then, indeed, the *coup d'état* of Enver Bey was an even more remarkable event than we have been led to believe. It is curious that the papers of the 24th January do not mention anything about the sad death of Nazim Pasha, although some of Reuter's telegrams were despatched after 11 p.m., while practically everything was over by 8 p.m. The *Times* correspondent wrote as follows.—

"The Government has been overthrown by a cleverly organized *coup d'état*. This morning at 11 o'clock Talaat Bey called on the Grand Vizier and urged him to resign. Kiamil Pasha refused to answer him. The Cabinet Council continued to occupy itself with the draft reply to the Collective Note till about 2, when Ministers took lunch.

"Shortly before 3 Djemal Bey, ex-Vali of Adana and Baghdad, appeared before the Porte accompanied by five officers on horseback. A dozen persons suddenly issued from a café in a side street and unfurled a flag. More individuals appeared round every corner and in a few minutes some 200 people had collected. Next appeared Enver Bey, mounted on a white horse and accompanied by Kiazim Bey, Halil Bey, his uncle, both of the General Staff, and four or five other officers. The crowd cheered him, and he rode into the Porte, dismounted at the steps, and entered the hall accompanied by his suite. There he asked to see the Grand Vizier. The doors were immediately shut. Memdukin Pasha, Commandant of Constantinople, stood at the door, and would let no man enter.

"Enver, followed by Talaat, entered the Council room. He informed the Cabinet that the nation would not endure the loss of Adrianople and the Ministry must resign. Kiamil Pasha wrote out his resignation and handed it to Enver, who left the Porte, entered a motor-car, and drove to the Palace.

"The Sultan was at first incredulous and sent his First Chamberlain and First Secretary back to the Porte to see whether Enver's news was true. At the Porte the Grand Vizier again wrote out his resignation, which he handed to Ali Fuad Bey, First Secretary, who returned to the Sultan and immediately sent for Mahmud Shevket Pasha. A crowd of several hundred persons, including a number of officers, watched them impassively.

"At 8 o'clock in the evening Mahmud Shevket Pasha, accompanied by the First Secretary, Ali Fuad Bey, and Enver Bey, arrived at the Porte. Ali Fuad read the Imperial *iradeh* from the steps. Its terms were as follows:—

"My Vizier Mahmud Shevket Pasha.—In consequence of the resignation of Kiamil Pasha and the situation of the country it is necessary to hand over the government of the country to experienced hands. I perceive that you possess experienced hands, I perceive that you possess the necessary qualities, and, naming you Marshal and Vizier, I appoint you Grand Vizier. To-morrow we shall choose a person fit for the office of Sheikh-ul-Islam. You will strive to present a list of colleagues for my approbation to-morrow. God grant success to your efforts!"

"Mahir Effendi, ex-Deputy for Kastamuni, uttered a prayer. Mahmud Shevket Pasha made a brief speech, saying he would

do his utmost to save the Fatherland, but would need the entire support of the nation to this end. He then ordered "all and sundry to disperse, which they did.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs had two hours' conversation with Talaat Bey, after which he despatched a telegram to the Ottoman Ambassadors announcing the change of Cabinet and stating that all was quiet in the capital. After this he was allowed to return home, as was Damad Sherif, Minister of Education.

"Enver Bey is made Commandant of the Palace, and Talaat Bey is acting Minister of the Interior, while Izzet Pasha is provisionally Generalissimo."

It is difficult to reconcile a crowd of some 200 people collected before the Porte and watching the proceedings impassively with the account supplied by Reuter's correspondent, and still more difficult to reconcile the impassive appearance of a small crowd with the tame acquiescence of Kiamil Pasha when Enver Bey and Talaat Bey entered the Council room and demanded his resignation. But the most difficult thing to reconcile with the whole *coup d'état* is the incoherent letter of the *Times* correspondent wired from Constantinople only a day before, in which he seems to gloat over the submission of Kiamil's Cabinet to the Powers and which he ends with the remark that "the town is quiet to-night, and it is believed that the public has resigned itself to the inevitable and will accept peace without demur." Times change, but we suppose the Constantinople correspondent of the *Times* found it difficult to change with them, and, therefore, made a vain effort in his letter of the 28th January to justify his belief of the 22nd in the resignation of the public to the inevitable. However, he was not so very wrong in his predictions. There was certainly a resignation on the 23rd, but it happened to be not the public but Kiamil who resigned himself to the inevitable—and to Enver Bey. We have every reason to rejoice at the *coup d'état*, but even if we had no other reason to do so, it would have been sufficient for us to rejoice that a *Times* correspondent had sent a despatch only a few hours before the *coup d'état*, proving himself unmistakably to be a person whose reading of the popular mind on the 22nd January was palpably and grossly defective, even if his description of popular feeling on the 28th was not equally palpably and grossly false.

The *Times* in a leading article writes a doleful obituary of the Kiamil Cabinet, and we may be sure that this political *Hic jacet* is one of those posthumous praises which could be freely rendered into English as "here are lies." What is, however, most deplorable is that the *Times* too has failed to grasp the true inwardness of its Constantinople correspondent's account of the demonstration of a small and impassive crowd. It writes:—

In a European State the return of the war party to power with a policy such as Talaat Bey has proclaimed could have but one meaning and but one result. It would involve the speedy rupture of the negotiations and the resumption of the war. It would signify that the country had resolved in desperation to stake her existence upon the issue and that the Powers must contemplate the eventuality with which her dissolution would confront them. But, happily for Turkey and for mankind, these consequences do not follow from the change of Ministry in Constantinople with the necessity with which they follow a like event in one of the great capitals of Europe. The sudden substitution of Mahmoud Shevket and his associates for the Kiamil Administration merely means that one more intrigue has been for the moment successful. It need not imply that any great wave of opinion or of passion has swept over the nation. The strong probabilities are, indeed, that neither opinion nor feeling has undergone any change. Very likely it represents nothing more than a mere shifting of the pieces, which may be reversed as unexpectedly as it was effected.

To use the words of the *Times*, happily for Turkey and for mankind, the *Times* is once more wrong in its prophetic as in its chronicle of events, and the sudden substitution of Mahmoud Shevket and his associates for the Kiamil Administration has involved the speedy rupture of the negotiations and the resumption of the war. It also means that, despite the *Times* correspondent who had done everything to throw dust in the eyes of the world about the feelings of the Turks towards Kiamil's Cabinet, a great wave of opinion and of a righteous passion worthy of a nation of fighters has swept over the nation, which has put an end to a great political intrigue which had brought Kiamil once more into power. If any doubt existed about the prejudiced view of the *Times*, it is entirely removed by the opinion expressed by the *Times* about the Committee of Union and Progress in this article. Are we to believe that it was not this party, but Kiamil or his "friends," who had given to Turkey a Constitution and removed from the throne a despot for whom the *Times* had never a good word to say as long as he was the master of the Ottoman nation's destinies? Were these not the "first achievements" of this organisation, and are they to count as nothing against the "first achievement of the organiza-

tion which had now driven Kiamil Pasha from office without any semblance of constitutional procedure," viz., "to cause the first Chamber to overthrow him unheard, just a month after they have given him an overwhelming vote of confidence"? Was it not this very "secret and irresponsible organisation which is answerable for the ruin" of Turkey, according to the *Times*, which ended a degrading despotism and for the first time set itself to apply the resources of the country to its proper defence, husbanding them so carefully as to double the revenue of the State in three years? Is it a fact that "the present state of the army is the monument of the new Grand Vizier's efficiency in his own profession, as the plight of Macedonia is the proof of Talaat's statesmanship and of the respect which he himself paid in office to the 'sacred rights of the people'"? Was it Shevket Pasha who supplied to the army, fighting for the honour and the very existence of its Fatherland, cannon balls made of wood which were to be used only in harmless manoeuvres? Again was it Mahmoud Shevket who hurried the nation into a declaration of war before the army had been properly mobilised, and was it he who sent soldiers to fight the foe after a fatiguing march in drenching rain on a stomach that had fasted for four days? As for Talaat Bey, it is enough to say that even if he had been an archangel come from heaven to pacify Macedonia, he would have failed, because the enemies of Turkey, including the Press of England and the London *Times*, were ever ready to stir up Christian subjects of the Sultan against a Muhammadan ruler. For the maintenance of the "sacred rights of the people in Turkey" it was essential that the Turks should ever keep that key bright and shining which had unlocked the gate of Christianity in Eastern Europe for the entry of Islam. That was the sword of the Osmanli, and in order to appreciate the work of Mahmoud Shevket in this connection it cannot be the *Times* which is to be our guide, but a writer like M. Charadame, who contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, more than a year ago, a very informing article on the army that Mahmoud Shevket was forging for the defence of his country.

Whatever be the final result of the war for the nation, which has already been weakened by a senseless and cruel armistice no less than by the war which was mismanaged by the Kiamil clique, to-day Enver Bey's *coup d'état* is like the intervention of Cromwell and his Ironsides in the politics of England, and we trust that the Ironsides of Turkey will yet receive the indications of many a crowning mercy from heaven. But such a comparison should not impress the *Times* at all, for had the Thunderer been in existence at the time of Charles the Martyr and the Roundhead Regicides, it would have said of the Great Rebellion that it "merely means that one more intrigue has been for the moment successful," and that "very likely it represents nothing more than a mere shifting of the pieces which may be reversed as unexpectedly as it was effected." But we wonder whether even the *Times* could have referred to the Stuart monarch as it does to Kiamil as a "politician of very exceptional experience," who thought that "the best way of permanently silencing the clamour" of his enemies was "to bring them into immediate contact with the facts, in the conviction that they would be obliged presently to retire," and that "it is just conceivable that he may have made way for them without excessive regret." In one respect, indeed, the parallel is complete. Nothing in office became Kiamil so well as the leaving of it, and the regret of every friend of Turkey must be that so brave and good a man as Nazim Pasha should have met with the fate which Kiamil had eminently deserved. It would, however, be a sacrilege if he should share with Nazim Pasha such a fate when he alone deserved it, and in our estimation it is better that he should live to suffer the pangs of conscience, if he has one, in witnessing the evil consequences of his action and policy, or, if his nation succeeds in extricating itself from the meshes of his network, live to repent the sins, not of rash and headless youth and manhood, but of calculating old age and servile senility.

The *Times* does not openly suggest to the Powers to coerce Turkey, but it encourages the Balkan States in their unwillingness to accept the very moderate terms of the Turkey remarks such as the one where it says "we cannot expect the Allies to exhibit unlimited patience," and suggests clearly enough that so long as the Powers are united they would back the Allies. But other papers clearly indicate that the Powers may coerce Turkey and desire them to do so. The *Nation* says that "this sudden change means, presumably, the defeat of peace at the last moment, and a choice before the Powers of a resumption of the war or international coercion. If Russia has threatened, she will now presumably act, and it seems highly inexpedient to allow her to act alone." The *Manchester Guardian* says: "The project of a naval demonstration by the Powers, such as the Allies desired from the first, will, no doubt, again be revived, and this time may be accepted..... On the union of the Powers, on the patience of the Allies, and on the fall of Adrianople our hopes of peace will hang, and, as we still think, hang fairly securely." We should like to know if the *Times*

of India still considers itself to have been just to the Moslem League Council—and to Renter—in rebuking Moslem politicians for losing their balance merely on account of "a bazar gap." For our part we hang our faith on the sense of justice and fairplay, and at least on the consistency of the British Government, and, failing even that, on the union of the Mussalmans and the Turks, and on their patience, and, in the last resort, on the God of battles who wrought the miracle of Badr, and we still think our hopes hang even more securely than those of our contemporary. The end is neither in our hands nor in those of the Turks. It rests with God.

The End of the Armistice.

AFTER the extremely moderate and conciliatory reply of Turkey to the Powers' Note, it was generally felt that the war would not be so precipitately resumed. Opinion was expressed in responsible diplomatic quarters that the reply furnished adequate basis for the resumption of the Peace negotiations. It was even reported that Germany and some of the other Great Powers had advised Bulgaria to give up her uncompromising attitude and proceed to seek an enduring basis of settlement in a more conciliatory spirit. Yet Bulgaria has chosen otherwise; and after two months of truce, the war between Turkey and the Allies has broken out again. Apart from the dispute about the future of the Aegean islands whose fate cannot be settled without the consent of the Powers, the Peace Conference has split solely on the question of Adrianople. The Turks were even willing to cede a part of the city to Bulgaria, themselves retaining the other part in which their historical monuments and holy places are situated. The Allies have, however, decided to go to war again rather than agree to the Turkish offer for compromise. No one can say that the decision is a light one, and it is difficult to imagine that it could have been lightly arrived at. The Allies may be confident of victory, but they cannot have been insensible of the appalling cost at which alone it can be purchased. They are almost at the end of their resources in men and money, even though their past successes may have kept the enthusiasm of their armies at fever-heat. They have little hope of being able to force the Tchataldja position and march on Constantinople. The utmost that they can achieve is to reduce Janina, Scutari and Adrianople to surrender by siege or assault. Would this achievement be worth the heavy price they would have to pay in blood and treasure? And then, the possibility of the Turkish Army making a heroic effort to assume the offensive and retrieving its earlier disasters in Thrace cannot be lightly set aside. In view of these considerations the decision of the Allies may justly appear a little puzzling, and one may well question if there is not more in it than meets the eye. Bulgaria may be coveting Adrianople because she professes to have been deeply impressed with its supreme strategic importance to her future frontiers. But this could have hardly been her sole driving motive to resume the hostilities. It was early suggested that the place could be made innocuous by dismantling the forts, and the Turks were reported to have acquiesced in the suggestion. The future possession of Scutari and Janina has long since become a question for the Powers to decide. So is the question about the future of the islands. Is it, then, possible that the Allies are playing for some bigger stakes? If the Muscovite is not pulling the strings once more, it is difficult to clearly see the objectives on which the Allies have set their hearts. Perhaps Bulgaria dreams of a much bigger territory including the whole of Thrace. Montenegro and Greece may have deemed it necessary to strengthen their respective pretensions by acquiring the actual possession of the places they covet.

Whatever may be the motives of the Allies, they and their active patrons among the Powers are responsible for the blood that will be spilled afresh, and the havoc and appalling misery that will be wrought again. The war enters on its second and last phase and no one can foresee the consequences to which it may lead. It may prove to be a sharp, swift struggle ending with the fall of Adrianople. It may, on the other hand, give the one chance to the Turkish army to vindicate its prowess and, by victoriously sweeping the Bulgarians out of Thrace, to recover some parts of Turkey's lost European possessions. Possibly it may lead to a general European war and cause new shocks to the Ottoman Empire in Asia. On it may eventually cost Turkey her capital. The possibilities of this fateful and unique struggle are varied and unlimited, and it would be futile to speculate about them. The vital fact with which we are most immediately concerned is that Turkey has been spared an abject surrender and a humiliating peace. She has got her last chance to retrieve her fortune by a brilliant victory or to die a glorious death.

The military situation is for the time being plain enough and requires no detailed analysis. The Bulgarians have concentrated their efforts on Adrianople and will try to secure its surrender as soon as possible. They are reported to have withdrawn their forces from Tchataldja to Tchorlu, not only because they have little hope of carrying the position by assault, but perhaps because they apprehend an attack on their flank from the rear by a Turkish force that may be landed on the coast of the Black Sea from Asia Minor. It is possible that the retreat may be a mere feint intended to draw the Turks out of the Tchataldja lines. Obviously enough, the Bulgarians would try to contain the Turkish forces at Tchataldja and prevent them from assuming a vigorous offensive. The Allies' forces operating in the small, narrow peninsula of Gallipoli, which commands the entrance to the Dardanelles, are not known to be in large strength. The Turks have strongly fortified all the strategic positions in the peninsula and massed considerable troops there for the defence of the Straits, and any attempt to force the Dardanelles by attacking it from the land side with the object of clearing the way for a final attack on Constantinople will have to overcome formidable obstacles before it can be successful. The centre of interest is for the present the defence of Adrianople. The Ottoman garrison has so far stood its ground with glorious courage and may be trusted to hold out to the last. The only question that will probably decide its fate is that of food. If the garrison is adequately supplied with rations for some weeks, the Bulgarian assault has little chance of speedy success. But the defence of Adrianople, however prolonged and heroic it may be, will be ultimately useless and ineffectual unless the main Turkish army at Tchataldja beats back the Bulgarians in front and marches quickly up to the relief of the citadel. Adrianople can not hold out indefinitely, for the simple reason that its food supply must some day be entirely exhausted. The obvious duty of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief is, therefore, to assume the offensive and give battle to the Bulgarians in the open field. His only chance lies in an offensive strategy. The Allies have, of course, the clearest grasp of the situation and we may naturally expect them to try to create a serious diversion by an attack on the Turkish positions in Gallipoli and on the Dardanelles with a view to tie up the main Turkish Army at Tchataldja. The rival strategies of the belligerents will take a few days more to develop in outline, and till then it would obviously be a futile undertaking to calculate their respective chances. The strength of the rival forces in different parts of the theatre of war, their composition, equipment and efficiency should also be definitely known for all calculations of this kind. But though it is difficult at present to calculate the chances of this struggle, we may be sure that the Turkish Army will give a good account of itself and will try to wipe off the stain of its early disasters. Its leaders are full of patriotic ardour and will recoil from no sacrifice to save the honour of their country. There is every hope that they will successfully defend the great and righteous cause which they are privileged to defend in this supreme crisis in the history of their nation and their faith. If they fail, we are sure it will be only after they have spent the last drop of their blood on the field of battle.

When the war began in September last we had hoped that the Great Powers would remain neutral and would keep the ring fairly. That hope was not wholly realised. The need for absolute neutrality on the part of the Powers is even greater to-day, and we trust they will refrain from any threats of intervention and aggression to paralyse the efforts of the Turks. They equally share with the Allies the responsibility involved in the resumption of the war. Common fairness demands that the Turks should be left free from all diplomatic embarrassments in their endeavours to defend their interests. They have been carrying on a life and death struggle against heavy odds, and they now demand nothing but absolute freedom to finish it one way or the other. If they have not deserved a single friend in Europe in their hour of need, surely they have done nothing to deserve gratuitous enemies. The *Völkische Zeitung*, commenting on the diplomatic situation, draws attention to the shameful treatment accorded to Turkey by Europe in her recent troubles and makes some very pertinent and candid observations. "What do the poor Moslems think of Europe?" it asks. It is known to everybody that before the war the Powers warned the Balkan States that they would not permit any change of frontiers. This was the famous *status quo*, which it was forbidden to touch. Nevertheless, the *status quo* was killed by the accomplished fact. The Powers bowed before the accomplished fact, and invented a new formula in the shape of the principle that the fruits of victory must not be taken away from the victors. But the Powers have proceeded beyond even this principle, inasmuch as they made representations at the Porte in order to induce it to abandon Adrianople. It means that the fruits which have not fallen to the victors should also be yielded to them at the will of the Powers. We do not know what the future has in store. But we hope Turkey will not bow to the will of Europe.

The All-India Medical Mission.

We publish below another of the series of letters that we have been receiving from Dr. Ansari:—

Kadirgah Hospital, Stamboul, 14th Jan 1918.

I mentioned in my last letter to you an interview with Khalida Khanem (Madame Saleh). She belongs to the Party of Union and Progress and is a very active worker, not only politically, but in almost every sphere of activity, for the benefit of Turkey. She used to write almost daily in the *Tanin* when the paper was being published, and has written to many of the leading French and German papers as well as in the *Manchester Guardian* and for the *Jeune Turc*. She is considered one of the leading lights of the Party of Union and Progress, a silent, though very effective, power working behind the scenes. I considered myself very fortunate in having met her as she will be very useful. I have persuaded her to become a contributor to the *Comrade* as soon as she returns from the German Hospital where she has been advised to go for a rest cure, having worked very hard during the war in helping the organisations for the sick and wounded and the widows and orphans. She hoped one day very soon, after this crisis was over, to visit India and deliver a series of lectures in different Muhammadan centres to give correct ideas about Turkey and her people to the Muhammadan public in India. Unfortunately I have not been able to see her again, but I hope to do so before our hospital is established in Omarli. I think Madame Saleh will be an additional attraction as a contributor for the *Comrade*, if any attraction is necessary at all.

I have received by this mail copies of letters addressed to you by Mr. Ameer Ali together with a detailed list of all the articles supplied for our field-hospital by Messrs. Maw, Son & Sons. I have already informed you of the receipt of 252 packages, but a further supply was received last Wednesday numbering 69 (?) in all. This brings the total number of packages to 811; and when the remaining 19 packages will be received, the number would come to 830.

Jan. 9.

Except a visit from Shaikh Abdul Aziz Chawish to our hospital nothing of importance took place on this day. Shaikh Chawish is a very impressive man who chooses every word before uttering it. He talked to us about things in general, mostly weather, and then departed, after giving an invitation to some of the members to be at his house the next day where Enver Dey, Mahmud Shorhet Pasha and several other prominent members of the Party of Union and Progress were expected. I could not accept his invitation, but several men from the Mission went to his house and spent a very pleasant afternoon, although they were rather disappointed owing to the absence of the Young Turkish leaders. Dr. Asad Pasha, a very famous Turkish Ophthalmic Surgeon of European reputation, was present at the tea and made some pregnant remarks regarding the condition of Turkey and the Moslem world in general. Our Manager replied and made a great impression on those present by his weighty words! I should have loved to be present there, but I was unavoidably absent.

Jan 10

Whilst our friends were having tea at Shaikh Chawish's house, I went to see the Persian Ambassador with a few members. His Excellency was very very nice to us, gave us some cigarettes and Persian tea and talked to us for quite a long time. He understood English but spoke in Persian. The First Attaché to the Embassy spoke English very fluently, and discussed in a very animated fashion the causes of the gradual decay of Islam. He took the view of Mr. Garvin that the great cause of decay was to be found in the backward conditions of Moslem women both mentally and physically, and the only way to salvation lay in the emancipation of women. His Excellency intelligently followed the discussion and gave his approval to what his Attaché expressed to us. There is no doubt that the events in Turkey and Persia seem to have impressed deeply the mind of all the Moslem world and they are beginning to realise, though, alas! very late, that unless they improve themselves at once they will lose all they possess and be a subject race for ever.

Jan. 11.

I paid a visit to His Excellency Sir Gerard Lowther, the British Ambassador, accompanied by my cousin, and found him, to my intense pleasure, a perfectly amiable English gentleman. He offered us cigarettes and sat down for over half an hour for what appeared a friendly chat in a private drawing-room. I inquired after Lord Hardinge and was told that he was convalescent and progressing very satisfactorily. It seems Sir Gerard Lowther and Lord Hardinge are personal friends and have spent several years together at the Turkish Embassy. His Excellency was interested in the Mission and inquired about the members of the Mission, our

hospital equipment and the place where we were going to fix our hospital. He asked me to always rely on his ready help whenever we were in need of it. After thanking him for his previous kindness and his promise for the future, we returned well satisfied with our visit.

In the afternoon some twelve members of the Mission went with me to Haider Pasha, a place across the Bosphorus in Scutari, the Asiatic portion of Constantinople. We went there in a boat and saw on our landing there the magnificent railway station which is the terminus of the line running between Constantinople and Aleppo. I have not seen any railway station either in Europe or in India which can come anywhere near it. We visited the Military Medical College and Hospital. Aziz Pasha, the chief of the hospital, was exceedingly courteous and took us round this magnificent hospital where we saw 1,000 Turkish soldiers being nursed and looked after. The wards were clean, paved with glazed tiles, and furnished with modern iron beds. The sheets, pillow cases and towels were clean; the blankets were thick and warm; and altogether there was nothing lacking to make the patients comfortable and cheerful during their stay in the hospital. All the patients in this building were medical cases and numbered 1,000. This hospital would compare favourably with any European hospital, and it was certainly much cleaner than the hospitals one sees in France and Italy. The building itself is very stately and, being situated on the shores of the Bosphorus, commands a beautiful view with plenty of pure ozone air and sunshine. The next building, which is made of solid stone with very fine carvings, was the Army Medical College itself. At present this is also used for patients numbering 650 to 750. The building across the road facing it is devoted entirely to surgical cases. The entire interior of this building, the floor, walls and ceiling of the corridors and the wards are tiled with glazed tiles. There are small wards for one or two patients and large wards for 100 patients. The arrangements here were absolutely perfect. Everything was scrupulously clean, and I can assure you there are not many places in London, Berlin, Vienna or Paris which can boast of a hospital like this. The hospital has a most modern operating theatre and X-Ray department, and a staff of surgeons, assistant surgeons, sisters and nurses who are quite up-to-date. I was shown a patient who had an operation performed on his head following a bullet wound and the result was ideal. I was told on enquiry that the staff consisted of teachers and professors of European fame, and they turned out 100 to 120 army medical men every year. From what follows, when describing the hospitals at Hademkui, Omarli and San Stefano, you would see that not only the general Press of Europe was full of a series of calumnies and false reports about the Turkish organisation, but even the medical Press was affected by this religious bigotry and fanaticism, and stated facts about the medical organisation which on examination one finds altogether incorrect and exaggerated. I do not mean by this that there is no room for assistance in this present unusual situation. It is bound to affect even the best organised country. But what I maintain is that the assistance needed is not true to the extent that it is represented nor any more than any other European Power would require at the time of war. The story of the Turkish wounded being left in thousands on the battle-field to die is a tissue of malignant lies which is obvious to even a casual observer who visits the hospitals and sees for himself the number of major operations performed on the patients with results which even the best surgeons of Europe would be proud of. It may be of interest, by way of comparison, to mention here that the results of the German Red Cross Hospitals, the British Red Crescent Hospital sent by Mr. Amir Ali and the French Red Cross Hospital have been very unsatisfactory, whether due to the lack of skill or interest of the doctors sent in these Missions. In fact there is a feeling here, no doubt erroneous, owing to their bad results that these men deliberately maimed and dismembered the patients when a conservative treatment would have saved the lives and limbs of many of the patients placed under their treatment.

Jan. 12.

The Manager and myself left for Hademkui with Colonel Ali Darwesh Bey of the Red Crescent Society as our guide, philosopher and friend, and our interpreter. Dr. Muhammad Husain also accompanied us with the Manager of his Mission. We left Constantinople at 10.45 A. M. and passed a dozen stations on our way, San Stefano and Omarli being the important stations. At San Stefano we saw two Egyptian Red Crescent Field-Hospitals, one Ottoman Red Crescent Field-Hospital and one Military Field-Hospital, all in good working order. There were several Red Crescent Field-Hospitals at intervening stations, whose names I don't remember. We were met at several stations by officers of the Red Crescent and the Royal Army Medical Corps who accompanied us to Hademkui. At Hademkui General Abdus Salam Pasha, the officer in-charge of the whole of the medical department in this division, met us at the station and a salute was given by 100 soldiers awaiting us at the platform. We then proceeded to a house in Hademkui where we were presented to

General Abdus Salam Pasha. He is a grand man and a grand soldier. He spoke to us in the most friendly and pleasant manner and soothing in his tone. He thought that the Islam was not to be found in the Turks; that they had acquired all the vices of the West and lost their real great qualities inherited from Islam which had brought them to this plight. He was very kind and courteous to us and paid us compliments which we thought were out of proportion to our work. General Abdus Salam Pasha and Ahmad Abuk Pasha consulted for some time and then decided to send us to Omarli which is behind the lines of defence and yet not so bitterly cold or damp as Sanjaktapa. There is also a plentiful supply of good water at Omarli which is not found at Sanjaktapa. Judging from the sea of mud at Hademkui, which we were told was much better than at Sanjaktapa, we gratefully acquiesced in their selection of Omarli and left Ahmad Abuk Pasha to visit the Red Crescent Hospital at Hademkui.

Horses were brought for us to ride, but our Manager declined (Let it not be said through any fear!) to ride such a very very short distance as the Red Crescent Hospital, in spite of the 'Mud Atlantic'. The Turks are very polite people and to please the guests would even face the prospects of a mud-bath rather than refuse a request. We walked, or rather swam, in the mud. Our beautiful uniform, boots and breeches and all, were forgotten in our anxiety to prevent a fall which was imminent at every footstep as the mud was very slippery here. In one place I had actually to plunge my hand in the mud and just saved myself from a most ignominious fall. My hand was, however, icy cold, and yet I could not put on my gloves owing to the mud. We reached the shelter of the hospital, as you can imagine, with a sigh of relief. After a meal which would be considered regal, we inspected the hospital and found unsatisfactory owing to the mud which, in spite of dry dusting, was quite thick.

At last we got on the horses, Abdur Rahman's being the fleetest. At least that's what he thought. We rode on through lully tracts full of mud and water until we reached the Army Hospital where Abdus Salam Pasha met us with his staff and took us round the hospital. This is a brick building and accommodates 700 patients. The arrangements here were excellent, most of the cases being medical. They had a splendid pharmacy and a small operating theatre.

Dr. Muhammad Hussain took our photographs, after which we started on our ten mile ride to Omarli. The roads were lully and very difficult and with a cold wind blowing against our faces we rode on, our Manager bringing the rear, as he insisted on not allowing the horses to run (of course out of consideration for the animals!). In his anxiety he rode with ungloved hands which were simply frozen, but how could he possibly put on his gloves when once on horse-back? The latter half of our journey to Omarli was done in pitch dark. The Manager is very proud of his horsemanship in reaching Omarli safely without a fall. I must say that once or twice he was put to the severest test when Ali Ghalib Bey whipped his horse from behind quite unawares, the horse bolting off suddenly, of course, with Abdur Rahman on the saddle unaided, even to the extent of holding his saddle or putting his arms round the horse's neck. We stayed in a small room in Omarli and were treated to a sumptuous repast by Dr. Burhan Bey. The next morning we visited the place where our tents are to be pitched. It is under the shelter of a hill facing the Omarli railway station and separated from the railway line by a small stream. There is a natural spring with a plentiful supply of drinking water by the side of our camp, and with a bridge across the stream the camp will be a minute from the railway station. After saying goodbye to Dr. Ali Ghalib Bey, Inspector to the Army, and other medical officers who had accompanied us to Omarli, we returned last night to Constantinople and explained everything to Bassim Omar Pasha, the Vice-President of the Croissant Rouge, Stamboul. Owing to the wet weather and the damp soil I have ordered every tent to have wooden floor raised about 2ft. from the ground. This would keep our patients quite dry and prevent cold and damp.

Our transport has been sent to-day to the stores, where all our goods are kept, to separate the tents from the rest of the goods. These will be sent to-morrow and will be ready by Friday or Saturday when all the remaining goods will be sent with a batch from the Mission to get everything ready. We hope by the 25th of this month to be in working order. You would no doubt think us very slow; but I assure you so far as we are concerned not a moment is being lost. But the conditions of transport, etc., make this delay unavoidable.

The Bombay Mission which came a fortnight before us has neither got its tents nor the instruments yet, and I should be very

much surprised if they get their things in a week's time and I work by the end of this month.

I will write to you in my next about the organisation of the Ottoman Croissant Rouge and the splendid work Medical as well as Relief, that they are doing. I am convinced after thorough and searching investigation that this is the only organisation worthy of support from India where every penny is used to good purpose and Dr. Muhammad Hussain and myself have thought it necessary to sign a telegram sent by Bassim Omar Pasha to the different papers in India for publication in order to direct all the money to the Croissant Rouge and prevent its going to quarters where one cannot find anything about the money.

Persia.

News of the Week.

The Persian Legation denies that the Swedish gendarmes are unequal to the task of policing the trade routes, or that they are disheartened. The Legation adds that Colonel Hjalmarsohl will leave on March 1st to inspect the southern routes. A thousand well-drilled and well-equipped men will go to Shiraz in the spring. Five thousand rifles and thirteen Maxims have recently been purchased, and are being handed over to the Gendarmerie.

Lord Lamington, speaking before the Central Asian Society, gave an account of his recent travels in Persia.

He said that British prestige in the south had been enormously weakened by the outrage on Consul Smart and the murder of Captain Eckford passing without effective reparation being exacted from the offending tribesmen. The Swedish officers in charge of the Gendarmerie had not a knowledge of Orientals as we had and they should be replaced by British officers. Britain should provide a loan under guarantees and should resist any attempt to allow Saad-ed-Dowleh to return in any administrative position. He would be strong in everything except in a desire to save his country.

Colonel Yate said that we could not think of occupying Southern Persia with less than 15,000 or 20,000 troops. The only alternative was to put local levies, not less than 5,000 strong, under British and Indian officers. This should be a condition of granting any loan to Persia.

The French have lost 18 killed and 72 wounded in another fight between Mogadin and Marrakesh.

Replying to Colonel Yate in the House of Commons with reference to concessions for a railway between Tabriz and Julfa and between Mohammerah and Khoramabad, Sir Edward Grey said that neither concession had yet been granted, but there was good hope of both being granted very shortly.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables:—The *Berliner Tageblatt* says that the Persian Council of Ministers has granted Russia a concession for a railway from Julfa to Tabriz, and also the rights for coal mines and petroleum wells on either side of the line.

Salar-ed-Dowleh has resumed his rebellious career. He is reported to have taken the village of Nardin, half way between Astrabad and Brnard. It is surmised that his main object is the capture of Meshmi. The resumption of hostilities is surprising, as the Persian Government, at the instance of the Russian Legation, is prepared to grant him generous terms.

News has reached India which confirms the report from Teheran that Salar-ed-Dowleh, brother of the ex-Shah, has appeared in the northern district.

In the Commons Sir Edward Grey stated that he was unable to say what measures would ultimately be necessary in Persia in consequence of the murder of Captain Eckford.

Government would, however, be reluctant to take any action likely to hamper the efforts of the new Persian Cabinet to restore order. Government was now considering how they could best assist the Persians and encourage them in their task.

The Persian Foreign Minister has signed an agreement with a Russian company granting the latter the right to construct a railway from Julfa to Tabriz with an extension to Lake Urumiah and also the preferential right to construct a railway between Tabriz and Kazvin.

Sir Edward Grey, replying to Mr. Dillon in the Commons, said that certain negotiations in connection with mining concessions were proceeding between the Persian Government and a British syndicate. He was unable at present to disclose details. His Majesty's Government had given support with reference to the British concessions but in no form which might be described as premature.



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

When H. E. retired from the Council Bootlair Sahib laid on the table all the Fellows, Senators and Syndics in the Universities promised to irresistible Rajah in the last Simla session. After this the Shikari opened the rifle range of the Council by firing the first shot as the first representative of Modern Behar. Never dreaming what the womb of 12th December, 1911, contained, and little suspecting its good fortune, Modern Behar jumped up with joy at the double event of the birth of Behar and Orissa. Sturdy and loyal Behar may have been; but it was neither sturdiness nor loyalty that had gone to the creation of the province. If truth be told, it was all *Sirrar ka iqbal se*. But Behar is anything but Malthusian, and satisfied with nothing short of a Barnum and Bayley freak. It wanted another set of twins within six months. Ancient Delhi is still ancient Delhi in spite of the capitalisation, although the fleabite of 49½ lakhs has given us a Munshikhana and some tents and a few signboards showing how well Government can imitate the Creator with the fiat "Let there be light." But Behar wants magic palaces rising up for its newly created L. G. and Councillors and host of Secretaries just to satisfy it that Behar is really and truly a province and has not been dreaming a foolish dream for over a year. So Shikari fired point blank not a shot but a volley of questions which took three Hon. Members to answer. What steps are being taken to build up the capital? Have the plans been approved? If not, why not? Has money been sanctioned? If so, how much, and is it to be spent in a day or a week or would it take so long as a month to get rid of it? And, having got the province, are we going to have another double event the same year in the shape of a University and a High Court? Is it not a fact that hope deferred for a day now makes that Behar heart sick and the people are clamouring for a definite statement about the number of windows and the shape of the arches in the Government House at Bankipore? To all of which the new Sage replies that, fearing its sturdiness and loving to retain the loyalty of Behar, Government has sent a scheme and an estimate for the capital at Bankipore to the Secretary of State, demanding orders by telegram so that Behar's patient practicalism may not become impatient idealism. But with due humility the Sage begged Behar to forgive Government for looking to conventions even where Behar is concerned, and not getting plans of buildings approved before the Secretary of State's sanction of the general proposals. Would Behar deign to accept the trifle of 12½ lakhs as an earnest of many crores to follow so that land may be acquired for its capital? The Sage was all submission and humility and repentance when he tremblingly told the Shikari, just as he was loading his gun for a second right-and-left, that Government, sharing the weakness of ordinary mortality which includes a disposition to err, had unconsciously omitted to include provision for a High Court or a University building, although they had made some amends by making provision for the Acquisition of land for the High Court in case the Anglo-Indian Office

Association and Behar's Allah Bayley permitted the Imperial Government to create such an institution. But, concluded the Sage, Government were not aware of any apprehension in Behar that the capital of the province would be located elsewhere than at Patna. How could there be such apprehensions in a province which was told that it was loyal and felt that it was sturdy? As the Sage sat down the Shikari levelled his gun in the direction of two of the Sage's colleagues, bringing down Sandow III and Bootlair Sahib both in a single shot. Sandow III confessed his inability to declare when the decision to have a High Court would be arrived at, and Bootlair Sahib announced that in spite of Behar's few colleges and Bankipore's few collegians the Local Government was considering the question of having a new University for Behar. Not desiring to embarrass Government too much the Shikari shouldered his gun and left the Government covets in peace without asking when Behar could have an army of its own and a navy with two keels laid down to one of the rest of the world.

The day's shooting over, the Administrative Orphan moved that the Indian Companies Bill be referred to a Select Committee, thus supplying five newly-elected Indian members a rattle to play with. Knowing only too well that Hon. Members mostly new to the Council and knew nothing of the mysterious procedure of introduction of Bills and their publication and reference to Select Committees, politely disguised the fact, and said, that, "as Hon. Members were aware," at this stage debate is restricted mainly to the discussion of principles. The main principles followed in framing the Companies Bill were, firstly, absence of Government interference, which was the copyright of hon. colleague in charge of Education, and secondly, provision of full measure of publicity, for commerce, unlike Government, should not be a *kala jugga*. As usual, very voluminous opinions and suggestions had been received—for opinions and suggestions were somewhat cheap in the Indian markets—but none challenged the high principles of Government. This a matter of great congratulation, although Government could always set at naught such challenges when they did come. But one suggestion challenging the principles made up for the lack of others inasmuch as it challenged the need for legislation itself. The Uriya of Onttaek thought the Bill would hamper seriously the formation and growth of indigenous companies. No doubt all legislation was to some extent a restriction on freedom; but society is not yet perfect and, glancing in the direction of the Uriya returned to Council in spite of the assistance of the fugitive pilgrims of assurance from Behar, the Administrative Orphan said that *perhaps* even in the Arcadian groves of Orissa, the staple industry of which was the trusty Uriya Bearer, there were rogues and swindlers who were able to rob the innocent with impunity in companies and companions. What was required was that people should gain confidence and learn to invest freely instead of boarding. India's wealth should no more be a *purdanashin* than India's womanhood. The laws regulating companies should do what they can to prevent any shock to credit just as laws regulating companionship should do what they can to prevent any shock to credulity. This Bill would increase the security of shareholders and investors just as new social conventions were designed to increase the security of partners in life, and the Orphan saw every reason to hope that the influence of the Bill

would be all in the direction of promoting genuine commercial enterprises in this country as the influence of modern social conventions was in the direction of promoting a certain kind of enterprise in sociability. There were signs that the ancestral habit of hoarding was beginning to give way before modern influences, just as the ancestral habit of seclusion was giving way before them. 'Tis a wonder, however, that nobody in the Council asked the Orphan whether the ancestral habit of hoarding wealth was disappearing because the ancestral habit of having wealth had also disappeared. Was there only no wish or was there also no wealth to hoard? 'Tis a nice speculation whether in social conditions also the same thing would result, Indian manhood saying like Othello, "Wife? What wife? I have no wife!", and freedom in social intercourse may combine the absence of the wish to seclude with the absence of the wife to be secluded.

The Administrative Orphan also outlined the proposals he intended to put before the Select Committee about the relationship between companions in a company and their agent. It was clearly none for Government to step in, for two is company and three is none; but he wanted to prevent the possibility of agents "taking improper advantage of their positions." As things stand at present it is open for an agent to treat a transaction subsequently according to its success or failure either as his own or made on behalf of the undisclosed principal. The Orphan's suggestion was not intended to interfere with "legitimate business" but only with the illegitimate business.

His speech was so far unlikely to create any serious apprehensions; but there was a commotion in the new capital of India when the Administrative Orphan referred to "the dangers involved in the present indiscriminate use of the word 'Bank' by companies engaged in all kinds of activity," which he characterised as a "serious menace." But there was a sigh of relief when he announced that he would not deal with such Banks in the present Bill. Once more it was the lawless science of law which came in the way of drastic Government action, for the Orphan's hon. colleague, the Moslem Dowager, had pointed out "weighty technical objections." But he warned such Banks that the matter will not be lost sight of and that Government had under examination the "question whether a special Act can and should be framed dealing with evils which it is desired to repress."

Nobody expected another speech at this stage, as Government's principles had not been challenged in the country, and "the great Chambers of Commerce" had already succeeded in getting their recommendations accepted by Government. But if they had no Dashing Boy to say "Amen!" to Government's proposals of all sorts and conditions in a dozen printed pages, the Council still had a Headstrong man from Bombay who took half an hour in welcoming the introduction of a Bill which had been introduced long ago, and in announcing to the world that "the Bill meets with my approval!" Long live the Headstrong and may the swelling in the head never grow less!

Sandow III moved that the Extradition Bill be referred to a Select Committee empowering Rajahs and Residents to extradite all and sundry from Presidency Towns for the ordeal of a trial in the courts of Protected States. In support of the measure he cited before the Council, which was entirely convinced, the opinions of Rajahs and Residents that they approved the measure. Good luck to the millionaires of Bombay who, unlike the new Extradition Bill, are not favoured with the approval of the Rajahs and Residents in Kathiawar. Would like to know what the Resident of bad Baroda thought of the measure. Would also like to know whether Baroda is a Protected State within the meaning of the Act.

The Moslem Dowager came forward with a similar motion about the Administrator-General's Bill. There was little in the proposal to arrest attention; but after the Dasher you can never be sure what revolution may be lurking in the most innocent-looking speech. Who in the Council or in the country could ever suspect that this peaceful Bill would contain a clause which "empowers the Governor-General in Council to constitute new provinces" and "to appoint separate Administrators-General for such provinces"? Have we not had enough of partitions and re-partitions and the making and unmaking of new provinces?

After the Dowager had succeeded in imposing on the same Select Committee a second Bill dealing with the Official Trustee, the Administrative Orphan stepped in once more into the breach with his Bill for the abolition of a certain kind of match-making. According to him match-making even with the assistance of automatic machinery and powerful fans was a "dangerous trade." It is true that match-making has become with a class of people a business; and it is also true that it involves certain risks which, however, only give it an added zest. But to call it a "dangerous trade" is to wage war on an army of dangers whose occupation would now be gone. The Orphan cited the instance of the United States of America which had now joined the conspiracy of anti-match-makers. "Americans,"

said he, "are not given to importing sentiment into matters of business," and he added that all the "elaborate precaution" taken in America against the dangers of match-making had broken down and the "conscience of the American people will not allow this dangerous industry to continue longer." Such a profitable business as the great match-making concern in Ohio, which did not mind letting the world know that it was associated not silver nor gold but actually with diamond, and which had excellent "facilities" of a curious and somewhat unmentionable character, had been closed by the American Senate, which "has proved itself time and again more tender to vested interests probably than any other legislative body in the world"—except, of course, our own. This indeed is a new departure for the United and disuniting States, which had hitherto acquired very laboriously the reputation of being the greatest unmarried. That business would now presumably also cease when match-making is abolished. America having enjoyed the existence of every precaution against the dangers of match-making had failed to insure immunity from such risks. Are we to believe that in India where such perfection of machinery did not exist the result was absolute immunity? "Are we then to hold that the ordinary laws of nature have become inverted and that the degree of risk varies with the amount of precaution taken and not inversely to it?" Little does the Administrative Orphan know of India if after more than two years he still believes that any laws, whether ordinary or extraordinary, of nature or of Government, can be otherwise than inverted in the Wonderland of India. "India has no laws," says the Indian, and "India should have no laws except those of sedition" says the Anglo-Indian. But our Wonderland laughs at both, and although she has no laws, she makes up for the deficiency by having a plethora of lawyers, and her sedition laws serve the purpose of creating sedition.

To those who wanted evidence to convince them of the risks of match-making the Administrative Orphan offered the consolation that in England itself the campaign against such match-making was much hampered in its commencement by the difficulty of obtaining evidence. "Naturally," said he, looking in the direction of the lawyers in the Council, and of the Delhi Main whence the trains go towards the Judges in the High Court of Calcutta, "the difficulty is much greater in India." But after all that the C. I. D. was doing, it was unpardonable for the Orphan to ask whether we could possibly rest easy "with our far more imperfect methods which affect detection as well as prevention."

With reference to the objection of Bombay that for such a damp climate as India's it would be a real hardship to stop such match-making, the Orphan cited the example of Assam "which boasts of some of the heaviest rainfall in India" and "the waterlogged districts of Eastern Bengal" which—it may be presumed—boast of malaria and river dacoities. There was no match-making in Burma, for the Silken East was a land of freedom and strike-anywhere affection. He asked, "why should what is possible in Burma be impossible in Bombay? We had no answer to that question last year for the best of all reasons that there was no answer." That is exactly what the Mild Hindu would have said to Never-shut-up Gates in the matter of being fed on Government doles. Several scheming dowagers sitting up in the gallery were really frightened when the Orphan promised to show the Council his Chamber of Horrors formed out of photographs of those who have been employed in such match-making in Vienna. "They exhibited the faces of men and women scarred, brutalised, barely human. And all this suffering is incurred not for some high object of human welfare which alone could justify it, but simply and solely for the production of an article which is convenient, no doubt, but which is in no sense a necessity, and for which adequate and efficient substitutes exist." The Orphan could not believe that knowing these things the Council would be content to expose people to this contagion for "so trivial and unjustifiable an end."

Headstrong could not resist the temptation of speaking once more and proving to the satisfaction of St. Luke that even in India people suffered sometimes from the awful malady of "Fanny Jaw."

Petty Larceny.

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC.)

[Wit is your birth-right: therefore steal it wheresoever you find it.—Rigmarole Veda.]

A Sunday-school teacher asked a little fellow how many commandments there were. To her surprise the lad answered, glibly enough, "Ten, ma'am."

"And now, Sammy," asked the teacher, "what would be the result if you should break one of them?"

"Then there'd be nine," triumphantly answered the youngster.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Jan. 31

In an interview Dr. Danefff affirmed that Turkey's reply was unacceptable. The Allies have given notice to terminate the armistice. The text of the Note has been published. It makes no mention of fortifications, but insists upon the necessity for retaining under direct Ottoman sovereignty the part of Adrianople to the left of Maritza where the holy shrines are, as their surrender would throw the whole country into commotion and involve the gravest consequences. A reference in the Note to the Aegean Islands urges that any diminution of Ottoman authority would transform them into foci of agitation which might spread to the neighbouring coasts and result in a situation similar to that in Macedonia constantly endangering peace. The Note is confident that the Powers in determining the status of these islands will have regard to these considerations. It hopes that the Powers will recognise the extent of the sacrifices proposed and will agree that Turkey would be right in rejecting further demands.

The besiegers of Adrianople number 105,000, of whom 80,000 are Servians. The besiegers are furnished with heavy artillery strongly placed. They are confident that they are able to destroy the fortifications in two days. Hitherto the bombardment has been very slight, but the operations will now be pressed. There will be no more waste of time, and the business will be ended quickly and thoroughly.

A Sofia message states that the official journal *Mir* says, "It is useless to conceal our gratification at Turkey's action, which leaves us a free hand. In submitting to two months' barren negotiations we have paid a heavy tribute to the cause of European peace."

Later.

The Balkan Allies announce that fighting will be resumed at seven o'clock in the evening on the 3rd February. No war correspondents will be allowed. The Allies declare that before further discussion is possible Turkey must sign the preliminaries to peace on the battlefield. Adrianople will be first attacked and then Tchataldja. Bulgaria will claim an indemnity. The Turks are disagreeably surprised at the conclusion of the armistice. They expected that the Allies would await the Porte's reply to the Powers and believed that the Powers would have the last word on the question of the resumption of hostilities.

Much excitement prevailed at Jassy (Rumania) yesterday owing to the appearance at night of an aeroplane provided with a powerful searchlight. The aeroplane manoeuvred over the town for ten minutes, passing afterwards towards the barracks. Two guns were fired at the machine when the aviator extinguished his lights and disappeared in the direction of the Russian frontier.

The *Freidenblatt* (Vienna) hardly believes that there will be a resumption of hostilities, but says that in any case the Powers will be passive spectators.

The Committee of Union and Progress has issued an appeal to the people to sink party differences and join the national defence organisation for collecting funds to arm volunteers and equip ambulances.

The *Times*, commenting on the Turkish reply to the Powers' Note, believes that no real obstacles to peace are left but nominal sovereignty of part of Adrianople and the question of the island in the Aegean. The journal does not think that the Bulgaro-Rumanian claims are irreconcilable or that the future of Scutari will perplex the Powers. It says that the belligerents will incur the severest reprobation of the civilized world if they again plunge the East of Europe into war over matters of vanity and selfish amour propre.

London, Feb. 1.

A Constantinople telegram states that all officers have been ordered to join their regiments in 24 hours.

The Greek conscripts for 1918 are largely joining the colours with a view to the resumption of hostilities. Greece is confident of her ability to carry out her task in Epirus and give effective help at Tchataldja.

The text of the Porte's reply shows that Turkey does not shrink herself to immediate issues, but is taking advantage of the promises of support made in the recent Note of the Powers for the future development of the Ottoman Empire and demands the right to establish an autonomous customs tariff, to conclude treat-

ties of commerce on modern principles, to increase meanwhile the customs duties by 4 per cent, to suppress foreign post-offices and to abolish capitulations.

Though the representatives of the Allies continue to make uncompromising assertions that a resumption of hostilities is inevitable unless Adrianople and the Archipelago are ceded inspired articles in the European Press pay a tribute to the conciliatory tone of Turkey's reply, and the belief is expressed that the moderating advice of the ambassadors in London and of the British Foreign Office will induce the Balkan Allies to resume negotiations.

It is officially announced in Sofia that military attachés will not be allowed to enter the theatre of war.

A telegram from Constantinople says that Ismet Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, has been appointed commander-in-chief of the army. He has addressed a general order to the troops urging them at this critical moment in Ottoman history to prove themselves worthy of their glorious traditions.

A number of the Balkan delegates left London to-day. M. Venezelos, interviewed by Reuter before departures, said it was "an revoir, not adieu." He was persuaded that they would be back in a few weeks to conclude peace, but the Turks must first admit defeat and sign the preliminaries of peace on the battlefield.

London, Feb. 3.

Reuter states that the Ambassadors in London have telegraphed to the Governments expressing the opinion that the Turkish reply to the Powers' Note afforded a possible basis for the resumption of negotiations. It is understood that a similar view prevails in official quarters in London and that Dr. Danefff's visit to the Foreign Office yesterday was connected therewith. It is doubtful, however, whether the Powers will succeed in their efforts to prevent a resumption of hostilities.

A Sofia message states that the Turkish deserters who have arrived at the Bulgarian headquarters declare that they fled from the persecution of the Young Turks. They alleged that sanguinary conflicts have taken place between officers and soldiers at Tchataldja.

Mahmud Shekret Pasha in a statement says that the troops at Tchataldja have never been more united, as the enemy will find to their cost. He believed that Rumania would reach an agreement with Bulgaria. He says that he never shared the belief that Turkey could count on Rumania. He hoped Rumania would not have occasion to regret her attitude.

Dr. Danefff has left for Paris.

King Nicholas has left Cetinje for a camp outside Soutari. The fall of the latter before the conclusion of peace is ardently desired by the people.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that the Ambassadors on Saturday discussed the question of a guarantee for Moslem religious sanctuaries at Adrianople in the event of Turkey's surrendering it.

The Powers are recommending that Bulgaria should grant the Caliph right to be represented by a high religious official as in Tripoli.

After the meeting of the Ambassadors Sir Edward Grey conveyed this recommendation to Dr. Danefff.

In order to rid itself of the responsibility for the renewal of hostilities the Porte has ordered the delegates to remain in London till fighting has been resumed, and the Turkish troops will wait for enemy to fire first.

The Berlin *Tageblatt* states that Germany has advised Bulgaria to show a conciliatory spirit and continue negotiations on the basis of Turkey's reply to the Powers. Britain and France have informed Germany that they will give Turkey no pecuniary assistance till peace is concluded. Germany has replied that she will adopt the same course.

The *Tageblatt* also states that France has intimated to the Allies that it is desirable that their delegates should remain in London to continue negotiations even if hostilities are resumed as was done in the Turco-Italian War.

Later.

Bulgaria is willing to agree to the appointment of a representative of the Caliph at Adrianople after the cessation of the town.

A Constantinople message states that official quarters have not abandoned the hope that hostilities will be prevented. It is understood that the British and German Ministers have made urgent representations at Sofia the outcome of which is eagerly awaited at Constantinople. Meanwhile the Government is not neglecting precautions to meet all eventualities.

London, Feb. 4.

Hostilities have been resumed with the bombardment of Adrianople and a slight skirmish at Tchataldja, both of which began punctually at seven o'clock last evening.

The Bulgarian offer embodied in the recent protocol is a straight frontier from Silistria excluding that town, which will remain Bulgarian, to Balchik. It is not expected that Rumania will accept the offer.

The Bulgarians repudiate the suggestion that they acted precipitately. They point out that they have upwards of half a million men on a war footing whose maintenance for two months during the protracted negotiations has been an enormous matter.

It is semi-officially declared that when hostilities are once resumed the question of Adrianople will disappear giving place to that of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

The Servians are already transferring troops to assist the Bulgarians at Tchataldja and the Montenegrins at Scutari.

Owing to stagnation as the result of the war there have been eighty-five bankruptcies in Vienna since the 1st January with liabilities totalling over a million sterling as compared with fifteen bankruptcies in 1912. Yesterday three of the leading dress-making firms failed, their liabilities being £89,000.

London, Feb. 5.

A Bukharest message states that through a diplomatic indiscretion the contents of the Bulgarian protocol were revealed. The Frontier demanded by Rumania is from Turtukai southward to a point near Rustohukvarna railway and thence eastward to Ekrene on the coast, a little southward of Balchik. This would give Rumania Silistria, Dobrich, Kavarna and Balchik while the line proposed by Bulgaria would only give Kavarna.

The bombardment of Adrianople was resumed yesterday morning and some quarters of the town are reported to be in flames.

It is officially stated in Constantinople that the Bulgarians attacked the forts to the north and north-east of Adrianople on Monday, but were easily repulsed. The garrison is full of courage and enthusiasm.

There has been no serious fighting at Tchataldja, but the Bulgarians have burned the village of Tchataldja at the extreme limit of the lines.

The bombardment of Adrianople lasted for four hours on Monday evening. It was suspended for five hours at night and was resumed at four in the morning. The Turks replied vigorously, but according to reports from Sofia the Bulgarians steadily advanced.

The impression in Sofia is that the war will last altogether about ten days, but Constantinople believes that there are surprises in store for the Allies as the result of new blood at the head of Turkish affairs and fresh troops, mostly Asiatic mountaineers. The Turks are confident that Adrianople will hold out for several weeks.

London, Feb. 6.

At five o'clock on Tuesday afternoon the Commander of Adrianople sent the following wireless message to Constantinople:—"The enemy are bombarding us. One hundred and thirty-eight cannon shell and eleven shrapnel have fallen into the town. Eight men have been killed and ten wounded. Fifty-three houses are in flames. The bombardment continues."

A Sofia telegram says that Adrianople was bombarded on all sides yesterday. There has been no fighting at Tchataldja.

Mahmud Shevket Pasha has gone to Tchataldja from Constantinople.

Private reports of the fighting at Adrianople received in Belgrade state that the Serbian seventh and fourth regiments distinguished themselves.

Sheikh-ul-Islam has instructed the Faithful in Constantinople to offer up daily prayers in the mosques for the success of Ottoman arms.

Later.

The Turks are at present the sole purveyors of war news. It appears from Constantinople despatches that the Bulgarian right is retiring from Tchataldja after burning the villages of Tchataldja and Isseddin, destroying bridges and culverts and otherwise making the railway unserviceable.

The scene of the fighting has been transferred to the Peninsula of Gallipoli where the Bulgarians possibly contemplate a land attack on the Dardanelles forts or may attempt to take Tchataldja in the rear.

The commandant of Scutari sent to the Montenegrin headquarters a parliamentary announcing that he had now been informed of the armistice and requesting the arrangement of a neutral zone. The Montenegrins replied that the armistice had terminated and that hostilities had been resumed.

It is rumoured that Hassan Riza, Commandant of Scutari, has been murdered.

The Montenegrin parliamentary interviewed Asad who said that Hassan Riza was ill.

A Turkish official dispatch says: "The enemy, who are partly concentrated at Gallipoli, sent a regiment on the 4th instant to Kavak. After a fight lasting all day we retired in accordance with previous arrangements, and the enemy were unable to pursue. Another force of the enemy has occupied Myriofo on the coast of the Sea of Marmora. The warship *Zaaf* inflicted serious losses on the enemy, advancing towards Charkeui."

A Sofia message states that General Savoff has issued an order to the Army declaring that the Turks were mistaken in thinking that they would gain time by protracting the negotiations. "The Bulgarians have been enabled to concentrate their forces, and are now more ready than ever and are prepared to dictate terms on the battlefield or drive the Turks beyond the seas."

The Turkish Committee of National Defence is endeavouring to place treasury bonds in Turkey and Egypt and among Moslems in India. The Ottoman Consul in Bombay reports that he has received applications and subscriptions amounting to a million sterling.

A Sofia message states that negotiations are proceeding with a view to establishing a neutral zone for foreigners and possibly also for women and children at Adrianople.

A Sofia message states that the Turks in Gallipoli have been defeated in great disorder south of Kavak river. They are pursued by the Bulgarians who now possess nearly all the coast of the Sea of Marmora as far as Bolazir.

London, Feb. 7

Rechid Pasha has been instructed to remain in London for a few days. The other Turkish delegates are departing.

An *irade* published at Constantinople authorises the Italian cruisers "Pisa" and "Sammarco" to pass through the Dardanelles.

M. Venezelos, the Greek Premier, had long conferences with the Serbian Ministers after which he proceeded to Sofia where he conferred with the Premier of Bulgaria and was received in audience by King Ferdinand.

Dr. Daneff, the Bulgarian delegate to the London conference, has passed through Belgrade without stopping. The action has aroused a disagreeable impression.

Reuter's correspondent telegraphs from Constantinople that the official accounts of the fighting in Gallipoli make it clear that a reverse was sustained although details are lacking. The engagement was probably not of a serious character because it took place outside the Bulair lines where the principal forces are concentrated. Nevertheless it shows that the fresh Turkish troops stood their baptism of fire badly.

Reuter's Constantinople correspondent states that all day long firing has been heard in the direction of Derinos at the northern end of Tchataldja. It is officially announced there that the Turks have occupied Kallikratia and other villages and heights on the Turkish right and that reconnoitring parties have come into contact with the enemy.

A Sofia message states that the Foreign Ministers of the Powers have communicated with M. Guechoff, the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, at the request of the Consuls in Adrianople on the subject of either the establishment of a neutral zone for foreigners or permission for consuls themselves and foreigners to leave Adrianople. M. Guechoff has replied that he refuses, pointing out that there are no precedents for such a course and stating also that it would be embarrassing to the military authorities.

It is announced in Constantinople that an internal loan of 500 and a half million pounds Turkish will be issued shortly.

A considerable Turkish force has been collecting in Asia Minor and it is proposed to place Eaver Bey in command and effect a landing near Rodosto or Midia and thus threaten the Bulgarian flank on rear.

Apparently in anticipation of this move the Bulgarians have retired from Tchataldja to near Tchortu.

It is feared that the Turks in seeking to stir war enthusiasm are more likely to cause dangerous fanaticism. Considerable disquietude prevails in diplomatic circles and foreign warships are returning.

It is believed that Adrianople will hold out for weeks as horse flesh and dog flesh have not yet been touched. It is felt, however, that the fall of Adrianople will clear the situation and that the Porte will place itself unreservedly in the hands of the Powers.

In reply to Mr. Ginnell in the Commons Sir Edward Grey again refused to publish the reports of the alleged atrocities in Macedonia.

Mr. Ginnell asked: "Is Sir Edward Grey aware that Moslem opinion in India is contrasting the former action of the British Foreign Office in pressing Turkey to introduce reforms in Macedonia with its present reticence, which is regarded as screening far worse atrocities?"

Sir Edward Grey: "If any such inference has been drawn it must have been stimulated by the misleading nature of questions put in the Commons." Sir Edward reiterated that he was applying to the reports of events in the territories occupied by the Allies exactly the same rule as he had applied to the Turkish reports. "Ever since 1908," he said, "I have been doing my utmost to bring about peace and good settlement for the future. There has been nothing about Macedonia for some years that is not unpleasant reading. If I were to rake up the past at the present moment it would be most unfortunate from the point of view of both Christians and Moslems."

The Tchataldja Lines.

A military correspondent, writing from Constantinople in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, gives an interesting and detailed account of the situation at Tchataldja. Great fortification works, equipped with all modern appliances, have been thrown up, armed with the best and abundant modern artillery. He gives a complete list of the guns placed in the positions, their calibre and type, and mentions the fact that the works at Makry Koy are turning out under the supervision of the German director Kopp, 100,000 rounds of various ammunition daily. The troops, too, are undergoing daily training in shooting formations and in shooting, so that in this respect the defences are well-nigh impregnable. Very different, however, is the situation with regard to food supplies, the importance of which seems still not to be fully appreciated by those in command. There are no magazines behind the lines, and the supplies are coming in a roundabout way from the central depôts at Hadem Koy, *via* Constantinople, and a number of other points by water, rail, and oxen. The arrangements are working so slowly that men are starving even now. Nor is there enough wood for fires, and the troops suffer considerably from the cold weather.

"The lack of a food supply," the writer concludes, "constitutes, as before, the weakest point in the Turks' defences, and unless it is remedied the power of Turkish resistance will prove inadequate."

The Attitude of the Powers to Turkey.

The *Vossische Zeitung* comments upon the diplomatic situation in a rather cynical fashion. It says:—

What do the poor Moslems think of Europe? The question has no high political character. The time now seems to have passed when the foreign Powers raced each other to win the favour of the Sultan. The spectacle was never very edifying. In fact the cries of triumph or the sighs of disappointment in various countries according as this or that ambassador had gained the upper hand at the Golden Horn were among the most grotesque sights of the European game of diplomacy. It need to be carefully noted whose ambassador had been received by the Sultan three times, and whose ambassador had been received only twice, and whose ambassador had not been received even once, and this formed the endless subject of all diplomatic gossip in Pera. To gain over the Turk, to keep him in good humour, to find favour with him in order to cut the ground from under the feet of a rival—this was the art that was regarded as the most important of all. And now? Who ever asks in these days what the Moslems think of Europe? Sentimentalities do not belong to the trade of diplomatists. The regard for Turkish feelings has been "suspended." They may think what they like, and nobody cares a straw about it.

This is all very natural, and yet the part which is now being played by the Powers in the peace business is such as to compel one to revert with a feeling of shame to the question—What do the poor Moslems think of Europe? It is known to everybody that before the war the Powers warned the Balkan States that they would not permit any change of frontiers. This was the famous *status quo*, which it was forbidden to touch. Nevertheless, the *status quo* was killed by the accomplished fact. The Powers bowed before the accomplished fact, and invented a new formula in the shape of the principle that the fruits of victory must not be taken away from the victors. But to-day the Powers are proceeding beyond even this principle, inasmuch as they are making representations at Porte in order to induce it to abandon Adrianople. It means that the fruits which have not fallen to the victors should also be yielded to them at the will of the Powers. And what about Scutari and Jeddah?

Again, is not the attitude of the Powers towards the shameful atrocities committed by the victors on the vanquished deplorable also? For months these unspeakable deeds have now been going on without a single Government in Europe uttering a word of reprobation. Formerly in those parts where these things now happen the foreign consul was a demigod in the eyes of the population. To him did the Christians go when the Turks did them some wrong, and the consul would transmit the complaint. The ambassador at Constantinople would lay it before the Turkish statesmen, the Ministers in Europe would deal with it, and in the Parliaments long speeches would be made on the subject. "Yoyo had a cow stolen from him; what would Europe say?" Yoyo and the whole village knew that the abduction of the cow would find an echo throughout Europe. Ah, those were different times! Yoyo's cow was a property of the Christian groaning under the Turkish yoke, whereas the Turks have no business to go to the consul, and nobody needs concern himself if they be exterminated or not. It is not a very brilliant reputation for morality which Europe is gaining from the present war.

Germany and the Balkan Settlement.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, Jan. 14.

Public opinion here is getting somewhat uneasy at the part played by German diplomacy in the London Conference. Why, it is asked, should Germany consent to put pressure on her old *protégé*, Turkey, in order to hand over Adrianople to the Bulgarians? It was bad enough to have to accept the actual results of the war as accomplished facts, after having announced, together with the rest of Europe, that no territorial alterations could be allowed. But to present Bulgaria through diplomatic pressure with a citadel which she could not win by arms would surely involve the loss of whatever shreds of prestige Germany may still command in Turkey. The members of the Triple Entente may all have their own good reasons for their support of the Balkan cause, but Germany has nothing to gain by the increase of Slavonic power. The exponents of a vigorous foreign policy say that Germany should have taken a strong line in support of Turkey. They protest against Germany's over-anxious regard for the peace of Europe, and ask why Germany's interests in particular should be sacrificed in order to avoid the possibility of war. They are certain, too, that the Triple Entente would have given way. France, England, and even Russia, they are convinced, are just as anxious to avoid war as Germany herself. As usual, it has been a game of diplomatic bluff, and, as usual, Germany has been beaten. Liberal opinion does not go as far as this, but even here there are some anxious voices asking whether too heavy sacrifices are not being made. Germany is likened to a truck, lumbering along over strange lines behind the engine of the Triple Entente. Will the waggon come back empty, or will Germany get her share in the "compensation" which is certain to fall to the lot of the other Powers?

The hopes of many lie in an understanding with Great Britain over the final adjustment of the Egyptian question. Here, they suggest, is an opportunity for a bargain, a bargain which may be extended to cover all the various small points at issue between the two countries. Fortunately the death of Herr von Kiderlen has not shaken these hopes, for, to judge by various statements in the press, Herr von Jagow is equally convinced of the necessity of an understanding. In an article on the new Foreign Secretary in to-day's *Tay* Legationserat von Flockher, writing from personal experience, again emphasises this. "Hard struggles," he says, "stand before the new Secretary but all who know him are convinced that he is strong enough to meet them. It is indeed a fortunate disposition of providence that has brought him to the head of foreign affairs at this moment when all interest is centred on the faithful question whether it is possible to bring about a permanent understanding between England and Germany. Jagow is a declared advocate of an understanding, and has held this opinion for years. And we may expect him, as Foreign Secretary, to use the whole force of his personality in order to carry through his idea. We may expect all other diplomatic questions to be subordinated to the solution of the Anglo-German problem. On the basis of an understanding the development of Germany as a world Power can continue in safety."

Interview with Nizami Pasha.

In the course of a conversation with a London representative of the *Manchester Guardian* his Excellency Osman Nizami Pasha declared that the present deadlock was due to the position taken up by the Allies at the last meeting of the Conference.

"It is not within the power of Reshid Pasha," he continued, "who by rotation was to be the chairman of the next sitting, to convene another Conference. First, because the power of the chairman begins and ceases with each sitting of the Conference."

Secondly, because it is the Allies themselves that have broken off the work of the Conference.

"The object of the Conference was the discussion of the conditions of an equitable peace, and one which, moreover, should prove profitable to both parties. It seems to me that in our case there has been virtually no discussion at all. The delegates of the Allies came forward with an ultimatum, to which they apparently wished us to submit unconditionally. Yet they asked us for our counter-proposals, and when we made those counter-proposals they declined to listen to them, and suspended the work of the Conference. If that was the object of the Conference, what was the use of our coming here?"

"We have already with regard to Adrianople declared we would not, and could not, entertain any peace proposals which meant the loss of that town, and we have political and racial reasons upon which we based our attitude. Adrianople is the key to Constantinople, and must remain in our hands if Europe is, as she should be, desirous of an honourable and lasting peace. Without Adrianople we should have to keep a permanent army of about 300,000 men along the lines of Tchataldja, or else we should feel exposed to the constant danger of attack. Bulgaria as well as Europe is aware of that. They are both agreed that Constantinople must remain with us. Under these circumstances I fail to see why they lay so much stress upon the surrender of Adrianople to the Allies. These are the reasons which should chiefly appeal to Europe. I need not dwell upon the racial ones, which are in themselves very important and vital to our country."

"I may add," his Excellency concluded, "that Turkey has already surrendered a great deal. The Allies have surrendered nothing. While the Conference is not sitting the armistice continues. During this armistice our garrisons are being starved, and Moslem women and children whose men are fighting at the front are being exterminated in Macedonia by Bulgarian bands."

Atrocities in Macedonia.

THE *Kölnische Zeitung* publishes from its Salonica correspondent a description of massacres committed upon the Moslem population (some 20,000 souls) in the Doyran district by Serbian troops (200 cavalry and 500 infantry) and Bulgarian *komitadjis*. As soon as these entered the town of Doyran they at once took possession of the Turkish offices and began levying blackmail and breaking into Moslem houses, plundering and outraging the women. Some 64 persons who had set out for Salonica without arms were massacred at Madenler and 59 of the foremost Moslem inhabitants were tortured and killed. Numerous villages in the neighbourhood were burnt down and their population destroyed. The Moslems of the villages of Kirbat-i-Bala and Kirbat-i-Zir, also of Sinenikohah and Palmesh, were compelled under pain of death to go over to Christianity. Only when the Greek troops arrived did the atrocities cease. On the road between Doyran and Geygeli sixteen Moslems were shot down by artillery. From Urgandjilar it is reported that ninety Moslems were tied to one another by ropes and transfixed by the bayonet. Christian women who had gone over to Islam were rebaptised and their husbands were killed. Numerous persons died of hunger. In the Sandjak of Serr, out of a Moslem population of 184,000 souls, only about 20,000 males are stated to have been left alive. The Bulgarian population co-operated with the *komitadjis* in this work of destruction, and all obtained a rich booty.

A correspondent in Rome transmits to the *Berliner Tageblatt* an extract from a letter which the writer has received from the diplomatic representative of a Great Power in the Balkans. The writer says: "Here unfortunately matters are still in a troubled state. The massacres of innocent Turks are still going on in the interior. The number of those massacred is estimated at 240,000, and I do not think the figure is exaggerated. When at last will Europe intervene as she used to do in the past whenever a Bulgarian or Greek cattle thief received a hiding from the villagers?"

European Official's Charges.

Dr. E. Jaekel, the well-known German authority on Balkan affairs, communicates in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* extracts from a report by M. Bauman, the Inspector-General of the Ottoman Gendarmerie, on the atrocities committed at Kavala and Dedeh-agatch by the Bulgarian and Greek soldiery as well as by the *komitadjis*. The latter, about 150 in number, arrived at Kavala at eight in the evening and "at once began a massacre among the Turks which lasted till midnight. They broke into the houses, plundered, and murdered everybody, women, children, and old men. There can be no doubt as to the co-operation of the Greek Christians, or at least of certain Christians in the town. I myself saw more than once native Christians conduct these Bulgarian brigands through the streets and point out to them Turkish houses and persons. Some Moslems, including women, children, and old men, took refuge in a mosque. The Bulgars surrounded the building. A revolver shot resounded through

the half-open door. Immediately a lively fire was opened on the unfortunates in the sacred building. Bombs were thrown into it, and then a veritable slaughter began. On the next morning I counted more than twenty-five dead bodies."

A number of Italian priests who maintained a Catholic school at Kavala gave refuge to about thirty Turks. They were denounced by some Greeks to the Bulgarians, who immediately broke into the house and demanded the surrender of the refugees. Among the latter was a certain Riza Bey, a Turkish Government Commissioner on the French railway, who, being anxious not to abuse the hospitality of the priests, gave himself up to the assailants. He was taken away from the school. "I myself saw them stop, place a bayonet against his breast, and demand to be shown his house and money. Riza Bey was an educated man, recently married, and of one of the best families and I knew him very well. He had a young wife and a little child. The thought of the danger which his family might incur if he were to indicate his house induced him to offer resistance to the bandits. He was pierced through by the bayonet on the spot." For five days his body was lying about in the street, and was robbed one by one of its articles of attire.

The Greek Bishop of Dedeh-agatch made every effort in his power to stem the wild passions of the *komitadjis*, but no one else did anything. The Bulgarian army was encamped quite near the town, but it did not appear on the scene until the arrival of a French ship. To all complaints its commander, General Genoff, merely replied that war was war. When he learnt that the bishop had some Turkish women concealed in the Greek school he demanded that the women should be turned out in order to make room for the troops. The unfortunate women had to return to their plundered houses, where they were outraged by the general's soldiers.

Herr Jaekel, in quoting these and other facts from General Bauman's report, adds: "What is now going on (in the conquered portions of Macedonia) is something unique and new. A victorious army is destroying with a violent hand the peaceful population which has taken no part in the war. And not one Power is moving! Not one of the Great Powers which have so solemnly guaranteed the *status quo* utters a peremptory word that should at least stop these bestialities, which have their only parallel in the Thirty Years' War."

Appalling Stories.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

But these stories of murder and outrage are nothing when compared with those related regarding the situation in the Salonica hinterland: in Stroumnitzza, Jouma, Kotchana, Petrich, Kavalla, the Prietina and Ghilau districts; in fact, wherever the Bulgarian and Serbian armies have passed. What are four Turks, a woman, a child, and two Jews? A mere nothing! But what we hear from the interior is altogether too appalling for belief; the pillaging, the wholesale sacking and devastation of entire districts, burning of villages, carrying off or destruction of every living thing, the utter ruin and desolation may in the course of time be forgotten. But what of the cold-blooded slaughter of men, women, and children? From many sources the rumours are confirmed, all being to the effect that in numerous districts not a living soul has been left; all have been wiped off the face of the earth, occasionally the women and children being spared to destitution and starvation, but mostly massacred with the rest; while in some places, Stroumnitzza, for instance, the men were taken to the common shambles and there butchered like cattle. Can all these horrors be true? It does not seem possible that the armies of so-called civilised States whose boast is that they have made war to free the oppressed, have been guilty of such deeds of primeval savagery. Yet these rumours persist and grow in consistency and if they are true, the massacre at Batak by Turkish irregulars some thirty-six years ago, which sent Mr. Gladstone through the country and so thwarted the policy of the then Conservative Government, cannot be compared with the deliberate and wholesale slaughter of this present invasion.

Question in the Commons.

Mr. M. Sykes (U., Hull, Central) asked the Foreign Secretary whether he had received any information regarding the conduct of the troops of the Allies toward the civil Moslem population of Albania and Macedonia, or that of Ottoman troops towards Christians in the Gallipoli Peninsula or the Troad.

Sir E. Grey: Various reports of this nature have reached me, but as is only natural under the circumstances they are not sufficiently substantiated to justify an official statement on the subject.

News from Turkish Sources.

THE following is a translation of a paragraph that appears in the *Jeune Turc* of the 29th December:—

Panitia, the companion of the famous brigand Sandansky, has transformed the prosperous Sandjak of Dramesan by taking possession of all the wealth of the Mussulmans and massacring as many of them as he possibly could, while Sandansky has treated the Sandjak of

Serres with incendiarism and bloodshed. All the *komitadjis* will become notables of these towns to-morrow—and this is the purpose of these ignoble murderers who have won the "victories" of staining the whole of Roumelia with human blood. Between two and three thousand innocent women and infants have under the orders of Sandanaky been burnt alive in the mosques of the Sandjak of Serres where they had taken shelter. The burnt corpses can still be seen in the ruins of the mosques. Charred remains of women and infants can be seen in the mosques of Petrowa and Vetrina villages also. The brigands of Serres have found a pretext for this massacre in the report of a rifle

The murder of some Jews at Salonica in broad day light by Greek soldiery on the 24th December is much commented upon by Constantinople newspapers. A Jew, named David Amur, was relieved of the two hundred pounds Turkish that he carried on his person, by some Greek soldiers who saw fit to deprive their unfortunate victim of his life also. The Jewish women of that quarter of the town raised a hue and cry and the murderers quickly disappeared. The noise of the women brought several Greek gendarmes to the scene who chivalrously responded to the feminine appeal by killing with the butt-end of their rifles two of the women who had collected round the dead man. "The Greek newspapers of Salonica," says the *Jeune Turc* (30th December), "remark with customary bad faith that the authors of this crime should be looked for amongst the Jews themselves."

Numerous other assassinations and barbarities are described and names, dates and other particulars are given. This state of affairs, as may well be expected, has not escaped the observation of the Powers. Hussein Hilmi Pasha, in an interview with the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* at Vienna remarked (*Jeune Turc* of the 30th December): "Lieutenant-Colonel Foulon, a French Officer occupying an eminent position, has submitted a report to the French General Baumann, the Inspector in Chief of the Ottoman Gendarmerie. This officer which the French Government had deputed to Salonica in connection with the Reform Scheme of the Gendarmerie has submitted to General Baumann a detailed report on the state of things in Salonica after the Greek occupation . . . This report says among other things that Greek bands in uniform entered the residences of Muhammedans and Jews, and under the pretence of search, looted the houses and violated women."

Ruined Turkish Peasantry.

Mr. Wilkie Young, Vice-Consul at Philippopolis, who is acting as relief agent for the Fund, writes with reference to the distress in Macedonia:—In some cases entire villages have been practically annihilated; in others walls are standing but the houses are roofless, and the inhabitants, having lost all they possessed, have taken refuge in villages removed from the line of march. They have nothing to eat, and—needless to say—nothing to sow for the coming year. It is necessary to traverse this district from end to end along the routes referred to in order to ascertain its condition, which varies considerably in different localities. In some villages, for instance, only women and children are left; others have lost all their animals, and both these categories have consequently no means of sending down to the towns for supplies even if money were placed in their hands. To these, therefore, help must be brought in kind. Other localities within reach of supplies, can fend for themselves if given the wherewithal to buy. Approximately every pound sterling should suffice to keep one hundred adults for one day in this district. It is a disappointment to learn that only £1,000 is at present available. For a large part of the Gumirdjia district now is the time of most urgent need; for in a fortnight it is only too likely that the passes will be closed by snow and many villages become inaccessible, it is important to note that in a great part of the Gumirdjia district the vast majority of those who have suffered most cruelly and irreparably from recent events are Muhammedans of the peasant proprietor class. I venture to hope that the above suggestions of the work to be done, if some thousands of unfortunate families are to be saved from utter misery—perhaps from actual starvation—during the extreme cold now beginning, may encourage the Committee to make a great effort to supplement the funds already allocated.

British Relief Work at Constantinople.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, December.

At a time when war, pestilence, and famine have been inflicting cruel losses on the non-combatant population of European Turkey, the European colonies of Constantinople have been vying with one another in relieving a great mass of human misery and suffering. In this unselfish and sometimes thankless task the members of the British colony have shown themselves mindful of the great humanitarian tradition handed down from Crimean days, and their activity has taken a practical form which has enabled them to get the fullest relief for the sums which they and their helpers have generously contributed in aid of the afflicted.

The work done by the British colony and their helpers from home falls into two classes—relief and hospital work. All the former work

is carried out by the committees and sub-committees which have been formed under the presidency of Lady Lowther, wife of his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for the expenditure on charitable objects of Lady Lowther's War Relief Fund.

The following rough sketch of what the managers of the fund are trying to accomplish may be of interest to British readers. The principal object is the relief of absolutely destitute women and children. To their relief a sum of £16,000 is being devoted. Two large committees, a men's committee, of which Sir Adam Black and Mr. Edwin Whittall are vice-presidents, and a ladies' committee, with Lady Black, Lady Woods Pasha, and Mrs. Eyres, wife of his Britannic Majesty's Consul-General at Constantinople, as vice-presidents, have been formed for organizing purposes, while 16 sub-committees of ladies and gentlemen are dealing with the distribution of relief in various quarters of the capital and its suburbs. A ladies' sewing committee, assisted by sailors from his Majesty's ship *Hampshire*, meets daily at the British Embassy. There are 160 in and out sewers, who have actually made clothing for over 2,000 refugees and wounded soldiers since the middle of October. Nearly 3,000 souls are being supported out of this branch of the relief fund at present.

The relief granted to refugees and soldiers' families consists mainly of charcoal, clothing, and bread, when the municipality does not provide it, as in the case of the soldiers' families. Refugee women and children receive medical aid and are housed when necessary. The extent to which the beneficent activity of the managers of the relief fund has been exercised may be realized by the fact that during the last month 6,000 garments, 58,000lb of charcoal, and 110,000lb of bread were distributed, not to mention other relief. These results are in the highest degree creditable to the zeal and activity of the president of the War Relief Fund and her helpers, and the members of the Relief Committee formed in London by Sir H. Babington-Smith may be assured that the funds they have so generously subscribed will not be wasted.

HOSPITAL WORK.

In consequence of the urgent appeals on behalf of relief for wounded soldiers, the scope of Lady Lowther's War Relief Fund has been slightly enlarged, and with the permission of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and several other donors about £260 has been expended on grants to hospitals and soup kitchens. The Turkish military hospital at Tashkishla, the municipal hospital, and the Turkish "Asile des pauvres" have received such aid. A soup kitchen has been started for the refugees at Kum Kapu with the aid of the Sisters of the Assumption. But this does not conclude the activities of our countrymen and countrywomen at Constantinople. Two Red Cross missions have been at work for some time here. The first, which was formed by the efforts of Sir F. Cassel, comprises three groups. Two of these have been working under the management of Major Doughty Wyllie at Tchataldja, the third has been divided between the hospital formed at the Museum by Mrs. Doughty Wyllie and the hospital at the Vefa, where it is working conjointly with the American mission. The second Red Cross Mission, formed by the generosity of Mr. Ameer Ali, is composed of five doctors, six nurses, and ten assistants, and is under the direction of Colonel Surtees, C.B., D.S.O., formerly Attaché here. It has charge of 60 beds at the hospital at Scutari. A third mission, which will deal specially with cholera, has arrived here, and will, it is understood, work at Fuzia or Beikos, whither Major Doughty Wyllie has now repaired.

Other hospitals have been created by British initiative. I may mention that which has been organized at Shishli by Dr. Glenow, doctor to his Britannic Majesty's Embassy, which contains 50 beds, and an excellent hospital created at Moda with the aid of the French Catholic Brothers, where very good work is being done. In spite of the small accommodation available, ten beds for Turkish sick and wounded have been added to the British Seamen's Hospital, while, thanks to the courageous initiative of Misses Eyres, an annexé to the British Hospital has been fitted up for 30 convalescent cases under the direction of Dr. McClean, of the British Hospital.

The Montenegrins and Their King.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS.)

Cettigne, Jan. 5.

SCUTARI having not yet fallen into the hands of the Montenegrins by force of arms, the decision of the Powers in regard to the eventual inclusion of the town within the borders of the future Albanian State is, naturally, awaited here with much anxiety. Rightly or wrongly, the people of Montenegro consider that the whole future economic prosperity of their country depends upon the possession of Scutari and the district which will go with it. At all events, this was the principal reason for which Montenegro

was ready to go to war with Turkey. Since she has failed in her enterprise from the military point of view, it is natural that efforts should be made to repair this failure by diplomatic means; which, in the circumstances, is merely another way of saying that Montenegro is trying every means in her power to induce the Ambassadors Conference to draw the boundaries of Albania in such a way as to exclude Scutari and the country on this side of the Drin.

Although it is denied in official quarters that anything in the nature of definite proposals have been made, it is an open secret that conversations have taken place with Austria on the subject. But Austria already possesses considerable interests in Scutari, which, in the event of the town being included in Albania, would be valuable as a nucleus for the extension of Austrian influence. The price asked for the support of Montenegrin claims is therefore higher than King Nicholas will pay; far to give up to Austria the Lovtchen Mountain, which dominates Cetigne and which is closely connected with the patriotic sentiments of the Montenegrins, might easily set a spark to the agitation which even the much-desired acquisition of Scutari might not allay, quite apart from the resentment which the conclusion of any compact with Austria would probably arouse among the people.

As I indicated some weeks ago, there is considerable discontent in Montenegro at the non-success of the conduct of the campaign. To speak of the existence of a definite anti-dynastic movement, as has been done by certain organs of the Vienna Press, is probably at present inexact or, at any rate, premature. Nevertheless the feeling exists, of which King Nicholas is well aware, and to allay which he, naturally, will seek to employ any means within his power. The surest means is, obviously, the achievement of the object of the war. If this—the extension of Montenegro to the Drin—can be secured by diplomacy, the position of King Nicholas will be further strengthened inasmuch as he will be justified in not having acceded to the desires of his generals, which would have entailed great loss of life. If an attempt has been made to strike any sort of bargain with Italy, the Power which, together with Austria, first espoused openly the cause of Albanian autonomy, and the Power which, from the commercial point of view, together with Austria, is most directly interested in the future of Scutari, such an attempt, so far at all events, is not public property. At the same time, it is by no means unlikely that something of the sort is contemplated, if not already in progress.

Meanwhile, pending the conclusion of the peace negotiations, rumours are again in circulation that, in the event of a continuation of hostilities, a definite attempt will be made to take Scutari. Whether, possibly, in any such eventual attack the Serbian troops, of which there are large numbers beyond the Drin, will take part is not clear, though there are indications that unwillingness in the part of Montenegro to profit by Serbian co-operation is diminishing. At the same time it must be added that, in view of past experience, such rumours of impending assaults on Tumbosh are received with a certain amount of scepticism.

Confu, Dec. 25.

For those who have been in touch with Montenegrin affairs since the outbreak of the war the reports of an anti-dynastic movement in the kingdom come as no surprise. It was evident nearly a month ago that there was a growing feeling of discontent among the people with the lack of success attained by the Montenegrin Army, and that this discontent might have serious consequences. It was doubtless in order to attempt to counteract this that King Nicholas himself took over the command in the field, since it was generally rumoured that Prince Danilo had lost his popularity with the troops. But, according to well-founded report, his Majesty's reception on his arrival at his headquarters was not as enthusiastic as the official telegrams from Gruda represented it to have been. Montenegro, in spite of its Constitution, still remains a patriarchal State, and consequently success or failure is not unreasonably attributed by the people to the person of the Monarch. Paternal government may answer excellently well with a winning hand, but possibly King Nicholas may now be learning that it is not a trump card in a losing game.

THE RESULT OF OVER-CAUTION.

The causes of the discontent are not far to seek. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the real reason of Montenegro for making war was to gain possession of Scutari. The first successes near Tudi had flushed the Montenegrins with victory, and they believed that they had only to assault Tumbosh at once for Scutari to fall into their hands. In many quarters it is believed that had they done so they would have succeeded, since at that date the reinforcements which arrived later had not reached the town. But, out of the desire not to lose men unnecessarily—a desire which was strengthened by the comparatively heavy losses at Detitch and Zegaj caused by the foolhardy courage of the men—King Nicholas forbade an assault to be delivered. Since then the Army has remained in front of Scutari, in sight of though as far from capturing the town as before the war began. For an army such as the Montenegrin army, with practically no

organization and ill-supplied with artillery, it was unfortunate that the task set it should have included the siege of a modern fortress. But of late, and especially since the junction with Servians at Alessio, the Montenegrins have been asking themselves whose fault it is that there are no proper guns. And, as was to be expected in the circumstances, the blame, rightly or wrongly, is attached to the King.

Without the acquisition of Scutari and the fertile land which would go with it the outlook for Montenegro is, it must be admitted, not an encouraging one. Large sums of money have been expended, resort has already been had to the issue of a paper currency, and there is much distress among the people. From the latter, it must be remembered, horses and cattle were requisitioned at the beginning of the war for the use of the Army. The people gave them willingly in the first flush of enthusiasm, but with no signal success to record this feeling has changed. Although—unless the Montenegrins have sustained very heavy losses during the last fortnight—the figure of 6,000 killed and wounded mentioned in some journals is grossly exaggerated, the casualties have been severe enough for a small army which has little to show in return. By a competent authority they were estimated on December 10 as about 2,500.

THE VOLUNTEERS FROM AMERICA.

The feeling of discontent engendered by these various causes is further increased by the numbers of Montenegrins who have returned to their country as volunteers from North America, whither many thousands emigrate in order to earn a living less laboriously than among their own barren mountains. These men have become accustomed to a democratic form of government, and are not slow to point out to their comrades the disadvantages of patriarchal rule. That in quarters closely connected with the Palace some such result was apprehended from the return of the so-called "Americans" was clear from the manner in which certain detachments of them were received, a reception which, in one case at all events, resulted in the men concerned taking service with the Montenegrins only after they had applied in vain to serve as volunteers with the Serbian Army.

RELATIONS WITH SERBIA

Although it may be questioned whether dissensions are not being purposely sown, and those dissensions which already exist between Serbia and Montenegro purposely exaggerated for the ultimate benefit of a *tertius gaudens*, it would be idle to pretend that complete harmony prevails between the two branches of the Serb race. Although King Peter's late wife was a Montenegrin princess, there are longstanding differences between the Petrovitch and the Karaageorgewitch dynasties, and the representative of each is popularly credited with the belief that the other is desirous of uniting in his person the kingship of the two nations. In Montenegro an outward manifestation of this animosity was furnished in 1907 by the lamentable "bomb affair" which led to the imprisonment and exile of many of the Progressist party in the country. Relations between the two countries improved in consequence of the annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina and the declaration of Bulgarian independence, both of which events served to drive the two Serb States closer together. But the improvement was not lasting, and, though an agreement was patched up for the purposes of the war, it requires only slight acquaintance with Serbian officers to realize that various incidents in the course of the last few weeks in which both armies were concerned have accentuated already existing differences.

Whether or not the eventual absorption of Montenegro is seriously contemplated by Serbian statesmen, the project is being warmly advocated in Montenegro by the "Young Montenegrins." Many of these men were imprisoned or exiled as a result of the "bomb trial," but with the exception of the sometime Prime Minister, M. Radovich, who was kept in prison, all were amnestied at the outbreak of the war. For the most part, the members of this party are men who have completed their studies in Belgrade and have become imbued with Serbian democratic tendencies. A Constitution, it is true, exists in Montenegro; but, since the Montenegrin Constitution in the hands of King Nicholas is merely a thinly veiled autocracy, let us, they say, solve the question by pensioning off the Royal Family and uniting ourselves with Serbia. Unless events have marched rapidly in Montenegro during the past fortnight it would probably be wrong to attach too immediate an importance alike to popular discontent and to pro-Serbian agitation; but at the same time it is not impossible that a situation is developing from which to extricate himself successfully King Nicholas will have need of all his skill and diplomacy.

Tied to a Cartwheel.

The experiences of war correspondents at the hands of the allies were often by no means pleasant, and on occasions they received

positive ill-treatment. A prominent example of this phase of the altering state of war correspondents is revealed by the experiences of Mr. Angus Hamilton, as a prisoner in the hands of the Bulgarians which he recounts in the *Sphere*. "I first accompanied the Turkish army," says Mr. Hamilton, "and encountered the Osmanli army in flight from Lüle Burgas. I pushed forward and fell into the hands of the Bulgars. My captors seemed determined to regard me as a Turkish spy rather than as a war correspondent and to torture me accordingly. Of course such a view may explain the lack of gentleness with which I was treated though it does not in any way detract from the alarming character of the whole episode.

I was captured between ten and eleven in the morning and about two o'clock I was led past the halting place of the officers of the 38th Infantry, where I was stopped and questioned. The escort's explanation that I was being taken to the quartier-general by General Popoff's orders was not sufficient for the colonel commanding, who ordered me to dismount. Before I could comply I was seized by a number of people and dragged from my horse. A revolver was held to my face, a sword to my throat, and my arms were twisted behind my back. I was searched and asked for my revolver and papers. When this little scene had continued for some time I was warned that I was in danger of my life and that if I attempted to get away I should be shot.

Then I was ordered to mount my horse, my knees were strapped to the saddle, and my escort was increased to six, one of whom, an officer, rode behind me with a loaded revolver pointing at my back.

As we failed to find the quartier-general I was taken back at nightfall to the bivouac of the officers of the 38th Infantry, where I was told to dismount and sit upon the ground while my knees and ankles were bound with ropes and the whole wearisome business of ascertaining my identity was repeated. When some three or four hours had passed in this way I was taken into a small tent and for the best part of all hour submitted to an experience which I never wish to have repeated. The ceremony was prefaced with the statement that if I would confess to being a Turkish officer I should be given a comfortable bed for the night and a good dinner. I was made to stand up, my arms were twisted behind my back and bound, while an officer with a drawn revolver sat just behind me. In front of me were other officers, who proceeded to examine me all over for any marks which would prove that I was a Turkish officer.

"When the examination had continued for a long time some soldiers thrust into the tent a boy between sixteen and nineteen years of age, who having been beaten across the face with a whip and so reduced to a condition of absolute terror was asked whether my clothes were not those of a Turkish Army officer. Without a moment's hesitation he identified me and my clothes, his willingness in this respect being equalled only by the engaging candour of one of the officers present, who suddenly recalled my name as that of a Turkish officer he had learned about at Salonica. I was now told that my identity was established, and as I elected to maintain my own point of view I was taken outside the tent to a cart which stood three or four yards away, thrown upon the ground, pulled into a sitting position and tied to a wheel. In this position I was left, though my reflections were soothed by a sentry who stood at my feet and by an officer with a red moustache, who from time to time emerged from the tent to explain that he was a man of humanity and it was his sorrowful duty to advise me to confess so that my soul should be in peace, for in the morning I was to be shot.

"When I had remained in this position for something like three hours an officer who had spoken to me during the course of the day was attracted by the signal spectacle and questioned me as to what had happened. After hearing both sides of the case he went to headquarters for instructions, and an hour later, being half led and half dragged across country with a rope round my neck, I reached headquarters at half-past one in the morning. All violent treatment now stopped though it was not until some days later that it was decided that I was actually an English war correspondent and that my papers were in order. Eventually I was able to return to England, but it is sincerely to be hoped that the treatment meted out to me will not form a precedent for the authorities in command during the next conflict."

A Book on the War.

The first book published by returned war correspondents is *Adventures of War with Cross and Crescent*, by Philip Gibbs and Bernard Grant, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"The noise of the guns, which was terrific even as far away as *Midan* Pasha, was absolutely hellish in Adrianople itself. By day it

kept people quivering with the shock of it as the great crashes followed one another with a fury of sound; at night the noise became infernal in its violence, stunning the ears of the inhabitants and making the very houses tremble. It was like living in a continual earthquake. To those poor people in Adrianople the nervous strain was increased by the ordeal of suspense. Ignorant of the military situation, inside as well as outside, they never knew from one day to another whether the besieging army would not carry the city by assault and come through the streets with a general slaughter and an orgy of blood and loot. They could not go to bed on any night without the possibility of being awakened by the shouts of the Bulgarians, by shots in the streets, and by the clash of cold steel. And when the garrison made their sorties, generally under cover of darkness, there was no sleep for any living soul because the adventure might end for all of them in massacre and death."

IN THE TRENCHES AT TEHATALDJA.

Mr. Bernard Grant thus describes the Firing at Tehataldja:—

"From a dismantled fort we watched a thrilling scene. The Turkish rifle-fire from the trenches was very thick. I shall never forget the peculiar rushing whirr of it, terrible in its intensity and in the menace of its sound. When we imagined that one of these bullets, whose shrill note blended into this great chorus of swift shot, might find a living mark it was grim in its significance. There was no lack of ammunition in those trenches at Tehataldja. The Turkish soldiers seemed to be firing almost simultaneously, reloading as fast as they could and sweeping the enemy's line with a perfect hurricane of lead. Only now and then did the fire drop and languish away. In a few moments it would break out again fiercely with that kind of screaming song of death which cannot be described in words but which leaves ineffaceable sensation in the minds of those who have once heard it.

"All the field guns were using shrapnel. The air was alive with those flying shells which burst high up and scattered the missiles of death as they fell. They had a strange and deadly beauty. I was fascinated with those sudden flashes of flame, those white puff-balls, those bursting clouds. Perhaps if they had been as innocent as fireworks the sight of them would soon have become tedious. But, our imagination was set at work. One realises the deadly effect of those high-bursting shells. One knows the terror that falls with them. But Bulgarians seemed to get the distance better than the Turks, whose shells in many cases burst short.

"I have since seen criticisms of the Bulgarian artillery. It has been alleged by at least one critic who can speak as an eye-witness that the guns were badly served and that the gunnery was not at all good. It is his opinion that there was no real superiority on the Bulgarian side over the Turkish guns and that it was luck and the recklessness of life and the irresistible nature of the infantry attacks which enabled the Bulgarians to achieve their success. I do not pose as a military expert or as a competent judge of shell fire, but I can only speak according to the impression of personal observation, and certainly to me it seemed beyond argument that the Bulgarian artillery was very much better than that of the defence. The village of Tehataldja, which lay ahead of us, was in the hands of the Bulgarians, who had made it their headquarters, and now it seemed to be vomiting fire. There was a great concentration of guns there, and from that direction there came an immense number of shells which as far as we could see were bursting well over the Turkish lines. I was unable to form any accurate idea of the losses on my side. Shell-fire is proverbially uncertain in its effect, and as I have said the Turks were in most excellent trenches which provided them with good cover.

"Towards dusk a village to the right of Tehataldja caught fire owing to the shells which had burst over it and flamed up as a torch, casting a lurid, quivering light above its volumes of smoke, which spread out in far reaching clouds."

Constitution of the Lebanon.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Dec. 28.

THE term of office of Yusuf Pasha as Governor of the Lebanon expired on July 8 of the present year. His administration was marked by several collisions between the authorities of the Mountain and the population, and opinion is divided as to his success. His difficulties, however, were largely due to the inapplicability of what amounts to a constitution. I refer to the Organic Statute of Mount Lebanon—dating from nearly 60 years ago—to the present needs of what is in many respects the most civilized province of the Turkish Empire.

Towards the end of Yusuf Pasha's term the Administrative Council of the Lebanon, and Lebanon Committees in Beirut, Egypt, and the United States of America, forwarded petitions to

the Grand Visier and to the representatives at Constantinople of the protecting Powers for the modification of the Organic Law. These petitions were moderately worded enough, but met with objections on the part of the members of the Committee who formed part of Said Pasha's Cabinet, while the Committee Press, which has always discussed the affairs of the Lebanon with a great lack of knowledge, openly denounced some of their desiderata. On the fall of the Committee Government the Lebanon question was treated in a more conciliatory manner by the Porte, and the Protocol of December 23, 1912, contains modifications in the Organic Law of the Province which are certain to meet with the approval of the Lebanese, many of whose grievances are removed thereby.

The following are the principal points in the new Protocol, under the terms of which Ohannes Bey Koyumdjian has been appointed Governor-General of Mount Lebanon:—

(1) The system of election of members of the local Administrative Council is assimilated to that which is in force in the Lebanon Canton of Zahle, where it has given satisfactory results.

(2) The Maronites of the town of Der-el-Kamer are given a seat in the Council, while the Druses receive another seat in the Canton of the Shuf.

(3) The Ports of Djuneh (Maronite) and Nahr Punes (Druse) are opened to foreign merchant vessels.

(4) The new Governor is empowered to study the application of a new survey and census to the local system of taxation, and shall submit a report not later than six months before the expiry of his term of office concerning the revision of Art. 15 of the Organic Law of the Lebanon, which deals with the finances of the province, which shall be effected by the Porte in concert with the Protecting Powers.

(5) The Provincial Budget shall be drawn up by the Governor in concert with the Administrative Council. The accounts of previous years shall form the subject of a definite liquidation.

(6) Commercial cases between natives of the Lebanon shall be tried by Lebanon Courts of first and second instance.

(7) The local Gendarmerie force shall be increased to 1,200 men, and will be commanded by one of the foreign officers lent to the Ottoman Government for the purpose of the reorganization of the Imperial Gendarmerie.

The opening of ports removes a grievance on the part of poorer Lebanese emigrants, who were sadly fleeced in the past by the Moslem boatmen of Beirut, and the establishment of commercial tribunals saves the peasants the trouble and expense till now involved by a journey to Beirut. Of the other articles in the protocol that dealing with a new census and land valuation is most important. Till now all land in the province has been taxed on the basis of the valuation of 1861-1865, with the result that tracts that have long since gone out of cultivation continue to bear taxes, while hotels that have been built and orchards that have been planted since that date get off with a payment of a few *metalliks* (halfpence).

The new Governor, Ohannes Effendi Koyumdjian, is an Armenian Catholic. He was for some time Counsellor to the Turkish Embassy at Rome, and has since been Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His character is high, and the only opposition to his appointment has come from members of the Committee belonging to the Grand Orient of Turkey, who apparently believe that any Catholic, even a member of the Armenian Catholic community, which has always shown considerable independence in its relations with the Vatican, must be an extreme cleric.

LADY LOWTHER'S TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

The following is an extract from a letter from Lady Lowther received by the Hon. Secretary. "It is all for the relief of women and children, of whom we are already helping 8,000 and will be keeping them alive throughout the winter. There are said to be 150,000 refugees in this town alone, besides the soldiers' destitute families, who are our first care, as the Government can do nothing for them."

From this it may be seen how urgent the demand for funds is, and how the money already despatched will have the effect of alleviating the sufferings of, and probably saving from death by starvation and disease, many helpless Moslem women and children. The fund remains open indefinitely, and, as the number of destitute families will increase, the demand for subscriptions will increase proportionately.

Up-to-date; Rs. 81,000 have been despatched to Constantinople. Donations may be sent to—

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M. A. Rahim, Esq., Aligarh	1 4 0
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Amount received from 31st January to 7th February, 1918 ... Rs. 7,263 15 0
Amount previously acknowledged ... Rs. 2,70,478 7 1

Total Rs. 2,77,741 1 1

[We regret that the amount of Rs. 2-0-0, contributed by Mrs. Ibrahim Beg of Delhi, on the 31st December, was not announced through an oversight. Ed., Comrade.]

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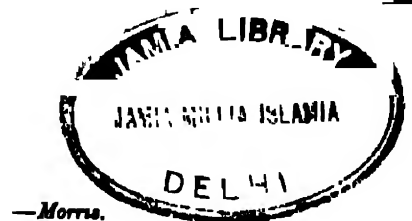
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The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!



—Morris.

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Delhi: Saturday, February 15, 1913.

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restore order. The Government was now considering how they could best assist the Persians and encourage them in their task.

Sir Edward Grey, in reply to Colonel Yate, confirmed the statement emanating from Teheran with reference to the railway concession granted to a Russian company in Persia. He added that two years' option for the construction of the line from Mohammerah to Khoramabad had been granted to British syndicate, but the details were not yet settled.

The Arnold Case.

INFORMATION has been received here that the Viceroy has remitted eight months of the sentence on Mr Channing Arnold, who was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment by the Chief Judge on the charge of defaming Mr. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner, Margui, at the Chief Court Sessions.

In connection with the orders by the Governor-General in Council directing the reduction of Mr. Channing Arnold's sentence of one year's imprisonment by eight months, Mr. Arnold will be released by the 18th February. A cable was sent to-day to the London solicitors of Mr. Arnold urging them to defeat the Government's action and hasten the appeal. On a local newspaper representative interviewing Mr. Arnold's Counsel (Mr. C. H. Campagnac) he was told that Mr. Arnold was very much surprised at the action of the Viceroy in remitting a portion of his sentence in view of the recent statement made by Lord Greve that there would be no interference by the executive and that when the appeal was filed the question of bail would arise. Mr. Arnold wished the public to know that he had never at any time asked for clemency and that no such application had ever been made to the Viceroy.

In the House of Commons Mr. Baker, replying to Mr. Morrell, said the Government of India had reviewed the case of Mr. Arnold of Rangoon on its merits, and had come to the conclusion that four months' imprisonment was adequate.

"I would like to make it clear," added Mr. Baker, "that the decision does not affect Mr. Arnold's power to apply to the Privy Council for a review of the case."

The Arnold appeal to the Privy Council was to have been presented on 10th February. It will be argued early next week.

New Delhi.

Mr. BAKER, replying in the House of Commons to Mr. Joseph King, said that no instructions had been given to the Delhi architects with reference to the employment of Indian craftsmen, materials and traditions. They had been informed of the proposal to appoint as their responsible adviser Sir Swinton Jacob, who was specially qualified to advise on the points mentioned. The Government did not propose to publish the Town Planning Committee's first report, as it was purely provisional, and its recommendations were under consideration, but a copy had been placed in the Library. The final report is expected shortly which will explain the reasons for selecting whatever site may be proposed.

The Week.

SIR EDWARD GREY, replying to Mr. Dillon in the House of Commons, on February 6th, said that certain negotiations in connection with mining concessions were proceeding between the Persian Government and a British syndicate. He was unable at present to disclose the details.

His Majesty's Government, said Sir Edward Grey, had given support with reference to British concessions, but in no form which could be described as pressure.

The Foreign Minister has signed an agreement with a Russian company granting the latter the right to construct a railway from Teheran to Tiflis, with an extension to Lake Urumiah, and also a right to construct a railway between Teheran and

In the House of Commons on 6th February, Sir Edward Grey said that he was unable to say what measures would ultimately be taken in Persia in consequence of the murder of Captain. The Government would, however, be reluctant to take any action likely to hamper the efforts of the new Persian Cabinet to

TETE À TETE



Sheikh Abdul Aziz Shawish, Editor of the *Ilale-i-Osmani*, has sent us the following cablegram, dated **Latest War News**. Stamboul, 16th February, 6 p. m. The paper is on the machine, but we cannot deprive our readers of the good news received just now:—

"Montenegrins 16,000 defeated around Scutari after heavy fighting, leaving three thousand killed and wounded, also six guns. Editor, *Tasvir-i-Efkar*, authorised by most eminent officials to declare Government did not ask for peace, though willing for 'an honourable one'."

We have already published through our contemporaries the still more pleasing news of the great Turkish victory against the Bulgarians at Uzunkiuipri, and of the brilliant sortie at Adrianople, the relief of which is imminent, and would refer our readers to page 141 of this issue where Dr. Ansari's very welcome cablegram of the 11th instant is published. We have no hesitation in believing these cables, and are confident that very soon Baron Reuter who is babbling of the peace proposals of Turkey would prove to be as truthful as Lieutenant Wegener and his informants. The myth of European veracity was really a fascinating creation, and we do not wonder at Lord Curzon's infatuation. But "the Korean lie" was insipid when compared with this rich repast of unadulterated falsehoods.

The Medical Mission and the Coup d'etat. We have already noticed at length the peculiarly prejudiced account furnished by the *Times* Constantinople correspondent about the events of the 23rd January, as well as the peculiarly venomous article written by the *Times* itself. We also pointed out that the version of the

Times correspondent was very much at variance with the version supplied by Reuter. We laid bare its absurdities and naive insinuations and showed how barefaced attempts had been made to belittle the import and distort the facts of an event which, we believe, will remain memorable in recent Ottoman history. An issue of the *Times* received with the English mail this week contains another account by the same correspondent which it calls "uncensored." We need hardly say this "uncensored" account is, if possible, a still more elaborate tissue of fables and falsehoods. We would have very much liked to reproduce it this week, but for want of space we have been obliged to hold it back till our next. Our sole anxiety has been to learn the truth, and we are glad we have at last received a letter from Dr. Ansari containing the account of the *coup d'etat*. Dr. Ansari was an eyewitness of the memorable drama, and his brief but straightforward narrative at once disposes of the malicious lies with which one of the greatest achievements of the Young Turks has been sought to be blemished. We have delayed the *Comrade* in our desire to include the portion of Dr. Ansari's letter dealing with the events, as we felt that our readers must be impatiently waiting to learn the truth, and we hope we are forgiven. Dr. Ansari writes:—"I returned to Constantinople on the afternoon of 23rd January. As I drove past the Sublime Porte I saw some five to eight hundred soldiers standing inside the enclosure of Bab-i-Aalee, and a crowd at the balcony of Bab-i-Aalee along the steps, the road, the gate-way and the entire public thoroughfare. This was the memorable day on which the *coup* of the Party of Union and Progress was carried out in order to catch the Cabinet of Kiamil Pasha red-handed in the very act of signing the reply to the Note of the Powers ceding Adrianople. Enver Bey had ridden on a horse all night from Gallipoli and, reaching Constantinople on the morning of 23rd, made all the necessary arrangements, placing his men in the different cafés and houses in the vicinity of Bab-i-Aalee. He rode on a horse with a few soldiers to Bab-i-Aalee and, on being challenged by the sentinel at the entrance, he said he had come to save Turkey, and made a brief but touching speech, which moved the soldiers so much that

they all joined him, and he marched into the room where the Cabinet had assembled to do the work of selling their country to their enemies. He entered this room accompanied by another army officer, Najef Bey, and demanded the resignation of the Cabinet from the Grand Vizier. He held the form of the resignation and asked for their signature, which was meekly complied with by Kiamil Pasha and a few others. But Nazim Pasha got up in a rage and ordered his A.-D.-C. to get these intruders arrested by the gendarme. Shots were exchanged in which Nazim Pasha, his A.-D.-C., Najef Bey and two others were killed, but the remaining Ministers were kept under guard. Enver Bey then proceeded to the Sultan's palace and got the Imperial *iradeh* appointing Mahmud Shevket Pasha as the Prime Minister and entrusting him with the formation of a new Cabinet. The crowd was waiting for the arrival of Enver Bey, and the appearance of a motor-car with Enver Bey, Talaat Bey and Mahmud Shevket Pasha was the signal for a tremendous outburst from the crowd outside Bab-i-Aalee. Enver Bey was the hero of the moment, and the crowd carried him shoulder high to the Bab-i-Aalee. He was embraced and kissed until he was nearly smothered. Then the Grand Vizier, according to the ancient custom, made a short speech to the crowd in which he expressed the hope that he would receive their co-operation and help in the difficult task of government at such a critical time. The crowd cheered him very heartily. The party then entered the Bab-i-Aalee, followed by the great crowd in which some of the members of the Mission were also included. They entered every room and also saw the chair in which Nazim Pasha had been killed. Very soon after the streets were quiet, and no external sign of such a great revolution was obvious even in the streets round the Bab-i-Aalee. It struck an outsider as a very extraordinary thing that events of such great moment should be enacted in such a quiet manner without any obvious change in the daily life of the Turks. Is it possible that the Turks have got inured to these vicissitudes and take them with a philosophical calm, unthinkable by us Indians to whom such events are extraordinary and unusual? Or, is it that they have grown indifferent and callous and take any sudden change in their government with the indifference of an absolutely lifeless, and spiritless people? I think probably the former is the truer explanation, for on the opposite side of the Bab-i-Aalee, inside the editorial office of Sheikh Abdul Aziz Chawish, were gathered a goodly number of people quite hidden from the passers-by, discussing with obvious jubilation the great triumph of the only patriotic party in Turkey. I am told that every moment an emissary would enter this place with news of what was going on inside the Bab-i-Aalee to the intense joy of the people gathered in this house. At about half past nine, just as we had finished our dinner in the Kadirgah Hospital, a telephone message was received from the Bab-i-Aalee to send ambulance-bearers and doctors at once. The Director of the Hospital, with six of my ambulance-bearers, and a few others from the Hospital, reached the Sublime Porte immediately, but the men were returned after a long wait, the staff of the Hospital, however, being asked to remain. I was informed the next morning that they had quietly buried the dead during the night, with the exception of Nazim Pasha whose funeral took place the next day, most of the members of the new Cabinet being present. Next day the State Entry of the Grand Vizier and the new Sheikh-ul-Islam (Ziauddin Effendi) took place in a very quiet manner. I cabled to you on the night of the 23rd the names of the chief ministers in the new Cabinet; but there have been some changes since then, the principal one being Prince Saeed Halim Pasha, who has been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Every day the Grand Vizier first visits the War Office, where things are made to move. Already a great many changes have been made in the army, and every day one sees troops being moved from one place to another. To-day six mountain batteries were seen going in the direction of the harbour. There is a great change in the attitude of certain European Powers, the Triple Alliance openly giving assurance of help to Turkey. The Deutsche Orient Bank has made an advance of half a million Turkish pounds, and has promised 2½ millions by the end of January. The attitude of Russia has changed from a threat to an assurance of neutrality. Only England and France are still reticent. It is obvious that the Young Turks have saved the prestige of Turkey and mean to die honourably, if death must come. It is impossible even for an adversary to abstain from admiring their pluck, although it still remains to be seen whether this pluck is going to save Turkey. The new Ministers have come to power on condition that they would not cede Adrianople or give up the Aegean Islands, even if it comes to a re-declaration of war. I am sure that the Balkan Confederacy is exhausted and will not be able to proceed with the campaign. We wish to God that Turkey would declare war again, and regain a moral and territorial victory over her foes. My previous letters must have made plain to you what impression I had of Kiamil's Cabinet. It was the Hasoudian régime only in a more obviously constitutional garb; hence the manner in which all the business was transacted." We think Indian Muslims have now no desire to "harass" the Minister with frantic resolutions and telegraphic appeals.

The mass meeting of Delhi Muhammadans, which took place last Friday in the Jam'i Masjid, has decided to celebrate the birthday, and according to some the anniversary of the death also, of the Prophet of Islam which comes off on the 12th instant, by a series of sermons on the life and work of the Prophet, ending with prayers after the Namaz at sunset for the success of the Turkish arms. It is proposed that all the Muhammadans of Delhi should join this prayer, and that prayers should be offered in a similar manner in the Jam'i Masjid of every town, and in the mosque of every village throughout India. We hope at least two or three crores of people would send up their united prayers to the God of Peace and War, and that the divine response would be the relief of Adrianople and a decisive Turkish victory. We invite the co-operation of all our Moslem contemporaries so that this programme may successfully be carried out throughout India. We feel sure that prayer, if sincere and earnest, is even more effective a weapon than Oerlikon or Krupp guns, Aeroplane bombs, machine guns and repeating rifles, and we may well hope that on the 12th of Rabi-ul-Awwal the story of Badr will repeat itself.

ہفت کشور جس سے ہونے پر تیغ و تنگ

تو اگر سبھی تو تیرے پاس وہ سامان بھی ہے

(That with which the Seven Kingdoms may be conquered without sword or arrow, if thou knowest thou hast that equipment also.)

We have already announced in our last the particulars received by the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay, regarding the issue of the Treasury Bonds. This has now been confirmed by a cable from the Ministry of Finance to the Alliance Bank, Delhi, which we publish below:—

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"30th November, 1913. Please open subscription list
"and inform us of the number of subscribers and cable
"daily the amount subscribed.

"Rifat,

"Minister of Finance,

"Ottoman Empire."

Subsequently to this the Consul-General from Bombay has wired to us as follows:—

"For Alliance Bank. In answer to telegrams of
"8th and 12th instant I engage you to open sub-
"scription list for Ottoman Treasury Bonds on account
"of the Ministry of Finance at all your branches, accord-
"ing to your terms, without having the monopoly,
"and to address yourself to the above Ministry when
"required.

"Djafar."

We are glad to announce that the Alliance Bank has opened a subscription list and money is coming in. The Comrade has deposited with the Alliance Bank £75 (Rs. 1,125) for the purchase of the Bonds. Many names were entered in the Jam'i Masjid here after the Friday prayers when a very crowded mass meeting was held in this connection. In obedience to a resolution passed at the meeting we have sent telegrams to all Moslem Rulers in India appealing to them to assist their Moslem brethren in Turkey in their hour of need with a loan to drive back the enemies of Islam. We have informed them that His Excellency the Viceroy has already announced such a loan to be unobjectionable, and we have beseeched them to purchase a number of these Bonds worthy of themselves and of their States, for the love of Islam and of God and His Prophet. We hope they will be pleased to know how the emotion, which they wish to invest in this manner, will not be lost in this case that—

ان کے لیے زائد محتاج نہ رہے

(There is greater influence are the neediest.)

We know well enough that in this matter the Moslem prince and the Moslem peasant feel alike, and if even then it is only the peasant that lends money to the Ottoman Government, the prince by their inaction would be casting the most unfortunate reflection on the true inwardness of our Government's profession of strict neutrality. We feel sure that so far as the Government of India are concerned such a reflection would be cruelly unjust. Will the Indian princes also justify the divine condemnation voiced by Iqbal?

جاک ہوں میں مساجد میں صف آرا تو غریب

رحمہ روزہ جو کرتی ہیں گوارا تو غریب

نام لینا ہی اگر کوئی ہمارا تو غریب

پردہ رکھتا ہی اگر کوئی ہمارا تو غریب

اگر آتش دولت میں میں غافل م سی

زندہ ہی ملت یفا غریبا کی دم سی

(It is the poor alone that fall in rows in the mosques; it is the poor alone that undertake the privation of the fast; it is the poor alone that take Our name, and it is the poor alone that throw a veil over your failings. The rich neglect Us in the intoxication of wealth; the Lustrous Community is alive only through the poor.) For the information of all intending purchasers we may repeat that the amount of the total issue is five million pounds or 7½ crores of rupees. The Bonds bear 5 per cent interest for such as may care to take it. The Bond of the lowest value would be for Rs. 7-8-0. Every year Bonds for one and a half crores of rupees would be redeemed, presumably by drawing lots of the Bonds. In five years the whole amount would be redeemed, and the first lot would be redeemed on the 30th November, 1913. These Bonds would be Bearer Bonds which can be transferred by one holder to another without any registration by Turkish authorities. They could easily be redeemed through the Banks just as they are purchased. A special source of revenue is earmarked for the payment of interest due thereon and for their redemption. Those who intend to purchase these Bonds should send the money at the rate of Rs. 7-8-0 for each Bond and commission at the rate of two annas per cent. (with a minimum of two annas for each transaction, no matter how small) to the Alliance Bank of Simla, at Delhi, or any of its branches in Bombay, Calcutta, Agra, Ajmere, Cawnpore, Darjeeling, Lahore, Mussouri, Murree, Rawalpindi and Umbala or to the Head Office at Simla. The Bank also requests that a specimen signature of the purchaser should be sent with each application so that the Bank may satisfy itself about the authenticity of any communication received from the purchasers. The Bonds have not yet arrived from Turkey, so provisional receipts are being issued by the Bank, and would be substituted for by the Bonds when received. We have asked the Consul-General at Bombay to let us know when the Bonds are expected here. As regards the Alliance Bank of Simla, we learn from the last annual report of the Directors that the paid-up capital of the Bank is 20 lakhs, and its Reserve Fund in Government Paper amounts to 28½ lakhs. The Reserve Fund was increased, after the year ending in June 1912, by another half a lakh. From a statement of progress we learn that the Bank was started in 1874, and that its dividend per annum has steadily gone on increasing from 7 to 14 per cent. Its working capital last June amounted to Rs. 5,40,14,568. We may point out that the Alliance Bank has no monopoly for the sale of these Bonds, but hitherto only the Bank of Bengal—which however insists on a minimum commission of one rupee for each transaction—and the Alliance Bank have agreed to receive deposits and purchase the Bonds for the depositors. We are, however, in communication with other Banks as we wish to provide ample facilities for the purchase of these Bonds, and we trust many Banks would come forward to undertake this work. But we also hope that intending purchasers would, whenever possible, make their own private arrangements with other Banks so that there may be no delay in the matter.

We confess we are astonished at the ways of the Orient Bank and the use it is making of its patrons. When Mr. Mohamed Ali was at Lahore in company with Dr. Ansari towards the end of November, he had occasion to discuss the proposal of the Orient Bank with its Managing-Director, Mr. Ahmad Hasan, and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the

Editor and Proprietor of the *Zamindar*. Mr. Mohamed Ali was not convinced of the advantages of the Orient Bank's scheme, and, in his turn, failed to convince its Managing-Director of the advantages of a scheme in which the Bank will be merely a broker in the loan, and not the borrower and subsequently the lender. When he accompanied the All-India Medical Mission to Bombay he had an occasion to discuss the two schemes with His Excellency the Consul-General for Turkey, who also disapproved of the Orient Bank's scheme, but, about the middle of January, we heard from the Orient Bank that shortly after the departure of the Mission, and after Mr. Mohamed Ali's return to Delhi, its Managing-Director reached Bombay, that he saw the Turkish Consul-General and other friends there and discussed with them the "Bank's proposal to advance money to the Ottoman Government without interest," and that "they approved of the scheme and promised their full support." It was also stated "that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan also saw His Highness the Aga Khan who also approved of the scheme." We were also requested to give full support and announce this scheme favourably in the *Comrade* and to open a list in the paper, and it was stated that, on our promising to give the Bank our full support, it will open a branch at Delhi. Unfortunately the scheme itself was not sent to us at the time, and the letter itself stated nothing of the Bank's borrowing money without interest and without security in order to lend it to Turkey. When, however, we got the papers relating to the loan scheme we learnt as follows:—"The Directors of the Bank, having been requested to arrange a loan for the benefit of Turkey in co-operation with the Mussalmans of India, have decided to raise a big sum of money by issuing advance loan bonds of the Bank without interest and to advance the same to the Imperial Ottoman Government free of interest. The Bank will only accept from Turkey a small fixed amount by way of commission to meet the expenses connected with the issue of this loan. On sufficient funds being collected the Directors will immediately enter into negotiations with Turkey, either to contract entirely a new loan free from interest on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans, or to take up a portion of any of their existing loans issued by them in the shape of Ottoman Bonds. As at present advised, they would prefer to adopt the former course as being "more convenient and more acceptable to the religious feelings and susceptibilities of the majority of the Indian Mussalmans." Now, we do not know who requested the Bank to arrange such a loan, for we have it on the authority of the Consul-General that he did not give any countenance to the scheme. The analysis of the scheme itself shows that the Bank is not going to sacrifice anything of its own, for it will accept from Turkey "a small fixed amount by way of commission to meet the expenses connected with the issue of this loan." In other words, it will do exactly what the Alliance Bank of Simla or the Bank of Bengal would do, except that the latter Banks would charge the commission from the purchasers of the Ottoman Bonds, while the Orient Bank would charge the commission from Turkey. But where the danger lies is the statement that "on sufficient funds being collected the Bank will enter into negotiations with Turkey for lending her the money it would borrow." We do not know what would be considered sufficient funds, and we should like to know what security the Bank is offering to those who will buy its own Bonds for the interval between receiving their money and lending it to Turkey. What, however, passes our understanding is the remark that the Bank would contract entirely a new loan in preference to taking up a portion of the Ottoman Bonds as being "more dignified" and "more convenient." We fail to see the dignity and convenience of such a course, particularly when the Ottoman Government is issuing its own Bonds and has not asked anyone outside the Ottoman dominions for a loan in any other shape. The difference between the schemes of the Ottoman Government and of the Orient Bank is practically the same as there would be between two schemes if the Orient Bank issued its own paper bearing interest at 3½ per cent. with a view to lend the amount to the Government of India, instead of selling the Indian Government's Promissory Notes bearing interest at 3½ per cent. People would certainly find it more convenient and decidedly safer to purchase Government Paper than to purchase the Bonds of the Orient Bank with a view to lending it to the Indian Government. We doubt if even the Orient Bank could have the audacity to call its scheme more convenient than the scheme of the Government of India, and people's ideas of dignity must have undergone a tremendous change if they can readily believe that it adds to the dignity of a Bank with a Paid-up Capital of something over five lakhs only to induce people to believe that it is as safe as the Indian Government. The Ottoman Government may not be as safe as the Government of India, but we do not think that it has come down so low as to make it safer for the people to lend money to a Bank with 5½ lakhs of Paid-up Capital than to itself. Frankly, we think that the credit of Turkey is still far greater than the credit of the Orient Bank, and it would certainly be more dignified if the Bank made it clear to the people that the choice lies between trusting Turkey and trusting the

Orient Bank. Another point we think worth noting is that the Orient Bank would repay money to its bond-holders after 10 years, whereas Turkey proposes to repay its bond-holders within five years by annual instalments, the first of which would be due on the 30th November, 1918, or in less than ten months. It is all very well for the Bank to say that "if the advance is repaid by Turkey before the expiry of the period for which the Bonds are issued the money would be returned to the bond-holders *should they so desire*" (The italics are ours). What we should like to know is how it proposes to inform the bond-holders when they can exercise the option contained in the words italicised. At present Turkey has given no indication that it wants or would accept the loan of the Orient Bank, and if the Bank subsequently purchases the Ottoman Treasury Bonds instead of giving a separate loan to Turkey, what steps does it propose to take to find out which of its bond-holders to repay when every year some of the Treasury Bonds are redeemed by Turkey? And if its bond-holders do not exercise the option of being repaid, what security and what interest is the Bank prepared to offer? We have already dealt with this aspect of the Orient Bank's scheme in the *Comrade* of the 8th instant, but we have been compelled to discuss the matter in detail because we have noticed that the Orient Bank is acquiring a factitious merit for its scheme by coupling the names of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali and His Highness the Aga Khan as the patrons of its latest business venture. Now, we do not know if the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali is prepared to take any responsibility for its scheme, and we have received sufficient indication from him that he did not contemplate the Bank's borrowing "crores of rupees" which "may be collected in a short time." As regards His Highness the Aga Khan, he wires to us, in reply to our telegram as follows:—

"Please distinctly mention I disapprove of any other loan except that sketched by you and approved by me and mentioned by me in my *Times of India* paper. If Orient Bank works on that line I approve, otherwise not my patronage."

This is publicly contained in the issue of the *Times of India* of the 14th instant in which His Highness says that "these Bonds should be sent by Turkey to India, and the various banks here, including the Orient Bank, might sell as brokers only and not as borrowers, while the security would be that of the Turkish Government and not that of the Bank except, of course, in the interval between the receipt of the deposit and the delivery of the Bonds to the purchasers, which would be very short." As we have said in an earlier issue, we have no quarrel with the Bank, and we have no desire to cast on it any aspersions. But we certainly do not approve of its methods and we think it is far "more dignified" for the Bank and far "more convenient" for the people if it acts merely as an honest broker between the people in this country and the Government of Turkey than its advertising the patronage of great people and securing for a tortuous scheme, in which it acts both as a principal borrower and principal lender, factitious merit. One of these patrons, viz., His Highness the Aga Khan, has already said in the *Times of India*: "I am afraid the suggestion of a loan made by the Orient Bank in the form it is advanced is neither feasible nor practicable." We wonder whether the Orient Bank would publish these statements of His Highness as prominently as the statements about the acceptance of the patronage of the scheme.

We are glad to note that Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan, Sahib, the new Hon. Secretary of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, is showing commendable energy in his efforts to attend to the heavy and various duties of his responsible office. It will be remembered that, according to the resolution of the Moslem University

The Moslem University Deputation.

which was adopted on 29th December 1912 at Lucknow, a deputation was appointed to wait on His Excellency the Viceroy on the question of the Moslem University. About a month and-a-half have passed since then and no steps were taken to carry out the resolution. Now, however, we learn that "His Highness the Aga Khan and the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad are arranging the time when the deputation can conveniently be received by His Excellency, but it is quite unlikely that an early date will be fixed for its reception." It is some relief to know that some steps are at last being made to give effect to the wishes of the community. We trust the members of the deputation will be allowed ample time to meet together and fully discuss and formulate their views before proceeding to lay them before His Excellency. They all of them, we are sure, know the value of the community on the subject of the Moslem University. To those who are expected to take their responsibilities lightly the title of "National Assembly" will, we hope, be a clear warning.

The Comrade.

Indian Moslems and the War.

ONE of the most interesting personalities in India is His Highness the Aga Khan, whose intellectual attainments, personal fascination and an established position as one of the great magnates of India, coupled with the first-hand experience he has gained by his world-wide tours which have made him, as the *Times of India* says, "an accomplished citizen of the world," lend to his utterances a great deal of weight not only with the Mussalmans, but also with the Government and other communities. Whatever one's opinion or politics, one always looks forward with eagerness to these contributions to public discussions during His Highness's all but fleeting visits to this country. Indeed the Indian Muhammadan is apt to get a little jealous of the rest of the "world" for taking away such a big slice of the time of this "accomplished citizen" every year, and it is not unoften that one sees the unique spectacle of the sheep searching for their lost shepherd. This year His Highness had remained unusually reticent, and was much missed at the meeting at Lucknow in which the future plan of action of the Moslem community with regard to the Moslem University was discussed. Even during the discussion in a meeting of the All-India Moslem League's Council, which resulted in an amplification of the League's creed, the audience missed the clear exposition of His Highness's views on so important a subject. But the Aga Khan has now contributed to the columns of the *Times of India* a signed article dealing with the position of the Indian Mussalmans during and after the war, and incidentally with the League's amplified creed, which we have no doubt will be read by all with great interest and discussed in many circles with some animation. We reprint it elsewhere in this issue and regret we cannot also reproduce the comments of the *Times of India* which, although it says nothing about the League's creed, endorses every other word of its distinguished correspondent, and practically paraphrases it, adding, however, a few flourishes of its own which the Mussalmans would give much to know if His Highness is equally prepared to endorse.

At the very outset let us make it clear that no matter how unpopular this may be with any section of the Moslem community, we condemn most strongly what His Highness aptly calls "an attitude of useless negation." We have not spared the Turk when he was caught napping, and we do not mean to spare him, if we wish to continue to be his friend. The responsibility for his misfortune is mainly his own, and if he keeps himself wide awake and utilises to the full the fund of goodwill and fraternal feelings which has always been at his disposal throughout the Moslem world, there is no reason why he should not rule in Europe for another six centuries, as he did during the last six centuries, in spite of the combined hostility of all Christendom and of all Europe. Again, although we find much to despise and abhor in the civilization of Europe, and pray to the Giver of all good things:

اس شہر کی خوگر کو پر دست سحر دے

(Give to this habited of the town once more the vastness of the desert), we do not for a moment hesitate to mark our disapproval of a "mere dislike of the European" and of an attitude of mind of which the logical conclusion would be that we should walk on all fours and resort to savagery. But while we view, with the *Times of India*, "with the greatest concern the tendency of a section of the community to adopt language and to suggest courses of action which could do Turkey no good and which could only do the Moslem cause in India an infinity of harm," we cannot like the contemporary view with a smug complacency the tendency of almost the whole British Press in India and in England to adopt language and to suggest courses of action which, whether they do any good to the Christian Allies or not, are bound to do England and her Government an infinity of harm. Indian Mussalmans are often enough in need of advice; but their candid friends would do well, if they would sometimes remember that such charity should often begin at home.

His Highness the Aga Khan analyses the situation and presents himself with asking two questions: firstly, how "to prevent as far as possible suffering and pain amongst the hundreds and thousands who have been rendered homeless and helpless by the war," and, secondly, "what can be done to make Turkey as strong as possible by the war powerful Asiatic State." We agree with him that the first is, or, at any rate, until recently was, the question of the moment, "a question of life and death," which could not wait for the Moslem University. That can, of course, go on as a separate question, wondering between the leaders among themselves and the Government. But His Highness writes that the Mussalmans of India may

have "the grace to realise this immediately," we regret we must remind him that at least the poor in his community have done nothing to merit the reproach. There is no doubt that His Highness has himself opened his purse widely enough in all such cases, and thousands of Turks owe their existence to-day to his generous fellow-feeling. But we know of many cases in which Turkish lives have similarly been saved by much poorer Indian Muhammadans who have sacrificed practically all they had to relieve their brethren in Turkey. The response of Moslem India, and particularly of the poorer section of the community, has been splendid, and all that is wanting to make the result of such a response still more successful and effective is an organisation which could co-ordinate the work of many Relief Funds and Red Crescent Societies scattered throughout the country. In the absence of a large number of workers, and with a view to effect economy of expense and effort we suggested that the Moslem League, with its different branches, should collate the data for consolidated periodical reports of the progress of such work, and stimulate the endeavours of all such societies by advice and suggestions. His Highness, however, did not for some reason or other approve of this, and the work is going on according to the capacity and industry of the office-bearers of numberless organisations of varying energy and cohesion. Mere exhortations and dehortations will do nothing, and grace will not come to the Mussalmans unless the most eminent among them are prepared to organise the community patiently and unceasingly by sustained effort and constant stimulus. We have no right to demand all this from any single leader; but the one that can give this, as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did during the last forty years of his life, would deserve to be remembered for all time as the greatest benefactor of his community.

صلائے عام می باران نیکہ دان کی ٹی

(This is an open challenge to all understanding friends.)

Between the first question of His Highness, regarding immediate relief, and the second, regarding assistance to Turkey "as reconstituted by the war," there is, however, a gulf which is not so easy to jump over. We are glad that His Highness has not ignored this, but the gulf is there all the same, yawning and unbridged. The Ides of March have come, but they have not yet gone. If we do not misunderstand the Aga Khan he considers any expression of feeling in favour of war by Indian Mussalmans as so much irresponsible advice which only harasses Turkish statesmen and, in spite of their knowledge of the consequences of such action, drives them forward against their will to prolong the war. Now, we agree with His Highness that peace or war is primarily the concern of the Turkish people and their Government, but this is not all. We shall be disguising the truth if we suggest that any assistance sent from India to the Turks is in the main the result of any feeling of admiration for people defending their hearths and homes with patriotic zeal, or of mere humanity at the sight of so much suffering. In a sense unknown to Europe and even to Christendom, Turkey is almost as much and as little the Fatherland of Indian Mussalmans as that of the Turks themselves. Well may it be said of the Moslem:

یا کھ می گرد وطن می سر دامان تیرا

تو وہ یوسف می کہ ہر مصر می کمان تیرا

قالہ ہونہ سکی گا کبھی ویران تیرا

غیریک ہانگہ درآ کجہ نہیں سامان تیرا

(The hem of thy skirt is unpolluted with the dust of a homeland: thou art a Joseph to whom every Egypt is the land of Canaan. Thy caravan can never be plundered, for thou hast naught save the sound of the caravan bell for thy belongings.) It has been the call of faith and not of physical neighbourhood or ethnic relationship that has roused Indian Mussalmans like a trumpet blast, and if physical neighbourhood and ethnic relationship give one a claim to offer advice when circumstances demand it, surely the kinship in creed and culture, and all that Islam stands for to the Moslem, creates a no less a claim. Moreover, every Moslem throughout the world owes it to his God and to His Prophet to protect the Holy Places of Islam from the hand of the aggressor, and any action of the Turks, whose Sultan has special merit in the eyes of all Moslems as the Protector of the Holy Places, which may weaken their defence, must needs concern every Moslem throughout the world. We can quote chapter and verse in support of the claim that we have discouraged more than once any tendency on the part of Indian Mussalmans to presume to dictate the policy of Turkey to those who are in a better position to judge the merits of different policies and measures. But everything has a limit, and no one has a right to treat the Mussalmans of the world as the milch cow of Turkey. If they owe a duty to Turkey they have also corresponding rights, and for our part we believe that they have every right to refuse to

subscribe a shell to relieve the sufferings of others through a war in, declaring which they were never consulted and in terminating which their feelings and sentiments are to be of no account. Was it not our smug contemporary of Bombay that dived in the ocean of pretences and rescued the pin-point of reality that the mandate of Europe to Turkey to submit to those that had not conquered her had a moral sanction inasmuch as money-grabbing Europe had invested millions of its ill-gotten gains in the Ottoman Empire? And must not the voice of the Moslem World be heard in the Babel of ministerial weakness and treachery when the Moslem World has placed in the safe keeping of the Ottomans a treasure which can be lost only when every Moslem life is lost? His Highness the Aga Khan may well plead for the Sultan's discretion and for a free hand for Turkish statesman. But this plea would have had some relevance if it had preceded the great events of the 23rd January. If the Moslems of Lucknow and Lahore, of Madras and Bombay have no right to assume that Turkish Ministers and the Padishah are one whit less sensitive on the point of Moslem honour, what right has anyone to assume that in forcing Kiaml and his clique to resign and in placing Shevket Pasha and the Committee of Union and Progress in power the Turks and their Padishah have been one whit less sensible than their advocates in the English and the Anglo-Indian Press? Does His Highness really wish the Mussalmans in India to be convinced that it was the telegraphic appeals of Moslems abroad that hurried Enver Bey on horseback from Gallipoli to Constantinople—a distance of more than a hundred miles—in a single night to save the integrity of his country and the prestige of Islam, any more than these telegraphic appeals influenced Kiaml and Nuradunghian in signing away that integrity and destroying that prestige? But if they did, it is an achievement of which the journalists of any country may well be proud. For when Europe, unshamed and unclean, was commanding the Turk, in the words of a writer in the *Daily Mail* which we reproduce elsewhere, to do what was once unspeakable—what is still unspeakable to the "unspeakable Turk" alone of all men in Europe—namely, to yield before he was beaten, to acknowledge all lost because not all remains, to hand over his territory to an invader who shivers outside his unconquered cities, to lie down for ever because he was once or twice felled, and to tear his own flag from pinnacles which undaunted have flown, and still fly, his colours tattered by tempests of lead and of misfortune, Moslem journalists and those who felt like them the shame of this betrayal only asked Turkey to refuse to open unforced gates and level unstormed parapets at the trumpets of hosts, however Semitic, who circumambulate the walls in the hopes of a safe, miraculous and lucrative possession. This is the sin of Moslem journalists, and for this His Highness seeks the support of Tolstoy and Gladstone in order to send them to the front. We cannot speak for all, but for such as we have a right to speak for we would assure His Highness that they would love nothing better. It was one of our countrymen and a Moslem who wrote not so long ago:

چون رفت سپیدی زدم آهنگ به شر
آشد تیر شکسته بیا کن قلم

(When the occupation of the soldier was gone I clutched the weapon of verse, and the broken arrow of my forebears became my pen.)

To our mind it is still necessary for Indian Mussalmans to subscribe as largely as they can for healing the wounds of those who have gone to war in defence of their country and their creed and for feeding and clothing those that they have left behind whether for a time or for ever. But the problem of the moment is to assist the Turks with funds so that they may prevent with their unparalysed arms what Europe has not been able to prevent with its paralysed conscience, the lives of their children and bed-ridden parents and the shame and dishonour of their women. The blood of the martyrs and the shock to the modesty of women for whose dwelling place the Islamic World has the same word as is used to signify the House of Allah, call aloud for revenge, and the divine commandment which says that "in revenge there is life" has to be obeyed. Europe itself has laughed for centuries at the doctrine of one whose merciful disposition had pleaded for the turning of the other cheek towards the smiter. But while Islam emphasises the virtue of being forgiving, it accords with human nature, which is divine as well as human, in tempering justice with mercy and softening mercy with justice. It recognises the eternal and immutable principle of revenge which is the basis of all law and order. The integrity of Turkey, the security of Turkish lives and of the honour of Turkish women, and, above all, the prestige of Islam may be vindicated. But asks the *Times of India*: "Patriotism and honour are fine things; are they quite so fine when they are upheld by deputy? Is there anything heroic in passing frantic resolutions bidding

the Sultan and his ministers go on fighting and then going home to dinner, whilst those who bear the burden and heat of the day are either starving in the trenches or gasping out their lives on the stricken field?" Are those sneers and gibes going to be justified by the inaction of Indian Mussalmans? They have talked of the fraternity of Islam; but if that brotherhood has any meaning, can they remain satisfied merely with praying for the success of Turkish arms against the foes of Islam? Is a loan of a million sterling too great a price to pay for hundreds of thousands of Moslem lives and the honour of thousands of Moslem women? Is it too much to pay for the redemption of thousands of mosques and sanctuaries which have been polluted by impious hands. We pause for an answer, but that answer must be the success or failure of the scheme of Turkey's internal loan in which Indian Mussalmans are for the first time invited to take a share. Let each Moslem only lend to his brother the Turk what he is prepared to spend unhesitatingly in order to save the life of his own brother and the honour of his brother's wife. This can be the only test of the fraternity of Islam, and those who are not prepared for this ordeal had better remove their names from the list of those to whom it was said that verily the Moslems are brothers.

His Highness the Aga Khan, however, is not content with an appeal for funds to relieve Turkish suffering and the support of the internal loan to Turkey which is needed for the war, but deals with the question: "And after?" We wish we could find it in our hearts to admire "the larger outlook" as the *Times of India* calls it when His Highness deals with Turkey's future. We fear His Highness the Aga Khan will not convince many Mussalmans in India that he has acted justly by the present or probed successfully into the future when he says "whatever happens, whatever the result of the last stages of this war, Turkey must in the future be an Asiatic Power; she must concentrate in Asia." Verily here is a prophet that has prophesied away the whole of European Turkey while the Ottomans still have for their Grand Vizier a soldier like Mahmud Shevket and Islam a hero like Enver Bey. With an army larger than that which we have in India entrenched behind Tehtaldja, garrisoning Gallipoli or marching towards Adrianople, an army that has not met with any reverse or serious check, but which has dealt a crushing blow to the Allies at Usukiupri, less than thirty miles from Adrianople, His Highness the Aga Khan would wish that the Turks, even after upsetting the schemes of Kiaml would themselves sign away the whole of European Turkey. And all for what? Merely that Turkey may thrive as an Asiatic Power on the disinterested goodwill, friendship and support of England, and these two may carry out in Asiatic Turkey the spirit of the Cyprus Convention and the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Was it not a countryman of His Highness who gave away Samarkand and Bokhara, which it cost Tamerlane much effort to conquer, merely for the mole on his sweetheart's cheek? Verily poets and prophets are equally generous, when it comes to giving away kingdoms and territories watered with the blood of whole armies.

But to take the analogy a little further, we are not quite sure whether the bargain of Hafiz was not the shrewder of the two! The price on which even he insisted was that his Turk of Shiraz may conquer his heart. But we do not know whether His Highness really believes that even such a conquest would be attempted in the case of the Indian Mussalmans. It was a noble woman and a great queen who had said that in the prosperity of her subjects resident in India "will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward." But what a world of difference between Victoria the Good and this pale grey Liberal who thinks that in helping France to usurp Morocco is his country's strength, in fawning on the Muscovite in Persia is its security and in the gratitude of the Confederates for his silence about their unspeakable crimes in Turkey is its best reward. We believe that it is not to the advantage of England that Turkey should be weak. But that applies to Turkey in Europe as well as to Turkey in Asia. Whether the Germans gain control of European Turkey or the Slavs it is equally to the detriment of Great Britain. But even assuming that it is to the advantage of England that European Turkey should be partitioned among the Allies, but that it is to her disadvantage that Germany should be in Asia Minor, Russia in Armenia and France in Syria, and also taking it for granted that it is essential for her to gain control of Arabia and make the Sherif of Mecca another Khedive, saddled with a War-Lord like him of Khartoum so that England may ride outside the two coasts of the Red Sea, what guarantee is there that, apart from any alliance which the *Times of India* is honest enough to rule out of court in international politics, the statesman of England would be wise enough to see what England's true interest lies and stand up to it in the pursuit of that self-interest? Is the problem of Imperial strategy in the Levant, along the shore of the Red Sea and on the Western littoral of the Persian Gulf more simple than that of Persia and its relation to our Baluch frontier? And yet His Highness does not aware that during the last two years every Turk in the

Foreign Offices in London and Simla, in the Army Department in India, and in the office of the Naval Commander-in-Chief for the East Indies Station has been scratched and scratched to itself that knotty problem whether it is better to give up seriously built-up Perso-Baluch Frontier and wait securely behind the imaginary lines of the British sphere drawn by the Anglo-Russian Convention or, at the very worst, keep between ourselves and the Colossus of the North the marshy desert of Southern Persia? We will not be so unjust to the Government of India and to Lord Crewe as to allow it to be understood that they were not influenced by the feelings and sentiments of Indian Mussalmans towards the era of their culture and the unity of their literature. But it was more the fear of Russia utilising the occupation of the South even for a time as the surest vantage of annexing the North which she already occupied that weighed with Sir Edward Grey and his coadjutors. Who knows whether the fear of Germany or of Russia may lead England? And so long as the fear of a foreign nation counts for more in the councils of Great Britain than the love of Indian Mussalmans it is wholly safe to enter the realms of prophesy? To our mind it will be the most sordid transaction Indian Mussalmans used any influence which they may have acquired with the Turkish Government by their present sacrifices to induce Turkey to accept the so-called *Just & Comp* before it was actually accomplished. In the words of the *Daily Mail* writer, we would take shame on our countrymen if they joined in the enjoinery which would inveigle the victim into embracing his own infamy.

But we are glad that enjoinery is in vain. Neither could the alluring prospects of "self government within the Empire and under the Crown and Flag," and of union with their Hindu fellow-countrymen in order to secure that distant goal, induce Indian Mussalmans to ask for, nor could the dim memories of the Cyprus Convention and the shadowy figure of Lord Beaconsfield reconcile the Turks to compliance with the request that they should hand over European Turkey to Serbs and Bulgars, Greeks and Montenegrins, before the verdict of the stricken field is given and the judgment of the sword and the mightier arm pronounced. It is one of the canting conventions of a class of writers that the Turk is essentially an Asiatic and his Empire must be in Asia. Is it forgotten that he has been in Europe for no less than six centuries, and that it is a dangerous lesson to teach those who know that no European nation has been in Asia for a quarter of that period?

Need we repeat what we have said so often that nothing would please Indian Mussalmans so much as a sincere alliance between Turkey and Great Britain. But we refuse to believe that Turkey, as a European Power or Asiatic, or for the matter of that any country in the world, "can live and thrive only if she has the goodwill, friendship and the support" of any other country. Turkey can live and thrive only if she relies on herself and on the God of Turkey, and if the Turks strive like men and like true Moslems to uphold the honour and integrity of their Fatherland, and fear and sustain the God they worship. It is clear that many of them have not always done so in the past, and it is to this that they owe even their temporary reverse.

We should like to refer before we conclude this comment on the pronouncement of His Highness the Aga Khan and the *Times* of India to the crimes of the Allies and the attitude of Great Britain. The miseries of "that bitter tragedy called war" in Thrace and Macedonia have been redoubled by more than the two factors which the *Times* of India mentions, the inhumanity of the weapons and the migration of a great proportion of the Moslem population. Or rather the latter of these two factors is only the effect of a cleverly suppressed cause, viz., the brutality of the enemies of Turkey and of humanity. Our contemporary accepts the tone of injured innocence in saying that "in the present mood of some Indian Moslems it is well-nigh impossible to obtain a hearing for any fair exposition of British policy," and naively asks whether it is suggested "that Great Britain should have gone to war to stave off the attack of the Balkan League on Turkey." It is not a fair challenge, for we have no Lord Crewe to be equally solicitous to save us from treading the wrong way to overhauling Andamans, and section 124A is far more brittle than the Ten Commandments at which Anglo-Indian journalists can hammer away without fear. We may, however, say this much that if Great Britain could go to war with America for Boston tea and with China for Malwa and Bengal opium, if she could challenge France over the Fashoda incident and Germany over the Moroccan Affair, it would have been more to her honour to have fought against Europe for the atrocities in Tabriz and Italy for the massacres in the Oasis of Tripoli. But even if all this was not sufficient, and the Treaty of Berlin was worth no more than Persia—too far from the heart of the life of a single British grenadier—then at least the Allies should have led Great Britain to rattle its great guns, or move its fearfully built Dreadnoughts to frighten

the Allies. Instead of that Sir Edward Grey sits silent and so every questioner in the House of Commons who would know the truth from official sources repeats the story of similar silence when allegations had been made against the Turk in Macedonia at some remote period. England could have at least asked her Lloyd Georges and her Mastermans, her Winston Churchills and her Asquiths to follow the example of her silent Sir Edward. Last of all, if England could not take sides with the Balkan League nor with Turkey, she can still take sides with honour, with love of country and stoutness of heart. But instead of loading those who have saved the honour, and may yet save the integrity of their country, with praise as the last receptacles of manhood in Europe, England and her Press are loading them with insult and indignity, and when we find our Bombay contemporary sparring a few crumbs of its approbation for Shevket Pasha and Enver Bey in a nuggerdally fashion, after having lavished every epithet of praise and flattery on Kiamul and his gang, we are compelled to remark that its praise, stuns the receiver more deeply than its insults and cheap sneers. But it is too late to ask what Great Britain could have done to win the love of Moslem India and assist her old ally. Let Adrianople be relieved and then we could say with the poet,

منہ جبکہ کارے پہ آگیا غالب خدا سی کیا سم و جور ناخدا کہی

Intemperance of Political Language.

THE inaugural speech of His Excellency Lord Hardinge at the first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi was a noteworthy utterance in many ways. We briefly dealt with some of its important passages in a recent issue, but there was one passage, the most important of all, which requires ampler and more adequate consideration. According to him,

It can only be entirely and for ever dispelled by the display and enforcement of public opinion in a determination not to tolerate the perpetration of such crimes and to treat as enemies of society not only those who commit crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crime. Amongst such incentives to crime should be included every intemperance of political language and methods likely to influence ill-balanced minds and lead them by insidious stages to hideous crimes.

About the weight and value of these words there can be no two opinions. A strong, united and intelligent public opinion is the most salutary deterrent that a society can have against disruptive tendencies or anarchical developments. An evildoer stands abashed before the corporate conscience of a community. It very often annihilates him entirely. Again, it is manifest that a healthy public opinion would treat as enemies of society not only those who commit violent crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crime. And it is equally plain that intemperance of political language and method may, in certain contingencies, become a direct incentive to acts of violence. It is, however, when we take into consideration the political and social conditions of Indian life, to which these general observations have to be applied, that we realise the need of a fuller explanation and analysis. What is the character of the Indian terrorism? What is the nature and strength of the public opinion that is sought to be invoked against it? What is the relation of political language and method to the general conditions of the country? These questions naturally and inevitably arise as we survey the situation in its entirety. And it would be worth while to try to find answers to these questions.

The root fact of the situation is that India is yet in the stage of political tutelage and has not evolved a self-reliant political personality. The power that presides at this process of evolution has brought to bear new standpoints, new ideas and an entirely new temperament on the execution of its task. And herein lies the seed for a vast process of change, rapid, incessant, and even painful—in fact, in all essentials, a revolution. A process of such magnitude and novelty is often subject to shocks, is full of risks and is, at any rate, never entirely free from doubts and misgivings. Those who speak of the governance of India by England as an experiment mean nothing more than that an ancient society is being sought to be revitalised through an alien inspiration. When once this fundamental fact is clearly grasped, the contradictions, the accidents, the shocks and the disappointments of the experiment cease to be surprising. India is changing—in response to an impulse that has come from without. And, under the circumstances, one has to recognise the inevitableness of the things as they are. At the dissolution of the old synthesis and with a huge society in the throes of a new birth, it is natural to hear, not the soft cooings of placid contentment, but angry questionings, shouts of fear and bitter cries of pain.

The Indian "society" is under such conditions a mere trick of expression. It has no organic mind as it has yet to create the new elements of its psychology. The mass consciousness is yet a medley of unique impressions. Indian public opinion is, therefore, a thing that has yet to become a reality. Till the Indian people have

growth of a nation on the basis of common political faith and life. The nation must move confidently ahead under the impulse of a common political faith. Public opinion will not become an articulate power. The political and social life of the country will lack all conscious direction till this necessary instrument is forged. We know there exists in some form "the best mind" of India, but we know as well that it is as yet an acquisition and not a capacity, and in any case it does not as yet possess the full dynamic vitality to leaven the whole mass. It is no doubt becoming conscious and articulate and is throwing out fresh ideas and examining the foundations of its belief. Its growing attempts at self-expression are familiarly called "public opinion," although, for the sake of accuracy, they should be described as opinion in the making. One can not be unaware that, even as it is, we have to look up to this "mind" as the thing of real importance and power in the shaping of India's future. What it thinks to-day, the whole of India will begin to think to-morrow or a day after. It carries within it the germ of a full-grown, strong and united public opinion. But, till it bursts forth in flower and fruit, we will have to depend on something else as well, besides the best mind of India, in the regulation of the political and social life of the country.

In the absence of a full-grown national mind finding a complete and united expression, public opinion would naturally consist of loose, disjointed ideas reflecting themselves in many moods. Of the intellectual conditions like those of India, intemperance of thought is an inseparable accident. In the vast process of destruction going on in Indian society misunderstandings are bound to arise and many an old sentiment is sure to be hardened into a prejudice. Hard knocks and inconvenient shifts abound in the rough and tumble of a revolutionary change. Hopes and fears, faith and doubt, and joy and sorrow and pain seldom find an ideal expression in the heat of battle. In India, where a new order of things is beginning to supplant the old and modern and ancient ideals have come into sharp collision, political thinking can not be uniformly temperate. Nor is it possible, under existing conditions, to be perfectly sure that even a moderate view or opinion would seldom find an immoderate utterance. If we discount the meagre rôle of the Legislative Councils in the government of India, we have a State having little organic relation with public opinion. Even a strong, united public opinion may fail to have any appreciable weight in the guidance of Indian affairs. As long, therefore, as the will of the people, or what is more popularly styled as public opinion, remains an irresponsible factor in the conduct of public affairs, opportunities are bound to occur when it may be treated with scant attention and respect. Every such treatment would inevitably lead to increasing energy of expression. Human language is, after all, an imperfect vehicle of thought, and words charged with concentrated disappointment and bitterness are rarely of the choicest. One can not, of course, overlook the existence of individual temperaments that find relief only through explosion, just as one can not ignore individuals of low mental calibre whose sole substitute for thought is violent expression. But the political language of a community as a whole becomes intemperate simply through the abnormality of the conditions under which its political thinking is done. The conditions have been undeniably abnormal in India, and yet it is a matter of wonder that the mass of educated opinion in the country has, on the whole, been characterised with sanity and balance. Extreme violence of phrase and feeling has not been wholly absent from the views of the extremists of either school of thought,—of those who criticise the bureaucrat as a hopeless and arrogant reactionary, as well as those who condemn the Congress agitator as a rank additionist. And it must be admitted that a certain class of journalism, not much distinguished for its sense of proportion, has been preparing the soil for the growth of distempered ideas. But speaking generally, political thinking in India has been remarkably free from the taint of violent expression. Indeed, it appears astonishingly tame and sober when compared with the tirades with which politicians like Sir Edward Carson have been envenoming the contemporary politics of Great Britain. Again, it must be remembered that incentives to intemperate language are not inconsiderable in this country. A Congress orator who hammers away at a single "resolution" for nine years and still finds it a live "plank" of his platform, must be more than human if he does not burst forth at last into fierce invective. To take a recent instance, the refusal of the Secretary of State for India to allow the creation of the Muslim University on terms acceptable to the Mussulmans has led to a certain heated energy of language. It would, of course, be absurd to suppose that Muslim discontent about an educational project of supreme importance to the community might assume a dangerous political character and, therefore, all frank reference to it should be hushed. It is the most important duty of India's rulers to keep in touch with the real feelings of the people. If those feelings happen to be very strong at a time it would be misleading the Government to attempt to suppress them with a view to appear falsely moderate. The only useful source of information to Government is an independent public opinion, and not the opaque official agency of the Police.

Whatever public opinion exists in this country, and however unarticulated it may be, it is the only source of strength. Every intemperance of political language and methods that supplies a direct incentive to such crimes deserves absolute condemnation and should not be tolerated. Anarchy in this country is, as we have said on many occasions, a peculiarly ugly growth and may not be stamped out entirely. The safest course is to remove the causes that feed it and to apply to the governors of India those courageous and liberal principles which will in due course evoke from a dull, inert mass a conscious, self-reliant and strong political personality. That is the supreme task of India's rulers. For, an enlightened public opinion based on the identity of ideals between the society and the State, will furnish the most effective weapon to cope with lawlessness, sedition and terrorism. It is hopeful to think that such public opinion is in process of creation. But political alcoholism in Indian journals and on Indian platforms is so often the result of ill-judged opinions expressed about Indians in the English and the Anglo-Indian Press, and the foolhardiness and obstinacy of prestige-mongers and upholders of settled facts, that their provocations must be checked if intemperance of political language in Indians is to be fully controlled.

The All-India Medical Mission.

We publish below another letter of Dr. Ansari received by the Mail which reached here on the 8th instant :—

Constantinople, Jan. 20.

I received your letter after a long wait, and I assure you it was very welcome. You would have learnt by now about the telegrams which I sent from Suez to the P. S. V. about the horrible outrage on His Excellency. It must have shocked everybody in India and caused no end of anxiety to the people in Delhi. However, the Viceroy is getting well, and I hope that the culprit would soon be found and punished for this dastardly attempt on the life of Lord Hardinge.

I have not yet seen the Grand Vizier, nor have I forwarded your cheque to the Sublime Porte. In future I would advise you strongly to send all remittances either to me or to the Caisse des Bourses Ottomane. I am convinced that this is the only institution in this country which has done any good work to lessen the sufferings of the emigrants.

I have thought over your scheme very carefully and think it not only very sound but most practical. The Mission can very easily be divided into two units, one working at the Omerli Hospital and the other either in the front (in case of war) or in Anatolia where most of the emigrants have been sent. In the latter condition, which seems to me most likely, our work would be just as useful as in the case of war. The section in Anatolia would have a house rented for the purpose for the hospital and dispensary. And the chief feature of the work of this section would be to house visits not only to treat the patients there and to supply them with the necessary medicines in their homes, but also to furnish them with food and necessary clothing, and, when the bread-winners are cured, to help them with a small sum and start them on their work. I think this would be a far greater work than half a dozen field-hospitals. Of course, we shall have to have an office in Constantinople where the Manager and I would work and we shall visit the two hospitals alternately every other week and keep regular registers and accounts of the relief thus undertaken by us.

Both the Manager and myself have visited the Croissant Rouge and have had long interviews with Residant Omar Pasha, Vice-President and the real worker in this institution, as well as Mehmet Ali Bey, Inspector-General, and several other men who are doing positive work for the Society. We have gathered every possible information regarding their work and have come to the conclusion that, although they are by no means very quick in their undertakings or progress in their organization, they have done a vast amount of work during this war. We have induced them to publish an account of their work in the form of a booklet and also the total amount of money received from India upto the present time. I think they are going to do it shortly. We have visited the stores and their work-room where the ladies sew linen, underclothing, stockings, etc., etc., for the patients and the emigrants. We have also seen for ourselves the manner in which clothing, blankets, and other necessary articles are distributed to the different sections of the emigrant population encamped round about Constantinople. And, although we have not been able to visit the tent camps, we know on good authority that good, wholesome and nutritious food is cooked and supplied twice daily to the emigrants. There are a certain class of emigrants who have run away from their homes with their belongings and who are supplied with food and clothing daily for themselves and the animals. It seems that the

stated that no male members among the emigrants are given any money or clothing, unless they are ill as that would be an inducement for idleness. These are sent away to different parts of Anabolia or are supplied with work in Constantinople. For this work they have divided Stamboul into various sections or areas, each area being worked by one local man who prepares a list of the different families of the emigrants with their needs. The Central Office sends one of its members with food, clothing, bedding, etc., according to the requirements, to be distributed in the presence of this member and marked off in the registers. It is interesting to note that nearly all the workers of the Croissant Rouge, whether they are gentlemen or ladies, belong to the Party of Union and Progress. An important section of the organization of the Croissant Rouge is a bureau which supplies clothing, food and other necessities to the Turkish prisoners in the hands of the Balkan Confederacy and as much news as is permissible to their relations in Turkey.

Our idea is to work in co-operation with the Croissant Rouge, although we shall keep our own register and our own employees for the relief work. I would be very glad if you would let me know your opinion about this scheme.

I may mention also that the chief medical officers and managers for the two sections would, in my opinion, be quite capable of directing and managing the affairs of their sections. To make matters sure, you would see that I would be myself visiting the two sections every alternate week for doing important operations, auditing their accounts and directing them in other matters.

As regards blankets and clothing I had a long talk with Beasim Omar Pasha, and I think he is right in preferring money to ready-made clothes or blankets. As by the time these reach Turkey it would be spring time, the need for blankets would not be so urgent and the clothing will have to be supplied according to the climate. Moreover, I don't think that except under-clothing anything else made in India would at all be used by the people here, as their clothes are so entirely different.

The great event of the week has been a visit from Enver Bey. He came to visit us in the hospital where we are staying. He is only a young man of about 35, exceedingly handsome, with most expressive eyes full of determination. His demeanour was that of a very strong man, chastened with hardships and sufferings. It was quiet and yet characteristic, modest and yet commanding respect. A man who is born to command and to elicit implicit faith and admiration from those who work under him. He spoke with a certain reserve and expressed his appreciation of our work for his countrymen. It was a thousand pities that the difficulty of the language prevented talking to him at length. After a visit to the wards a group was taken and he departed.

I had another occasion of seeing Madame Halide Edib, who was as interesting as ever. She promised to become a contributor to the *Comrade* as soon as things had settled down in Turkey. We gave a few copies of the *Comrade* for distribution among her friends.

I have had to make some additions in the personnel of the Mission, as it was absolutely unavoidable. From the very beginning we had foreseen the necessity of employing interpreters, and our experience has only convinced us of this urgent need. I have secured the services of Dr. Fikad Bey who is the best interpreter (apart from his being a medical man) I have come across in Constantinople. We shall have to pay him a good salary which has not been definitely fixed, but will be between £6 and £8 a month. Dr. Fikad knows English and Turkish perfectly and is an Egyptian. I have also secured the services of two dragomen, both Indian, who can speak Turkish fairly well, on a salary of five Medjidiehs, which come to about Rs. 12-8-0 a month. These men will be useful in getting out the history from the patient, and other general work. An Egyptian boy, Mahmood Mashar, of a respectable family, has joined us as a volunteer without any salary. He has been a student in the Mercantile Naval School and has been a volunteer also. He is willing to serve in any capacity with our Mission. Knowing English and Turkish fairly well, he is a very useful addition to the Mission.

I have met Sheikh Abdul Aziz Chawish and found him a very interesting personality. He is full of schemes for reviving the Arabic literature and language.

It is with a great sigh of relief that I am writing to you about the departure of a portion of our equipment to Omerli in charge of two of our men. I am going there to-morrow with four other men in order to get all the tents pitched and the other arrangements made for camp. I hope within three days to return to Constantinople and go back with the remaining articles and the members of the Mission. I cannot tell you what difficulties are placed in our way even in arranging a small matter. Our things have all arrived last week, and in any other country but Turkey everything would have been arranged in a day or two.

CONFERENCE



Red Crescent Fund and Mr. Ameer Ali.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—As recently several sums of money have been sent to me from India for transmission to the President of the Ottoman Red Crescent in Constantinople, I beg to inform the Mussalman public through your columns that I cannot undertake such agency work.

I have the full administration of the British Red Crescent charity in my hands which imposes on me an enormous amount of anxious work, as the area of distress which we are trying to relieve is extensive and the suffering and destitution appalling.

No other organisation has attempted to touch even the fringe of this area of distress and the whole burden has fallen upon us.

2, Cadogan Place, S. W.

Yours very truly,

31st January, 1913.

AMEER ALI.

[We shall be glad to undertake the task which the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali is unable to carry out, and we have decided to devote our Turkish Relief Fund to the maintenance of the All-India Medical Mission in Turkey and the support of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society which has done much excellent work.—Ed., *Comrade*.]

Moslem Problems.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I have read with much interest your refreshing views on the supreme problem of finding out "the true basis" for our renaissance and the goal of our ideals. In any scheme of social reconstruction, broad-based on such solid foundations as would ensure the physical, intellectual, political and economic strength of Muslim communities, the dominating factor, as tested and proved by the concordant experience of all progressive nations, must remain the relative position of man and woman in our national life, and if either of these two constituents of our being be lacking in efficiency and vigour, the whole mechanism of our society must fail in achieving any high purpose or in maintaining our position in the strenuous struggle for survival. The slothfulness and sickly apathy which have settled upon Muhammadan races, and which threaten to become embedded in the very fibre of their national life, cannot be eradicated without imbuing Moslem womanhood with that vitalising energy—the offspring of a healthy and active life—which is essential for the building up of sturdy and vigorous races of men fitted to revive the vanishing glories of Islam. I have briefly touched upon the predominant aspect of this socio-physiological question in my previous letters, to which you have courteously extended the hospitality of your columns, and I now venture to refer to some other causes, which have combined to bring about our decline and which seem to call for the serious consideration of all leaders of Muslim thought. These may be broadly grouped under the following heads.—(I) Educational, (II) Economic, (III) Political, (IV) Religious.

As regards (I), our co-religionists have not yet evolved in any Muhammadan country an adequate system of education suited to the changed and changing conditions of the world. They still pathetically cling to the outworn and obsolescent courses of study and formulae, which usefully served the requirements of a

dead past, but which are as ineffective to-day as Nelson's victorious flag-ship would be in encountering a Dreadnought. The natural result is a pitiful waste of brain-power and intellectual stagnancy. Even the Muhammadans of India, who have been dragged from their comparative backwardness into considerable educational activity by the example of other communities, the inspiring patriotism of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the special encouragement of the British Government, have yet to make up a great deal of leeway especially in the domain of modern science. It is very discouraging that at the present moment some of our prominent men, oblivious of the example of Sir Syed Ahmad, are developing such reactionary tendencies as to seriously think of breathing new life into the dry bones of an out-of-date culture, which had nobly served its purpose in mediæval times, but is now like scrap iron, except, of course, in regard to Islamic history, our immortal classics and our personal law. The inadequately equipped and much neglected Science School at Aligarh is practically a sterile institution, and our students, on whom the hopes and aspirations of our community are centred, are, with very few exceptions, content generally to confine their mental horizon, both in India and in Europe, to the study of law and literature. I do not minimise the great importance of a legal or literary training, but it is to be regretted that Muhammadan students have not yet realised the value of unlocking the vast treasures which science has placed within their reach. The laurels, which this youthful branch of human knowledge wears, transcend in their triumphs all that has hitherto been achieved by mankind since the dawn of learning. Though the dictum of Herbert Spencer, that "the only proper preparation for citizenship is the scientific preparation," be appraised at its lowest value and the very recent pronouncement of Dr. T. P. Nunn, "that man's achievements were what they were very largely because of those facts of human effort that were called scientific," be heavily discounted, it cannot be gainsaid that no nation can expect to maintain its position in the world, except on precarious sufferance, without an adequate and up-to-date scientific equipment. Had the Turks developed a capacity to build even a couple of battleships of the latest type and to produce a few efficient aviators, a mighty and historic Empire might not have collapsed like a house built on sand, and the appalling misery which has overwhelmed millions of human beings would have been averted. Let our young men ask themselves seriously and honestly whether any amount of legal or metaphysical lore and literary or philosophical renown can save us from being trampled under the heel of the giants, which the creative genius of the men of science has brought into being. If the answer is in the affirmative, as it must be, it is incumbent on our leading educationalists in all parts of the Muslim world to elaborate a scheme of education in which the New Learning, especially scientific, has the place it has fully established its right to hold, and not to delude themselves with any illusions as to the effete intellectual ideals which were suited to a by-gone age, but which are as valueless now as spent cartridges. Our antiquated theories and conceptions of cosmic phenomena, of physical ailments and their causation, of the forces of nature, *et hoc genus omne*, which were also theories and conceptions of other nations before the advance of positive knowledge, are such as to do incalculable harm to plastic minds and developing intellects by giving them a wrong twist at an impressionable age and should not be allowed to encumber even the lumber-room of youthful memory.

In connection with the scientific training of our students I would invite the attention of our community to the encouraging results of the schemes started by our Hindu and Parsi fellow-subjects for the technological and industrial education of Indians in foreign countries, where the facilities and appliances requisite for that purpose are far in advance of those available in India. Is it too much to expect our wealthy and patriotic Muslim brethren to do for their community what a small band of far-seeing Bengali gentlemen and the late Mr. Jinnahji Tata have done to advance the bounds of India's progress and prosperity?

Before we aspire to rise to the altitude of the energetic nations who are making modern history, the ground work of a productive primary and secondary educational system, including well-equipped and efficient training institutions for Muhammadan masters and mistresses, will have to be prepared and strengthened with the help and co-operation of Government. The educational authorities will no doubt upon the door of financial assistance when it is knocked at. If this task is considered too vast for the efforts of a community, which is not abundantly blessed with worldly riches, our Anjuman, Lodges, Conferences and other public bodies, under the guidance of our leaders, should endeavour to bring about the desired result by urging the special needs of our community upon the attention of Government, whose responsiveness to our requirements has often been manifested in various ways.

As I have already exceeded the ordinary limits of a letter, I shall crave your indulgence to revert to the subject on a future occasion.

Yours faithfully,

A MUSLIM LADY.

London, 8th January, 1915.

Muhammadans and the Allahabad Law College.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—We fully expected the letter which appeared over the signatures of K. S. in the *Leader* some time ago, and also anticipated its characteristic reasoning. K. S. assumes that "efficiency and interest of education," could only be served by giving the newly-created Law Readerships to the L.L. B's of the Indian Universities—he might as well have added—"provided they were Hindus." Of course being an L.L. B. or an L.L. D. of a British University is a disqualification especially if the holder of such a degree happens to be a Muhammadan and a Barrister. K. S. may not know, but the fact remains that Messrs. Sulaiman and Muhammad Raof were certainly among the applicants. Then, again, we do not know why notice of the meeting was not given to the Muhammadan members of the Law College Committee. We have also been unable to find out why after the first batch of candidates had been examined recourse was had to a process similar to that of creating new Peers in English politics to swamp the Opposition. We do not believe in mutual advertisement or in an indecent display of University degrees. Mr. Haider's qualifications as well as those of Mr. Sulaiman speak for themselves. But we can readily understand why Mr. Haider's lecture did not strike K. S. as "the most impressive or the most instructive." For, experience has taught us that there is such a thing as unconscious and instinctive prejudice which refuses to see any good in others. The ratiocination which condemned Mr. Haider's lecture must have been similar to that which for ages so jealously and successfully prevented any Muhammadan from being elected to the Local Legislative Council until the new Regulations of the enlarged Councils rescued Muhammadans from their unmerited obscurity. Another interesting object lesson is supplied by the Municipal and District Boards, which tell their own tale, of the justice and fairness shown to Muhammadans by their generous Hindu "friends" and countrymen. As to the general opinion among the students that Messrs. Banerji and Chaudhri would be selected, one is at a loss to understand whether K. S. makes his case stronger or weaker by referring to the intelligent anticipation of these young men. We think that he exactly supports our case, for, as already stated, we, too, on our part, were equally certain even before the lecture was delivered that a Muhammadan at any rate would never be selected. It is natural for K. S. to talk of "efficiency and interests of education" when Muhammadan candidates of high attainments happened to be in the field, but these Pecksniffian ideas never seem to have occurred to anybody when the Law College appointments used to be conferred, as a matter of course, upon persons who had influential friends or relations to support them. At present with the exception of Dr. Weir's lectures, which are universally appreciated for their learning and scholarship, we doubt whether the Law College suffers from too many "impressive" or "instructive" or even audible lectures. One lecture is usually full of sound and fury meaning nothing, another is—simply nothing. About a third, it is not easy to say anything because so few can hear it. No one can doubt for one moment the absolute integrity and high character of Dr. Weir, but we are afraid the learned Doctor did not sufficiently realize that he was in India, where Europeans in responsible positions have always to be vigilant to see that no one suffers on account of his race or creed. We certainly wish all British officers, who occupy positions of trust and responsibility in this country, to study not only Muslim politics but also the policy of that powerful but silent organisation, whose aggressive and widespread activities drove the Muslims, purely out of the natural instinct of self-preservation, to form the Moslem League six years ago and to seek the direct protection of British justice and fairness. We do not wish for one moment that any incompetent person, whatever his race or creed, should be favoured in any way or that the interests of the Law College should be disregarded. But we do most respectfully trust and hope that the large-minded, sympathetic and just Chancellor of the Allahabad University would graciously see that the University and the Law College are not treated as mere appendages to the ancient Hindu University.

A MUHAMMADAN ORIENTALIST.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Feb. 3.

It is reported that the Turkish fleet took part in an action south of Kavar River. Its fire, however, was ineffective.

Turks from Tchataldja endeavoured to cross the Karasu River, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

The bombardment of Adrianople continues.

Two Greek naval officers made a flight in a hydro-aeroplane from Lemnos yesterday. They reconnoitred the Turkish warships and the fortifications of the Dardanelles and Gallipoli and dropped four bombs after which they returned in safety having covered 112 miles in two hours and twenty minutes. They described the peninsula as a vast military arsenal. According to Constantinople reports the bombs from the aeroplane fell into the sea and on shore exploding harmlessly.

A Constantinople telegram published at midnight states that an official announcement states that the enemy continue their retirement from Tchataldja. There have been several fights, one of which, in the vicinity of Palais, developed into a severe battle. All ended in the retreat of the enemy.

A Turkish warship bombarded the enemy from Buyukchekmedje.

Later.

The bombardment of Adrianople continues night and day, but the damage has been unimportant. The courage and vigour of the garrison are admirable.

The enemy erecting fortifications on the heights south of the village of Xamilon in the vicinity of Gallipoli were cannonaded by the Turkish army and fleet.

It is semi-officially denied in Sofia that the Servian reinforcements are going to Thrace where the Bulgarians do not require assistance.

M. Venizelos arrived at Salonica yesterday and was welcomed by the authorities and a crowd of thirty thousand. In a speech M. Venizelos predicted that the war would speedily terminate in the defeat of the Turks and lasting peace.

The Rumanian Minister at Sofia has been instructed to resume negotiations on the frontier question and also to urge upon Bulgaria the necessity for a speedy settlement.

A Cetinje telegram states that King Nicholas received the Malissori at Gruda. The proceedings were full of enthusiasm. Three thousand Malissori have joined the Montenegrins outside Scutari.

A Sofia telegram states that King Ferdinand has gone to the headquarters of the Army.

Later.

Yesterday's Greek aviation exploit was a remarkable achievement. Lieutenant Montomais and Moraitis left Lemnos on the hydro-aeroplane at nine in the morning ascending to three thousand feet. They circled for the European coast of the Dardanelles. They circled twice over Nagara and twice traversed the straits. The Turkish fleet was near Nagara and was seen with great distinctness. Little puffs of smoke and flashes showed that guns were being fired. The aeronauts reconnoitred thoroughly the Turkish encampments and dropped four bombs upon the arsenal. They returned by a zigzag course the way they came and encountered the Greek destroyer "Veleo" between Lemnos and Idroos. They descended in the sea and the aeronauts went on board the "Veleo" which took the hydro-aeroplane in tow. The officers say that the success of the expedition exceeded all expectations and proved the utility of the hydro-aeroplane to the navy.

Sofia reports that the Turks yesterday advanced from Tchataldja in three columns, the first, consisting of six battalions, advanced against Arnauksui under cover of the guns of the fort and two gunners and two torpedo boats in Buyukchekmedje Bay. The Bulgarians made a counter-attack and drove the Turks towards Buyukchekmedje Bridge. Two battalions of Turks from Buyukchekmedje found the artillery too hot for them and retired beyond the Karasu River. The Bulgarians attacked with the bayonet a single Turkish regiment from Guktehali which retreated in disorder, leaving dead and wounded. The Turks' attempts in the Derkda district also failed. The Bulgarian aeroplanes throughout the fighting reconnoitred the Tchataldja line. The bombardment of Adrianople continues.

According to a Podgoritz message King Nicholas ordered a general advance against Scutari and viewed the bombardment from the hill top. Uncovering his head the King prayed "May God give victory to my brave people." The bands played the Montenegrin National Anthem and the scene was most impressive.

The Servian artillery was effective in silencing the Turkish battery at Muselim, which the Montenegrin infantry stormed and captured. The Turks made a sortie to the west of Scutari, but were repulsed. The Montenegrin guns sank two Turkish steamers in the lake.

A Belgrade message states that the Servians are actively engaged at Scutari and are meeting with considerable success. The scarcity of news from Thrace is causing dissatisfaction in view of the large numbers of Servians engaged.

London, Feb. 10.

A Constantinople message says that official despatches state that skirmishes continue at Tchataldja, but that the situation is unchanged. The infantry and cavalry on the Turkish left are harassing the enemy.

Fighting continues in the vicinity of Gallipoli, between the Turks at Bulair and the Bulgarians at Xamilon.

Great military activity prevails in Constantinople. Four big transports and a number of tugs and barges left on Friday night southwards. The departure is evidently connected with a plan for landing an expeditionary column near Rodosto.

It is reported that the Allies are advancing in strength against Bulair.

The Greek fleet appeared in the Gulf of Saros on Friday.

The retirement of the Bulgarian front from Tchataldja to Tchorlu strengthens the belief that the Allies intend to concentrate their efforts against the Dardanelles.

A letter from Mr. Roosevelt to Dr. Danef has been published at Sofia paying a tribute to Bulgarian bravery and patriotism. Mr. Roosevelt declares that their victories have delivered civilised humanity from the burden of Turkish domination and insists that Adrianople must be given up to the Bulgarians.

M. Venizelos is making a several days' stay at Salonica. He has been received by officials and fêted and has lunched with Their Majesties.

A well attended meeting of Turkish women was held at Stamboul to consider means for aiding in national defence. Patriotic speeches were made, and many ladies gave the jewellery which they were wearing towards the defence fund. It is stated that trinkets worth two thousand sterling were collected and that more were promised.

Two hundred houses in the Arsenal quarter have been destroyed by fire at Constantinople. Sailors from foreign warships helped to extinguish the flames.

A Turkish aeroplane reconnoitred over Tchataldja and discovered that the Bulgarians retiring from that front had deceived the enemy by means of clay dummies wearing military cap.

A Sofia message states that King Ferdinand and the princes and the ministers of finance and railways have left Dimotika en route for Dedesgatch.

A Sofia message states that six divisions of the Turks on Saturday attacked the Bulgarians before Bulair where the line of forts crosses the neck of the Gallipoli peninsula. They were repulsed, leaving an enormous number of killed and wounded.

At nightfall twenty Turkish vessels began landing troops at Shar-Kol, fifteen miles to north-east of Bulair. They were almost immediately attacked and driven back to the ships with considerable losses.

All attempt of the Turks to assume the offensive at Tchataldja have been checked. An attempt to land a force at Podima on the Black Sea fourteen miles south-east of Midia was repulsed, the Turks leaving fifty dead.

A Constantinople telegram states that two warships have destroyed the enemy's positions at Silivri, forty-three miles westward of Constantinople. An infantry landing was effected at Akburn. Part of the troops proceeded to Bogados on the coast thirty-six miles west of Constantinople.

It is declared that the reconnaissance from Tchataldja has reached Cherkasskai, twenty-five miles to the north-westward.

A Podgoritz telegram states that three days desperate fighting has taken place at Scutari and the Montenegrins admit having suffered terrible losses. Last night the height of Great Bardanjoli dominating Scutari from the east was taken by storm.

The "Hamidiye" passed Port Said to-day returning to the Mediterranean.

Later.

News from the seat of war confirms the official despatches, which are mostly brief and mutually contradictory. The one thing certain is that the Turkish treasury is empty.

London, Feb. 11.

It is officially stated in Cetinje that the Montenegrins' loss at Bardanjoli was 2,500 killed and wounded, while four thousand Turks dead and wounded were found on the battlefield. There has also been fierce fighting for the last three days at Tarabosh, and the battle still continues.

A Sofia telegram states that the Bulgarian losses at Bulair on Saturday were five officers and 412 men wounded and two officers and some men killed. The Turks suffered enormous losses, their death roll including twenty officers, while they also lost many quick-fires, rifles and stores.

Hakki Pasha, a former Grand Vizier, leaves Constantinople to-day for Vienna, Paris, London, and Berlin on a special mission.

A Sofia message states that after repulsing all Turkish attacks except near Sabinarmora where the Turks were supported by warships the Bulgarians have retired to fresh positions some six kilometres to the rear. Their losses were insignificant. The Turks lost fifty officers and five thousand men dead and double that number wounded. Their losses were mainly due to shell fire. The Bulgarians are entrenching before Bulair.

The Bulgarians also report having inflicted losses of several thousand on the force which landed at Shar-Koi.

A Constantinople manifesto on behalf of the women of Turkey addressed to the Army declares that if the soldiers retreat they cannot return to their homes unless they trample under foot the Moslem women, who are ready to die for their country, religion and honour.

Thousands of sturdy well-equipped troops are pouring in from Asia. Government appears to be calm and resourceful. Two troopships filled with enthusiastic troops have left daily for several days past for secret destinations.

London, Feb. 12.

A Constantinople message says that the Turks made a sortie from Adrianople on the 9th instant and captured at the point of the bayonet a Bulgarian position in the Daliden Hills, inflicting severe losses. The message adds: Our troops at Tchataldja have joined hands at Papaburgas. They attacked the enemy occupying the heights to the west and captured the Bulgarians, only ten of latter escaping. Our cavalry has occupied Pighados (Boghados?).

A Belgrade telegram states that the Government organ *Samoupravu* announces that the dispute between Bulgaria and Rumania has ended in a compromise.

A Kustenji message reports that the Turkish ironclad *Assari Tewfik* is badly ashore on the rocks south of Midia. Salvage steamers proceeding to her assistance have been fired on by the Bulgarians, who are holding the coast in strength.

France has made urgent representations to Bulgaria to allow French nationals to leave Adrianople.

It is reported from Constantinople that Hakki Pasha visited the British Ambassador prior to the departure for London. He will break his journey at Vienna to see Count von Berchtold. There have been conversations between Sir Edward Grey and Tewfik Pasha on the subject of peace for some days past, but nothing definite has been arranged. It is still felt that no diplomatic development is likely pending a decisive military action.

A Sofia telegram states that the Government has issued a statement repudiating the "fabrics" invented in Constantinople regarding Turkish victories and declaring that hitherto only two landings have been attempted by the Turks, namely, at Podima and Shar-Koi, both of which were repulsed. There has been no important engagement at Tchataldja. With reference to the operations in Gallipoli the statement declares that the Turks lost over fifteen thousand in the battle of Bulair, where the Bulgarians have hitherto buried 2,500 dead Turks, and three thousand are still scattered on the battle-field. King Ferdinand has expressed his warm thanks to the seventh Division, which routed six Turkish divisions, the latter being supported by the fire of the Turkish fleet.

It appears that two Turkish divisions were landed at Shar-Koi taking two days to disembark. The Bulgarians on the morning of the 3rd day fiercely attacked the Turks, who fled in panic. In the afternoon the Turks regained the shore with difficulty. They were hotly pursued by infantry and cavalry with mountain guns and the re-embarkation was carried out in the greatest disorder under the guns of the warship which afterwards steamed away hurriedly.

A Sofia telegram states that in the fighting at Shar-Koi on Monday the Turks lost over a thousand men and the Bulgarians only sixty. The bombardment of Adrianople continues intermittently.

A Constantinople message says that the greatest importance attaches to the expedition column under Enver Bey comprising about sixty thousand of all arms who were safely landed at Eregli under the guns of the fleet. The Bulgarians have apparently retired to the Ergene lines, where there is every prospect of a general engagement. The troops advancing from Tchataldja will co-operate with Enver Bey. Several hundred Circassians were despatched to the coast at Midia where they were landed to form bands to harass the Bulgarian communications. The first attempt failed as the men were ambushed and practically wiped out.

London, Feb. 13.

Renter learns that Tewfik Pasha some days ago asked for the intervention of the Powers in the interest of Peace. He was told that until Turkey submitted proposals likely to be acceptable intervention was impossible.

It is believed that Hakki Pasha is the bearer of fresh proposals. The Ambassadors sitting yesterday were wholly occupied with Turkey's request.

A Constantinople telegram states that a violent cannonade continued all day yesterday at Adrianople. Bulgarian aeroplanes dropped bombs into the town. Heavy fighting has taken place in the Gallipoli peninsula, but no details have yet been received.

It is officially declared that the Turkish losses at Bulair did not exceed eight hundred and that the Bulgarians did not gain an inch, but only held their ground. They are now fortifying their position.

It is understood in Bukharest that Bulgaria has offered Rumania further concessions on the Black Sea coast and that Rumania has abandoned her claims to Silistria.

London, Feb. 14.

A Constantinople telegram states that the enemy made a surprise attack on Adrianople yesterday morning. The battle lasted two and a half hours, but left the position unchanged. The bombardment continues in a feeble manner.

In the Commons Mr. Guinness called attention to the reports of the Serbian troop massacres at Prisrend after the occupation of the town.

Sir Edward Grey referred to his previous answers on the subject.

Mr. Guinness thereupon asked whether Sir Edward Grey could reassure Britains Moslem subjects by expressing horror and in well-authenticated cases by making friendly representations to Allies.

Sir Edward Grey replied: "Of course such statements must be most painful to me. Whenever our consuls have sent such reports I have brought them to the notice of the Government concerned and expressed the expectation that it would put an end to such happenings. The Bulgarian and Serbian Governments have replied that any such outrages will be punished, but so far as they know they have been committed by irregular hands."

A Malta message states that the Turkish warship "Hamidiye" has arrived there owing to stress of weather. It is believed that her destination is the Ionian Sea. In any case she will not return to Constantinople. She will have to leave within twenty-four hours unless she is damaged. The arrival of the vessel has caused great excitement among the Greek community who have proceeded to the harbour to watch her.

A Constantinople message says that the Sultan has congratulated the troops on their recent successes.

News from the Turkish Sources.

The following telegram was received by the Consul-General for Turkey in Bombay on 10th February, 1913.

"Sublime Porte, Constantinople, 10th February. Small encounters have taken place beyond Tchataldja line. Our left wing exercises pressure on the enemy. There were skirmishes without result at Xanthi and Gallipoli. Adrianople continues to repulse courageously the attacks of the enemy. The fire opened by the warships *Idelic* and *Messini* has destroyed the positions of the enemy."

on the coast of Silivro. Our cavalry has advanced as far as Courn Burgas. Landings of the Infantry have taken place at Atash Bournum, a part of which has gone to Bizadon."

The following cable was received from Dr. Ansari, Director of the All-India Medical Mission to Turkey, by the Comrade on the 12th February, 1913:—

Turkish victory Uzunkepri 35,000 Bulgarians killed. Sortie from Adrianople demolished enemy's battery. Captured ammunition. Relief imminent. Outlook glorious. Arranged free news.

The following is a translation of a message received from the special agent of the *Habul Matin* of Calcutta at Constantinople: The patriotic feelings of Turkish men and women know no bounds. Jewellery, apparel and cereals are offered enthusiastically. Thousands of volunteers enter the theatre of war daily, while sturdy Asiatic troops are arriving constantly. In Janina the Greeks have been repulsed so heavily that they cannot raise their heads soon. After five days fighting, in which the enemy suffered a loss of twelve thousand, Scutari is free from siege. The Turkish army at Tchataldja is marching vigorously to Lule Burgas. The Bulgarians have suffered enormous losses and it is expected to raise the siege any moment. The Turks are planning to envelop the invaders in Adrianople. In Gallipoli, in spite of enormous losses, the labours of the enemy are abortive.

The Collective Note

At three o'clock in the afternoon on the 17th Jan. the six Ambassadors went to the Sublime Porte and handed the Minister for Foreign Affairs a Collective Note.

The *Sabah* summarized as follows the information it had obtained on the three essential points of the Note:—

10. The Powers recommend the Sublime Porte to renounce its point of view concerning Adrianople; in other words they counsel the cessation of the town.

20. The Ottoman Government is advised to leave to the Powers the solution of the question of the Aegean islands.

30. If Turkey favourably receives the above proposals, Europe will give her material and moral support. In the contrary case the Powers will decline all responsibility for the eventual consequences of the resumption of hostilities.

As regards the Aegean islands, we understand that the Note contains an assurance to the effect that the decision of the Powers will be such as not to endanger in any way the Asiatic possessions of the Empire.

The *Ikdam* says the Note of the Powers contains certain passages amounting to veiled threats. The Porte is informed that the Powers desire the prompt acceptance of their proposal concerning Adrianople and the Aegean islands. The Powers add that all the responsibility resulting from a delay in the acceptance of these proposals will fall on the Ottoman Government. They explain further that a refusal on the part of Turkey would lead to consequences prejudicial to universal peace and that Turkey would have nothing to gain from the results of an eventual general conflagration.

The Grand Council.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 22.

The Government has issued the following statement:—

"To-day the Grand Council, composed of Senators, the leading Ulama, and other military and civil dignitaries, met in the Imperial Palace. The Grand Vizier and the Ministers for War, Foreign Affairs, and Finance having given certain explanations in the name of the entire Cabinet, a frank and sincere exchange of views followed with regard to the situation of the Government. The Council fully accepted the point of view of Government, and, trusting in the sentiments of justice of the Great Powers, left to the patriotic hands of a loyal Cabinet the task of working, with the effective support which has been promised by the Great Powers for the future prosperity of the country and for the assurance of its vital financial interests."

THE PERSONS.

The Grand Council assembled at the Palace of Dolma Baghtche at noon. There were present: some 25 Senators, including Prince Said Halid, Chief of the Committee of Union and Progress, and some 40 other civil and military dignitaries. Prince Yusuf Izz-ed-

Din, the Heir-Apparent, and several of the senior members of the Imperial Family were present at the meeting, but did not take part in the debate.

After the Sultan had given audience to the Heir-Apparent and to two other Princes, he summoned the Grand Vizier, who was ordered to open the deliberations of the Council in the name of the Sultan. Kiamil Pasha accordingly entered the great reception hall of the Palace, where the members of the Grand Council were assembled, and, after saluting the Council in the name of the Sultan, opened the proceedings by explaining the functions of the "Grand Divan." The assembly, he said, was purely proposed to give an *exposé* of the situation and to explain its policy to the principal dignitaries of the Empire, who represented the Ottoman people. After the Grand Vizier had ceased his secretary, Said Bey, read a translation of the Collective Note of the Powers. The Ministers of War, Finance, and of Foreign Affairs then made their statements concerning the situation of the Empire as viewed from the standpoint of their respective Ministries. The meeting was held with closed doors, and therefore it is impossible to give more than the merest sketch of their speeches.

Nazim Pasha is believed to have informed the Council that while the Army was now in excellent condition it was not powerful enough to undertake a war of reconquest. The Navy had done its best, but nothing more could be hoped from that quarter. Abder-Rahman Bey described the financial situation in gloomy colours. Nuradunghian Effendi's speech was read for him by Said Bey. In it the Foreign Minister expressed the opinion that in the present circumstances the Government would be compelled to follow the advice of the Powers. He appears to have laid stress upon the menacing attitude of Russia, and upon the dangers to which the Ottoman Empire would be exposed in the event of a renewal of the war. He concluded by requesting the Council to give its opinion in clear and decisive terms.

It soon became evident that the majority of the Council supported the Government. Speeches in this sense were delivered by the Hodja Assim Effendi, Damad Ferid Pasha, Marshal Fâid Pasha, Aristidi Pasha, Logotheti Bey, the ex-Grand Viziers, their Highnesses Said Pasha and Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, and by Reshid Akif Pasha, whose speech made a profound impression. The Procurator-General, Ismail Hakki Bey, alone spoke in favour of war. Neither Prince Said Halim nor any other of the members of the Committee present opposed the Government.

At 4-10 Kiamil Pasha declared the meeting over. He had sat during the meeting between the Sheikh-ul-Islam and his old opponent "Kutchuk" Said Pasha. At the close of the meeting the Grand Vizier gave his hand to Said Pasha and asked him to forget past quarrels in this hour of national tribulation. Said Pasha answered him cordially, and the two aged statesmen walked out of the Council room hand in hand—a symbol, thus, of the general reconciliation that is necessary if the Ottoman Empire is to profit by the lessons of the last three years.

The Council of Ministers will meet to-morrow to discuss the Turkish answer to the Collective Note. It is believed that the Porte will request the Powers, as reported yesterday, to guarantee that no further demands will be made on the part of the Balkan League, and on the receipt of such a guarantee will be ready to comply with their wishes and make peace.

The town is quiet to-night, and it is believed that the public has resigned itself to the inevitable and will accept peace without demur.

Almost Complete Unanimity.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 22.

The Grand Council met shortly after noon to-day at the Dolma Baghtcheh Palace in the department usually reserved for diplomatic receptions. Some eighty notabilities were invited, including most of the senators with the exception of those of Bulgarian, Servian, or Roumanian (Vlach) extraction. The Under Secretaries of the various Departments and the high ecclesiastical Moslem dignitaries also attended. Neither the chiefs of the non-Moslem religious communities nor the ex-Ministers belonging to the Union and Progress Committee received invitations, exceptions being made only in the cases of Mahmud Shevket Pasha and Aristidi Pasha, who are members of the Senate. Mahmud Shevket, however, did not put in an appearance.

The personages invited began to arrive at half-past eleven. At noon the Crown Prince, Prince Vahid ed-Din, and Prince Medjid arrived. The Sultan received the whole assemblage in audience collectively, with the Grand Vizier and the Sheikh-ul-Islam. Kiamil Pasha was charged by an *iradeh* with the presidency of the Assembly. The

members were grouped in order according to profession, military men, civil officials, Senators, and ulema (doctors of the ecclesiastical law) forming distinct groups.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, Jan. 22.

From a reliable source I have received the following supplementary details of the meeting of the Grand Council. The Grand Vizier said that at a time of the gravest crisis the Government wished to consult the leaders of national thought and affairs in order to ascertain whether the course it was pursuing enjoyed the confidence of the nation, and also possibly to obtain suggestions for a different line of policy which might offer greater advantages.

Nasim Pasha said that the army was willing, able, and eager to continue the war. They might even hope for a measure of success, although there was little chance of recovering Salonica or Monastir, or even of relieving Adrianople. There were other questions, however, besides the purely military question, which required consideration and which militated against a continuation of the hostilities.

The Minister of Finance explained the dependence of the Treasury on foreign markets. The most onerous task, however, devolved on Noradunghian Effendi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who set forth the international situation, the attitude of the Powers, and the results of the Turkish diplomatic representations. He dwelt especially on the attitude of Russia, which country, he said, had on two recent occasions warned the Porte that a continuation of the hostilities might compel her to depart from her attitude of neutrality. Noradunghian made it clear that there was little hope of any advantage to be derived from European complications.

All four speakers justified the standpoint of the Government, namely, that the continuation of the war was inadvisable and that adhesion to the recommendations of the Powers was the only course open to the Government.

Several speakers followed, including the late Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, who concurred with the views expressed by the Government, scarcely any dissentient opinions were expressed, the military officers present being all in favour of the standpoint of the Government.

How Kiamil Fell.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 23.

THE crisis has come with dramatic suddenness. Yesterday the Grand Council, representing the intellect and wealth of the nation, pronounced in favour of peace almost at any price. To-day a crowd drawn from all classes of the proletariat has declared for war rather than peace without Adrianople, and because the crowd was backed by the vast majority of the public the Government has surrendered and relinquished office.

The Council of Ministers met shortly before noon to give a final shape to the Note accepting the proposals of the Powers. Shortly before three a crowd began to gather outside the gate of the Grand Vizierate. Just then Enver Bey arrived on the scene, and he and Nadj Bey, a prominent Unionist, were deputed to inform the Cabinet that it must retire. On coming out of the Grand Vizierate again Enver Bey announced that he held in his hand the resignation of Kiamil Pasha, which he was taking to the Palace. He received a tremendous ovation, which was renewed with even greater frenzy when he returned an hour and a half later with an irade appointing Mahmud Sherket Pasha to the Grand Vizierate. While the crowd was waiting for Enver Bey's return their enthusiasm was kept at fever pitch by fervent addresses and the waving of banners.

After a flying visit to the Porte Enver Bey returned to the Palace, whence he went to the residence of Mahmud Sherket to communicate the Imperial message. Talaat Bey has assumed provisionally the portfolio of the Interior and Izzet Pasha that of War.

In an interview with Reuter's representative, Talaat Bey said that the movement which had led to the resignation of the Cabinet was quite unprepared, but was the outcome of popular feeling and was owing to the attitude of the Cabinet on the question of Adrianople. If Adrianople were abandoned disturbances would break out over the whole length and breadth of the Empire. No compromise was possible. As to money, the whole nation was prepared to make a sacrifice. "The movement," he added, "means that we are going to save the national honour or perish in the attempt. We do not want a continuation of the war, but we are determined to keep Adrianople."

The Hatt-i-Humayun (proclamation) nominating General Mahmud Sherket Pasha to the Grand Vizierate was read at the Porte at seven o'clock. Mahmud Sherket was greeted with much enthusiasm by the crowd when he arrived, and people are still demonstrating before the entrance of the Grand Vizierate.

A Committee Manifesto.

The Committee of Union and Progress issued a proclamation, in which, after attacking the Cabinets of Mukhtar and Kiamil Pashas for pusillanimity and incompetence, it proceeds substantially as follows:—

"Seeing this weakness of the Government, the Allies have demanded Adrianople and the Archipelago. The representatives of the Allies have won over the Powers to their side, and the Kiamil Cabinet has given its assent to these sacrifices. In a consultative Council yesterday the Cabinet destroyed and betrayed the country and the Ottoman spirit. Kiamil handed over Adrianople to the Bulgarians and the Archipelago to the European Powers, and, to conceal his treason, he summoned this consultative Assembly. The Ottoman nation could not endure such a Government of traitors. When the existence of the country is in danger the nation thinks of exercising its right of revolution. That right it exercised to-day, and the Kiamil Cabinet accordingly resigned."

Crisis in Turkey.

(FROM THE "PIONEER'S" LATE CORRESPONDENT IN THE NEAR EAST.)

London, Jan. 24.

THE bomb which exploded in London yesterday evening with reference to the revolution in Constantinople, was certainly not unexpected by those who have followed the workings of Turkish political parties during the last five years. Kiamil Pasha and Said Pasha, creatures of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, have been repeatedly called upon to hold the chief offices in the State because they enjoyed the personal friendship of one or other of the Ambassadors, and because Turkish Ministers, children in many ways, thought that through them they might secure the support of one or other of the Great Powers. Both are octogenarians, both have the very worst of reputations dating back to the days when Grand Viziers and Valis made haste to get rich, and when pecadilloes in that respect were winked at by the Sultan. There is an old Turkish proverb, "He who does not drink of the waters of the State is a swine." Well Kutshuk Said and Kiamil Pashas have drunk largely of the waters of the State, so that when the Young Turks came into power, determined to do away with all acts of dishonesty, these two found themselves eyed with suspicion. However, that is another story, and will keep. Let me now advert to the happenings of the last few days.

In my recent letters describing interviews with different delegates, I have dwelt upon the crucial points of difference between the belligerents. The Allies demanded the cession of Adrianople and the Aegean Islands. This as a preliminary. When this condition should have been satisfied then came other minor points, which also would have caused much discussion and to which the Turks could have counted on the support of some of the Great Powers. These were—

1. The allocation of a proportion of the Ottoman debt.
2. The amount of the war indemnity.
3. The price to be paid for the railways in the ceded territories.

In the early stages of the Conference the Turks, finding that Europe was not sufficiently interested in the questions of the cession of Janina and Scutari, wisely gave way as to these two cities. The case of Adrianople was different and on this the Turks manfully stood out. At last, as you have already been notified by telegraph, in compliance with the urgent and repeated advice of the Powers, supported as it was by a Joint Note handed to the Grand Vizier by all the Ambassadors, Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier, determined to surrender on this point also, but not wishing to bear all the blame for such an unpopular step he determined to call a meeting of the National Assembly to ratify his decision. The National Assembly was summoned for Tuesday last and with one dissentient gave a decision in favour of the surrender of Adrianople. A few hours later the Committee of Union and Progress once more appeared upon the scene, insisted on the Grand Vizier handing his own resignation to Enver Bey, the hero of the Revolution of 1908. Mahmud Sherket Pasha, the brilliant tactician who led the victorious Army from Salonica to Constantinople, was named Grand Vizier, and the decision of the National Assembly announcing to the Powers the surrender of Adrianople was mere waste paper. In fact at the moment when Enver Bey demanded the resignation of Kiamil Pasha, that veteran statesman was actually employed in drafting a Note to the Ambassadors on the very question of Adrianople.

I have this morning seen one of the Turkish Delegates, himself an ardent "Young Turk." He has all along assured me that the Turk would never give in on this point and even so

recently as yesterday morning after we had heard of the decision of the so-called National Assembly he reiterated his firm opinion that on no condition would the nation ratify the decision of Kiamil Pasha's Assembly. Now a word as to the so-called National Assembly. It was merely a meeting of elderly gentlemen, who had held office under the Sultan Abdul Hamid administration was by invitation only and only one member of the Committee of Union and Progress was invited, and as he had been War Minister for five years it would have been inexcusable to have omitted his name. Mahmud Sherket Pasha formally protested against the composition of the so-called National Assembly and urged that the Young Turkish Party should be represented. This was refused consequently the Field Marshal declined to attend. As soon as it became known that the Assembly had voted for the surrender of the ancient capital and had determined on addressing a Note to the Powers asking for their further intervention with the Allies in order to secure fresh modifications in the terms of peace, a meeting of the Committee of Union and Progress was called at which Enver Bey, who has just returned from Tripoli covered with fresh laurels, insisted on drastic action being at once taken to put an end to the Ministry of vacillation and he volunteered to force Kiamil Pasha to hand in his resignation as five years previously he had performed the same feat with Hilmi Pasha, the Inspector-General of Reforms in Macedonia. Enver Bey has spent the last few weeks in the camp at Tchataldja and is personally convinced of the high morale of the troops. He, as your readers know, though barely thirty years of age, has a most remarkable personality and carries men away with him. A gentle mannered, fair haired, blue eyed man of slight build and under middle height he does not lack the stuff of which heroes are made, yet no living man, indeed I will go so far as to say that no young man since Napoleon has ever dared what Enver Bey has performed.

In August 1908 he it was who led 300 men into the hills behind Monastir and lit the match which fired the Revolution. He it was who drafted the telegram to the Sultan which was sent simultaneously from every garrison in Macedonia demanding the restoration of the Constitution. He it was who went out to meet Shemsi Pasha who was marching down from Nitrovis with troops to stamp out the Revolution and warned him that if he proceeded one march from Monastir his life would be the forfeit. Shemsi Pasha ridiculed the warning and that night a secret meeting of the Committee was held and Shemsi Pasha's death decided on. Lots were drawn and Shemsi was shot as he left the telegraph office at Monastir after despatching a message to the Sultan that he was about to capture Enver Bey and send him in irons to Yildiz. The next message flashed through was to the effect that Shemsi had been evacuated by order of the Committee. Another action of Enver Bey is worthy of record. He had been for some time Aide-de-Camp to Tatar Osman Pasha, the Commandant of the Army Corps at Monastir, who previously had commanded the Army in the Epirus during the Greek War. Osman Pasha was known to be a man of liberal ideas but a stern disciplinarian and it was doubtful whether his liberalism would go the lengths of joining the Committee. Enver Bey entered the office of his General and told him that he was not to communicate with Yildiz and that unless he consented to join that Committee or pledge himself to accept their orders he would be placed under arrest. Osman Pasha at first thought his A.-D.-C. had gone mad, but when he found a sentry outside his door, who refused to obey his orders, he realised that great things were at stake. He waited patiently for Enver Bey's return and finally threw in his lot with the Revolutionists. Let me relate another story which came under my eyes.

On the outbreak of the Revolution in July 1908, there were some fifty thousand troops in Upper Macedonia ostensibly acting against the Bulgarian bands. These poor fellows had been long forgotten, some of them had been with the colours for six or eight years in lieu of their pay. They were two or three years in arrears with their pay and were on the verge of mutiny. Enver Bey's first thought was to reduce the military expenditure and he in conjunction with Mahmud Sherket Pasha (who had at the invitation of the Committee accepted the command of the troops in Macedonia) determined to send these men to their homes in Asia. He rapidly visited all the garrison towns in Macedonia and explained matters to each battalion, parading the men for that purpose. He then took up some transports lying in Salonica harbour, telegraphed to Constantinople for others, marched these regiments down to the port, saw them embarked, giving them the money they would be paid as soon as he could arrange with bankers. A new battalion after battalion swinging into Salonica with their fezzes decorated with the badge of the Committee and as each marched past the hotel where the Committee sat in permanent session, they were loud shouts of "Enver Bey, Tchok Yaktochah" instead of the old cry "Padishah Tchok Yaktochah," with which they were wont to greet the Sultan's name.

Enver Bey never sought power, and refused it when it was within his grasp. He was a Major when he organized the Revolution, he is now a Lieutenant-Colonel. When the people of Constantinople

wished to present him with a jewelled sword; he said "No, let the money go to the sick of the army." This is the man who has been the guiding spirit of the second Revolution and he it is who will animate the Turkish soldiery to make their last stand at the lines of Tchataldja.

General Osman Nizami Pasha, the second Delegate at the Peace Conference, is a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. He has more than once told me that Adrianople would never be surrendered and that if it fell no Treaty of Peace would be signed which included its cessions as one of the articles. Weeks ago he told me that any Ministry which ventured to take such a step would be swept from power, and to-day we see that His Excellency was right. "Rather than consent to such a humiliation, we shall die fighting. We shall cross the Bosphorus, and see Stamboul in flames, we shall establish our capital in Broussa; we shall fight to the last gasp, but surrender Adrianople we never shall." "It is true," continued the General, "that we have been defeated in Macedonia and have been compelled to withdraw to the Tchataldja Lines. But this not due to our lack of military spirit, but to the fact that we pinned our faith on the word of the Great Powers. Last July, when we learnt that Bulgaria was arming, and when Serbia was pouring war material into her country through our port of Salonica we commenced to take the necessary measures for self-defence and called up our Reserves. We were approached by the Ambassadors of the Great Powers with a request that we should do nothing that might be construed into a provocative act. We will take care that the Balkan States do not trouble you. We will be answerable for the peace. Then came the warning that if war ensued neither party would be allowed to derive territorial or pecuniary benefit, and it was believed in the Chancelleries of the Great Powers that such a fulminating threat would in itself suffice to keep the peace. Our hands were to a great extent tied. We had 150,000 men massed on the coast of Syria ready to repel any attempted landing on the part of Italy. Our fleet was blockaded in the Dardanelles because Italy held the command of the sea. For the same reason we were powerless to reinforce our army in Macedonia except by the one line of railway through Dodeagatch. Nor could we obtain supplies of war material from France or Germany on account of the Italian cruisers. Several hundreds of our best young officers were in Tripoli organising the Arabs and few of the battalions in Europe had more than four or five officers with them. When war broke out, the war which the Great Powers said they were going to prevent, we had but the skeleton of an army in the field and it was not until the Bulgarians were in front of Tchataldja and the Greeks in Salonica that the troops from Syria commenced to reinforce the army in Constantinople for they were compelled to make the long detour by railway via Aleppo and Konia with the long desert marches which intervene.

"Now we are better off. Large reinforcements have arrived from Baghdad and Erzeroum as well as from Syria. The Lasis from the mountains around Trabzon and the Kurds from Van and Diarbekir have arrived in their tens of thousands. We have upwards of 250,000 men and round Tchataldja. Seventy thousand are in the lines of Gallipoli and we have received over 200 quick firing field guns from Germany by way of Roumania and have trained our men to the use of the fifteen batteries of Creusot guns which we annexed en route for Belgrade via Salonica we are not deficient in that arm. The works at Tchataldja are impregnable as the Bulgarians know. They are armed with a number of semi-obsolete ships guns, of heavy calibre and of longer range than the siege guns which the Bulgarians have in position. As for the future who can prophesy. Adrianople may fall. Janina may be captured, the Serbian and Greek armies may rally round the Bulgarians at Tchataldja but of this I am convinced. The lines of Tchataldja will never be forced except when the last Ottoman has perished behind those earth-works and then our Royal family will retire to Broussa and we shall recommence our career of conquest as we did five centuries ago. Our trust in the Great Powers, in the neutrality of Europe is gone for ever."

"Hostilities will recommence either on Tuesday or Wednesday and there will be no quarter on either side. As for me I am hourly expecting my recall; as a soldier I trust I may be permitted to take up a command at Tchataldja, but as Ambassador in Berlin it may be thought that I may be of better use to my country in the German Capital than in the Turkish Camp. Of this you may be certain that the present Cabinet will not be swayed from side to side by every word of an Ambassador, it will march straight to the end, whether to victory or to annihilation I know not, certainly not to shame and humiliation as Kiamil wished to lead us. In conclusion let me beg you to thank the many Indians, Hindus as well as Moslems, who have sent us letters of sympathy. Only this week the Maharaja of Jhalawar called at this hotel and in the name of the ruling Princes of India begged to express their warmest sympathy with Turkey in her misfortune and their sorrow that England had not given us material aid. All this is most encouraging to us and leads us to hope that if the war is prolonged we may yet find some

Power on our side, and then it may well happen that peace will be signed not in Constantinople for to that we shall never agree, but in Athens or Sofia. The blood of the Young Turks will revivify the fire of the old Osmanli and Europe will see the sick man come to life with renewed vigour. Will she then dare to proclaim the doctrine of the *status quo*?"

Shevket Pasha.

(By M. H. DONGHOZ.)

Once again Constantinople is in the throes of a revolution, once more it is the turn of Shevket Pasha and the Young Turks to seize the supreme power and overturn the Government. Shevket is assisted by his faithful henchman, Talaat Bey, who helped to pull the Red Sultan from power in the memorable revolution of 1909 and by Talaat Bey, who is one of the most calculating brains in the Young Turkish Party.

For three years Shevket Pasha, nominally as Minister of War but in reality as dictator, kept together the semblance of Government in Turkey.

Six months ago the then Government, yielding to the demands of the mutinous officers and soldiers of Monastir and to the growing power of the Military League (the force that had arisen in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress), threw Shevket to the wolves. His downfall was caused by a variety of reasons. Among the army, which had hitherto been his most faithful supporters and whose swords had enabled him to drive Abdul from the throne, he had made a multitude of enemies.

MUTINEERS' HOLY WAR.

In a sense this was due to his stern, unbending character and to his refusal to adapt himself to circumstances. His enemies grow daily. Some accused him of having left Tripoli in a state of unpreparedness for war by withdrawing troops, others charged him with having displayed leniency in his treatment of the rebels. But the weapons which was used to the greatest advantage against the then War Minister was his decree forbidding military officers to take any part in politics. His enemies used this to stir up the animosity of the military leaders towards him.

The Committee of Union and Progress which had sapped the allegiance of the army, proclaimed a kind of Holy War against him. They attacked him in season and out of season. The climax was reached when the garrison of Monastir revolted. This was a disastrous blow to the War Minister who had always prided himself on the efficiency and organisation of the army. The mutineers, getting tired of their revolt, offered to surrender on conditions. They were given a free pardon; but Shevket Pasha, who whatever his faults may be, is a stern soldier whose fetish is discipline, refused to treat with them.

The revolt proved too strong, it spread to other divisions of the army, and threatened the very existence of the Government. The Government, realising the danger, found that there was nothing to do but to bow their heads to the storm. Shevket was given over as a scapegoat and was deprived of office.

A DICTATOR.

Barely six months have elapsed, and the man whose career politically and militarily was supposed to be ended by one of those curious turns of fortune's wheel which is so remarkable a feature of Turkish politics, returns this time to supreme power. Shevket Pasha has become Grand Vizier, but it would probably be more correct to say that in a sense he will be dictator.

The Military League, in its turn, has succumbed before the storm of public indignation. Its chief crime is that it has waged an unsuccessful war which has robbed Turkey of the richest of her European territory. Under the circumstances it is only natural, perhaps, that the army whose heart has been outter with indignation at the recent defeat and disaster, should once again turn towards the man who proved the saviour of Turkey three years ago, when, at the head of the Salonikan army, he swept the Turkish tyrant from his throne.

Born in Bagdad, Shevket Pasha is a plain, straightforward soldier, rather of the Cromwellian type, a man of the tested field who relies rather on the sword than on the intricacies and finesse of diplomacy of which he knows nothing, and with which he has no sympathy.

REFUSED A COMMAND.

Nine months ago I saw the Minister in his room at the War Office in Stamboul. It was during the Italian War. We discussed the campaign, and Shevket who, during this trying period, kept in his uniform at the War Office, expressed but one desire—

that was to meet the Italian army on Turkish soil. Unfortunately, his chance never came. Shevket was full of optimism. He firmly believed in the invincibility of the Turks properly led.

"Let our chance come," he said, "and we will show what our army can do." Fate willed it otherwise. The Balkan War came, but Shevket was not in his place in the field. In a fit of pique he declined to associate himself with the Cabinet that had succeeded him. He refused to command a corps and preferred, like Achilles, to sulk in his tent.

His friends had always assured him that there was but one way to save Turkey, and that was by proclaiming a dictatorship. They pointed to Shevket as the man best qualified to assume this rôle. Then he refused. Now he has come back to power, and it remains to be seen whether his previous reluctance will be overcome.

TALAAAT BEY.

Talaat Bey formerly held the portfolio of Minister of the Interior. During his retirement he has worked unceasingly against the Cabinet of Kiamil Pasha. He was in London early in October. On the outbreak of war he was called to the colours, and joined his regiment at Adrianople. A forceful speaker, he appears to have devoted himself to the rôle of agitator rather than soldier, and is said to have attempted to corrupt the allegiance of the Adrianople garrison. He was arrested and sent to Constantinople. He there exonerated himself, and was ordered to rejoin his regiment. He was implicated in the recent plot to overthrow the Government and establish a republic.

Interview with Fakri Pasha.

Dardanelles, Jan. 16.

A few days ago I had an opportunity of conversing with His Excellency Fakri Pasha, who commands the 50,000 odd troops in these parts, and it may be of interest to your readers to know what is, I presume, the general opinion in the Turkish Army. I began by asking him how he was faring in the little village of Madytos, where he is now stationed, and was informed that he was quite comfortable, but had a great deal too much to do looking after his men and attending to their drilling, etc. The ice once broken, he went on to give me his views on the political situation and the attitude Turkey was likely to take up.

"Kiamil Pasha seems anxious," he said, "to conclude peace at all costs, but the army by no means seconds him in that, and it is a foregone conclusion that if the Allies do not accept Turkey's counter-proposals hostilities will break out again. The Powers are anxious to clear us out of Europe, and we will abide by their decision when we have exhausted every means of defence and shed our last drop of blood for our Fatherland. Our position to-day is far better than it was at the commencement of the war. At Tchataldja we have a good army; disease no longer exists, with the exception of a very few cases, which barely average 1½ per cent; our food supplies are now plentiful everywhere, and the commissariat has been attended to carefully, and now lacks nothing. The superiority of the Bulgarian gunnery and weapons no longer exists, we have a large army of 52,000 men in the Gallipoli Peninsula, and another large army, the size of which I cannot confide to you, on the Eastern shores of the Marmora."

On my remarking that the army was in good condition, but did not receive sufficient support from the navy, he replied:—"That is the opinion of the man in the street, but those who are at the head of affairs know better. What we might hope to do to-day with our fleet by sending it outside the Dardanelles to meet the Greek fleet in a serious naval engagement, we could do a month later with as much success, which depends, of course, on the fortunes of war. The retaking of the islands is not as important to us as the prevention by our fleet of a landing of troops by the Allies in this vicinity. With our fleet intact, we need not keep so large an army here to prevent the Allies from landing troops on our coasts, and we could consequently spare more men for a final attack on the allied forces above Bulair and round Tchataldja."

I pointed out that he would have great difficulty in marching 52,000 men through the Bulair passes, where the Gallipoli Peninsula is narrowest. To this he replied:—"In war nothing is easy, but I hope that, with the help of the navy, the Allies will be kept occupied trying to prevent our landing a large army on the western shores of the Marmora, and that my men will then have an easier time in marching towards Constantinople and the Bulair."

I then asked him what would happen if on the resumption of hostilities the Allies contented themselves with thoroughly fortifying themselves before Bulair and Tchataldja, and did not

take the offensive. "In the case," he answered, "our armies will not remain idle, but will make a forward movement in every direction possible. The Marmora army will, as previously stated, land under cover of the fleet's guns on the western shores of the Marmora, and then try to join the Gallipoli army, which will be advancing against the enemy. Meanwhile our Tchataldja army will also take the offensive; and we hope that, with a joint move of our forces, the Allies will have more than they bargained for."

Coming back to Kiamil Pasha, I asked if it was true that he was about to resign, and was informed that Kiamil Pasha might resign if the Allies' terms were too much for Turkey and unacceptable by the army. "If we have suffered losses, it is because we were assured by all the Powers before the war began that there was absolutely no chance of a rising in the Balkans, and we very imprudently removed all our regular troops from Macedonia. The war then broke out, and we were unprepared for what happened. With soldiers who had little or no training and with no proper means of keeping the army supplied with provisions, we were greatly handicapped; but now that experience has made us wiser is it possible to leave the whole of Turkey in Europe to the Allies without another attempt to redeem our honour?"

I then pointed out that, seeing how determined the army was to continue the struggle, it would be much more to its advantage to bring the *pourparlers* in London to an end, and give the besieged in Adrianople, Scutari, and Jannina a better chance of prolonging their resistance. Fakri Pasha replied: "We are in touch with Adrianople by wireless, and we know full well that the town can stand a siege of three months more, by which time we think something will come to pass that will change the order of things. As for the other towns, they are fighting, so it matters little how long negotiations last in London. There is plenty of wheat in Adrianople, besides other provisions. Flocks of sheep were driven into it when the Bulgarian Army was reported on the march. The only thing that we have not got there in abundance is hay and straw for the horses; but that is a minor consideration, as we feed them on barley and oats."

When I asked how the strength of the Greek fleet compared with that of the Turkish, he informed me that the guns of the Turkish fleet, taken as a whole, were superior, but that the Greeks had more modern ships, and some would take a lot to make them sink, as they were fitted with air-tight compartments, which could be closed off if necessary. "Our gain, therefore," he continued, "even if we were successful in attacking the Greek fleet, would be but small as compared with the advantage we should derive from having our fleet intact and worrying the Greeks if they attempted a landing on our shores."

The above details are all that I gathered from my conversation with Fakri Pasha. Personally, I am inclined to think that war is likely to break out once more, as the preparations being made at this end are greater than anyone who is not daily in touch with the army can imagine, and they certainly do not speak well for the Greek prospects.—GODFREY WHITTALL in the *Near East*.

The Pressure of Europe on Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 21.

CONSIDERABLE sensation has been caused in Turkish circles by the publication in the *Ikdam* of what purport to be accurate and precise indications made by M. Sazonoff to the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg in their last interview. The Russian Foreign Minister said he strongly urged Turkey to cede Adrianople without delay, failing which the political and military situation of the Ottoman Empire would enter a particularly embarrassing phase. M. Sazonoff, it is further reported, explained the above phrase, in answer to a question on the part of Turkish Pasha, in the following manner:—

"Should Turkey refuse to cede Adrianople the Russian Government will not be able to maintain her present neutral attitude. In that eventuality she will support her fellow-Slav States, Bulgaria, by all the means in her power." M. Sazonoff added that the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople had received instructions to make representations to this effect to the Sublime Porte.

Even for the *Ikdam*. Official circles, while they do not confirm the version of the Russian Foreign Minister's declaration, admit that Russian pressure on the Porte has greatly increased in intensity of late, and hint that the language used by M. de Giers in his last interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs to some extent justified the description that the Russian attitude is threatening.

After his interview with M. de Giers, Gabriel Effendi visited the Austrian and German Ambassadors, who both are believed to have urged on him the necessity of the rapid conclusion of peace in the best interests of the Ottoman Empire.

The *Ikdam* states without hostile comment that the Porte has cabled instructions to its Ambassadors to sound the Powers on the subject of the application of a special administrative régime, partly Bulgarian, partly Turkish, for Adrianople. It is further reported, and on good authority, that the Government are now discussing the expediency of informing the Powers in their answer to the joint Note that they will accept their recommendations provided they guarantee that Turkey shall not have to meet further demands emanating from the League or other quarters respecting such matters as the payment of a war indemnity, or, *inter alia*, the administration of the Asiatic Provinces.

A Concert of Cowardice.

The Locks of Samson.

BY "LINESMAN."

WHILE we are glad to give the hospitality of our columns to this distinguished writer, it should be pointed out that the opinions he expresses are his own and not those of *The Daily Mail*.

It is more amusing to the cynic or more disgusting to the (in his real sense) philanthropist to perceive with what amazement that snarling congeries of cowards yeelp "The Powers" suddenly find themselves confronted with anything like sanity in those whom they, the little tin gods, have decided to destroy?

In the presence of the so-called "revolution" in Constantinople behold them trembling like guilty things surprised, surprised by manliness where they thought and hoped that there was nothing but emasculation, by courage and patriotism where they, possessing so little of either, have for months past derided only flight and treason. They are literally struck dumb, that is to say so far as the recent flow of words of command is concerned; yet not completely speechless—would that they were—for the unexpected shock has rendered both vocal and visible the uncleanness which sullies their strength, as the first spasm of a volcano brings to the surface a gurgling roar of mud from its uneasy bowels. As we have repeatedly recalled in these articles, in obedience to the loud mandate of the loudest voices on earth we may take no side in this question. And fortunate for us that it is so, for we are thereby absolved from taking side with what would otherwise be our home team, the Christian Chancelleries of Europe. And we frankly confess that we should do so with the abhorrence felt by any honourable footballer, for instance, who found himself in the field with a gang whom he knew to be not "playing the game." We can take side neither with "The Powers," nor with the Balkan League, nor with Turkey, and we are grateful for the disability. But we can and must take side with honour, with love of country and stoutness of heart, find these where we may; and if they be not in the mighty rushing wind of the earthquake and fire of Western blatantcy, we may yet hear them in the small voice of a despised Eastern people apparently stricken to the ground.

HOSTILITY AGAINST TURKEY.

Never within our memory or reading has a powerful majority been so grievously in the wrong as in the present crisis in the Near East. The unanimity of the Powers against Turkey, never concealed since Turkey began to lose, has now gathered to a head of hostility formidable indeed both for its anger and its might. So huge and indignant a voice as that which thunders against the Turk must surely be the voice of Right. But how well do we know that it is but that powerless fire and empty tempest which shook Horeb. There is no divinity in it, nay, very much the reverse, for it is merely a chorus of fear, and its utterances are incitements to a crime.

Let us clear our minds of cant. Does anyone suppose that the Concert of Europe clamours for peace for love of peace? Let the simpleton who so imagines review for a moment its mighty preparations for war, the thousand dangerous aggrandisements which have only been checked by threats or by a fluke, the overt ambitions which loom like cliffs in the sky, the presagers of a myriad deaths; the fears confessed and unconfessed which torment the nightly pillows of whole nations; the friable alliances and ententes, the indestructible rivalries and hatreds which laugh them to scorn as all realities laugh at all pretences. Let him consider the internal relations of these Babel-builders before he hears the voice of the Lord in their polyglot uproar. No, the lion had to be rotten before he put forth sweetness, and never will there be honey in Europe until she too has been "rent like a kid" at the hands of some gigantic destroyer.

SURRENDER BEFORE DEFEAT.

And what is it that so infuriates the Concert, what is it that Turkey is commanded to do, or not to do? She is commanded to do what was once unspeakable, what is still unspeakable to the "unspeakable Turk" alone of all men in Europe—namely, to yield before she is beaten, to acknowledge all lost because not all remains, to hand over her territory to an invader who shivers outside her unconquered cities, to lie down for ever because she has once or twice been felled, to tear her own flag from pinnacles which undaunted have flown, and still fly, her colours tattered by tempests of lead and of misfortune. Dangerous advice, my masters! It is safe, no doubt, to experiment on a worthless corpus, but apply the operation in imagination to your own fair flesh. Must Adrianople go? Adrianople, the barbs of a capital, the voucher for an old empire's integrity and independence, an untaken fortress, a fly in amber, no doubt, to a soldiery too triumphant not to be soon but another nuisance in Europe, another voice in the dissonance. That is the order, is it not? Well, we will not go far afield for argument. Let Spandau go if it will at the next word of command, let Cronstadt go, or Verdun, or Vienna itself for all we care, but is Gibraltar or Malta, or Portsmouth or Bombay or Sydney—these to change masters at the city of a Concert (and it will surely be heard some day) like sheep at a market auction when Britain shall be on her knees gaining breath for that last encounter which will decide her fate? I trow not!

AN IMPOTENT MOCKERY.

Yet the cases are precisely similar. Constantinople without her outwork is like Samson shorn of his locks, an impotent mockery, and we take shame on our country that she has joined in the capriole which would inveigle the victim into embracing his own infamy. But we are glad that the capriole is in vain. We should be equally glad if it were Bulgaria or Serbia which, matters having gone differently, now rebelled against handing over to Turkey what they had not lost, whether a town or their integrity or what not. Did they not rebel, as Turkey now rebels, what a horror and shame would be added to warfare, the horror and shame that honourable defeat is to be dishonoured and indomitable stoutness derided by craven treachery at the dictation of foreigners who, more ignoble than a fang-side mob, have stood by impatient for the result mainly in order to insult the beaten.

There has been much talk of the arbitrament of arms. It has been laid down that a military situation must be taken as it stands as a *fait accompli*. So be it. Turkey's so-called, and vilely ill-called, "Revolution" is her acceptance of the *dictum*. It is her expression of the fact that she still possesses brave men and soldiers who refuse to concede that a well entrenched and fully supplied army of 220,000 men is to seek from its trenches at the shriek, however "Christian," of an alien and a covert foe, who refuse to open unforced gates and level unstormed parapets at the trumpets of hosts, however Semitic, who encumbrate the walls in the hopes of a safe untroubled and lucrative possession. Instead of with indignity, these men should be loaded with praise as the last receptacles of manhood in Europe. And so they will be if they win!—*Daily Mail*.

India and the War.

Position of Moslems

By HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN

"Ever since the outbreak of the Balkan War, coming as it did shortly after the Tripoli War, the practical absorption of Morocco by France, and the possibility that Persia might be gradually brought under European protection, the position and the sentiments of the Moslems of India have, with ever increasing rapidity, become extraordinarily difficult, and sad and unfortunate. On the one hand they realise that their most cherished hope for the permanence of the chief Moslem State and the independence of the two remaining Moslem States is disappearing; and on the other hand daily they read and hear, and of course they must more or less realise from their own reading of the history of past wars, the terrible happenings in European Turkey. Under these circumstances every Moslem is not only depressed and sad, but he is anxious, most anxious to do something to aid his co-religionists. Yet this desire often carries him into an attitude of useless negation—an attitude of mere dislike of the European, suspicion of the Christians, and still inability to put the responsibility for his own misfortune on anybody else. This attitude can be gleaned by anyone who takes note not only of the private conversation of individual Moslems of all classes, but who reads between the lines of the various resolutions which have been passed, as well as by the general atmosphere of Moslem gatherings.

"Now I may claim that I have studied the Turkish question and the general position of the Moslem for many years past carefully. I can also say that hardly an important sentence has been written in any of the leading European papers about the war that I have not read, in addition to numberless reports from the charitable organisations at the Front, from the Consuls, and from various Red Crescent doctors and others. Under these circumstances I feel it my duty to offer a few suggestions and ideas as to how the situation strikes one who can claim at least this much—that he has no other motive except the welfare of Islam.

SAVE LIFE.

"The point that at once strikes us, the immediate question, is, What can we do to help the Moslems of Turkey? First we must regard the situation from the point of view of the happiness of the Turks, so as to prevent as far as possible suffering and pain amongst the hundreds of thousands who have been rendered homeless and helpless by the war. This *grat* is the first and foremost duty of every Moslem. Second. What can be done to make Turkey, as reconstituted by the war, a powerful Asiatic State? The two questions, although interlaced, are in a way really distinct. The first is an immediate question, the second is one for the future. So strongly have I been convinced that our whole efforts should be concentrated on the prompt and effective relief of suffering in Turkey that, while I have been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the University Movement, I felt it to be my duty entirely to leave that question in other and abler hands amongst the Moslems of India, and to devote all my thoughts and the time that I could give to public service to the relief of the sufferers by the war. For the condition of society induced by the war resembles a great famine, though it is infinitely worse. It is a question of life and death. Everything else in life can wait, but when life itself is face to face with hunger and want, there is nothing but immediate relief or death. It would indeed be a terrible thing for the Moslems of India, if, through any want of effort on their part, thousands of their brethren in Turkey died. On this point no Moslem can have any doubt or hesitation: his duty is clear. He must send money—as much as he can—for the relief of the suffering and the wounded; and what is equally important, for the thousands of refugees who are now flocking into Asia Minor from European Turkey, and from Macedonia. These refugees want not only food but money to buy seed for the coming season, so as to give them a chance to re-establish themselves in Asia Minor. These are questions of humanity which are urgent and immediate. We can establish a school or a University twelve months hence; we cannot bring to life those who die to-day. Just as when a famine is raging in an Indian district it would be idle to concentrate on some philanthropic work of little utility in preference to the saving of lives, so our immediate effort must be concentrated on the saving of life. May the Moslems of India have the grace to realise this immediate need!

THE SULTAN'S DISCRETION.

"But whilst bending every effort to the relief of distress, surely it is equally incumbent upon us to eschew any policy which may increase and prolong, unnecessarily, the sufferings of our co-religionists in Turkey! The Sultan and his Ministers alone can judge of the wisdom of prolonging the war. They alone are in possession of the facts; they alone can accurately balance the obvious disadvantages of continuing the war with the possible advantages of concluding peace. It does seem to me a cruel addition to the burdens which Turkish statesmen have to bear, at this crisis in the affairs of their country, to be harassed by irresponsible advice from Indian Moslems who know nothing of the grim realities of the position, and upon whom none of the grievous burdens of the war actually fall. How easy it is to bid other fight for the honour of Islam! When here we enjoy the serene comfort of peace and prosperity, how hard it must be for Turkish statesmen to decide, well knowing the consequences of their action, yet driven forward by the telegraphic appeals of Moslems abroad! His Imperial Majesty the Sultan is bidden to do this, or refrain from doing that or the honour of Islam is sold; what right have we to assume that the Padiashah is one whit less sensitive on the point of Moslem honour than the Moslems of Lucknow or Lahore, of Madras or Bombay? No, he and his Ministers have both the knowledge and the responsibility, which none of us has share; they are guided by the cries of the wounded and the wails of the fatherless. As on them the sole responsibility with them lies, so their discretion, which is suggested to them from abroad, is also theirs. I am sure that it would be a good thing for the cause of peace if before a war broke out all the leading journalists were sent to the front—there would be no more Yellow Journalism bunkering after the war. Well, it would be a good thing if all these hundreds of thousands who

are, from here, giving their advice, were forced to make all the sacrifices that the war entails on the people of Turkey themselves. There would be more calm and deliberate advice given. Our watchword is work and sacrifice: let that suffice.

THE PROPOSED LOAN.

"Now we come to the second point, namely, what can the Mussulmans of India do for the re-organisation of Turkey, as a great and independent power, after the present war is over? First of all Turkey requires, and must require, a large loan and nothing would show the sincerity of the Mussulmans of India in the interest of Turkey more than the advancement of four or five million pounds to Turkey. But let us at least be practical. The Mussulmans of India are not rich enough and are not in the position to spare the money. Every penny that Turkey receives she must receive in a way that will assure her life in the future.

"I am afraid the suggestion of a loan made by the Orient Bank in the form it is advanced is neither feasible nor practicable. Loans without interest are out of the question. If, on account of religious sentiment, no interest is to be touched, there should be a condition by which a loan of 100 would be assured at 75 and repaid at par after five years. The Orient Bank and the other Mussulmans who wish to carry out this scheme should proceed on these lines: Turkey should borrow for five years either at five per cent. issued at par or a 75 repayable at 100. These bonds should be sent by Turkey to India; and the various banks here, including the Orient Bank, might sell as brokers only, not as borrowers, while the security would be that of the Turkish Government and not that of the Bank, except of course in the interval between the receipt of the deposit and the delivery of the bonds to the purchasers, which would be very short. The banks naturally would charge their own commission. It is advisable that the loan should be so arranged that even half-sovereign bonds could be issued. Such a loan could be safely subscribed to and safely taken by the Mussulmans of India and while undoubtedly it would mean sacrifices, for if the same capital were embarked in trade, a greater return would be secured, yet the sacrifice would not be of such a nature as to ruin the millions of Indian without doing very much for Turkey. The credit of Turkey, especially if peace is soon concluded, is sufficient and there is no danger whatever as to the repayment of the capital in five years.

AFTER THE WAR.

"But now comes a still more important question, namely, What is to be the position of Turkey after peace? Whatever happens, whatever the result of the last stages of this war, Turkey must in the future be an Asiatic Power; she must concentrate on Asia. Then comes the greatest of her problems, a problem of life and death to her—whether any Mussulman State is to remain or not. Turkey as an Asiatic Power can live and thrive only if she has the goodwill, friendship and the support of England. England is the only country which has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a strong Turkey in Asia. As it is, the route to India has practically fallen all along the Mediterranean into the hands of foreign Powers, and should Asiatic Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia and Anatolia become German, French, and Russian, it would indeed be a most serious position for England. Apart from any question of sentiment it is to the interests of England that Turkey in Asia should become strong and prosperous.

"I have often heard it suggested that England should herself absorb Arabia and Southern Mesopotamia, but the dangers of such an exposed position, the want of the millions of soldiers to defend it, and the hundred and one other difficulties, are so great that it would impose an excessive tax even on the resources of the British Empire. Now here is a great opening for the Mussulmans of India, alike of serving England and Islam. Let them use all their influence—through their loyal efforts, through their good will—to bring England and Turkey together, and, in fact, to carry out in Asiatic Turkey the spirit of the Cyprus Convention and the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. The only important sect of Christians in Asiatic Turkey, the Armenians, would be happier under Turkey than under Russia, while the Syrian Christians would never be in any trouble such as the Macedonians had with Turkey. All that there is a possibility that the dream of many Mussulmans may come true, and that England and Turkey may become fast and true friends. But this means an equally important responsibility for the Mussulmans of India. It means that they must say nothing, do nothing, and act in no way that can weaken English confidence in Islam, and in the loyalty of the Mussulmans of India. If England is to become the bulwark of Islam, then Islam also must ever be ready to play its part loyally in the welfare and strengthening and defence of the British Empire.

INDIA AND ISLAM.

"It is from me to suggest that the role of Islam in India is to be a tower of wood and dragons of water. We must do this and the British people are greater injustice to

say that Mussulmans care nothing for the ideal of self-government, within the Empire and under the Crown and Flag. To entertain that ideal is to show that Mussulmans appreciate the British spirit, and desire to pay it the most subtle of flatteries—imitation. But this is an ideal which can be reached only by generations of effort, by generations of self-sacrifice, and any step to precipitate the end by artificial means even by a generation or two would be to do England the greatest of all injustices—it would force the British people to confuse the only loyalty that is worth having, namely, the loyalty of high-minded, self-respecting subjects, working for the ideal that have been attained in England, with the madness and crime of disloyalty. The stronger our commonsense the more sincere will be our recognition of the fact that the Government of India cannot change its character until new generations, with changed characters and with changed local surroundings and customs, have arisen, alike among Hindus and Mussulmans.

MUSLEMS' DUTY.

"Surely if we look the facts of the situation resolutely in the face, the duty of Indian Moslems in these anxious days is clear. It is first to bend all our energies to the work which cannot wait, the relief of suffering, the care of the wounded, and the rehabilitation of the peasantry who have fled from Macedonia and Thrace to Asia Minor. For this money, and yet more money, is the crying need, not the broussment of Turkish statesmen, terribly weighted by their responsibilities, by demands for vicarious sacrifices. Then when the war is over, efforts no less sustained will be demanded to help Turkey on her path as a great Asiatic Power. That path will not be easy: covetous eyes are cast toward the territories which must be the home and the strength of the future Turkish Empire. One Power, and one Power only can give Turkey disinterested advice and help in this great work, and that is England. She has no territorial ambitions in Asia Minor or Syria or Arabia or Mesopotamia; all her interest lie in the recreation of a strong and powerful Turkey based on these regions, in order to prevent rivals from being established on the flank of the road to India. What an opportunity lies before the Moslems of India here! By our present sacrifices we can establish an influence with the Turkish Government which will give weight to our sentiments and representations at Constantinople. In this way we can act at the cement which will unite these two Empires into an irresistible whole, preserving at once to Turkey the opportunity of working out her destiny in Asia, safeguarding the road to India and returning to the days of the Great Eltchi and Beaconsfield. If that be the outcome of this unhappy war, then we shall find full compensation for the loss of Tripoli and Macedonia in the assured future of a great Turkey in Asia, firmly united with England, and thus both securing her own destiny and averting from the Empire the danger of either a fresh menace or of fresh responsibilities at the very gates of India."—*Times of India*.

Horrors of the War.

"A Quarter of a Million Moslems Killed."

THE *Berliner Tageblatt* publishes a categorical contradiction from the Bulgarian Legation in Berlin of the report of massacres committed by the Bulgarians which the paper published the other day (see the *Manchester Guardian* of Thursday). The brief statement adds: "All the world is aware of the fact that the unarmed Turkish population was treated by the Bulgarians very well."

In the same issue, however, the *Berliner Tageblatt* prints a message from its Salonica correspondent which says: "The inquiry into the atrocities committed by the victors in Macedonia and Albania is proceeding everywhere with great zeal, and since the restoration of communications numerous reports have come in vying with one another in describing the massacres. Foreign consuls are engaged in carefully sifting and comparing them, and are, unfortunately, arriving at the conviction that a terrible slaughter has taken place under the eyes of Europe. The number of Moslems, Turks and Albanians, killed may be put at about a quarter of a million. Infinitely great is the number of villages destroyed, indescribable the misery caused by these methods of warfare. Though the Greeks, too, are in part responsible, it is nevertheless, true that they did not commit so many horrors as the Bulgars and the Servians."

Massacres in Albania.

The *Reichspost* has received from persons in Albania, whom it describes as absolutely trustworthy, detailed accounts of horrible atrocities committed both by Servian bands and regular troops in Albania, particularly at Prishtina, Prizrend, Ferisavitch, Kalkandelen, and Uskub. The total number of Albanians more or less wantonly killed in the vilayet of Kosovo numbers, it is asserted, about 25,000. The journal suggests the despatch of a European Commission to verify the accuracy of the reported horrors.

A Protest.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—The reputation of *The Times* for independence emboldens me to beg you, of your charity, to let me call attention in your columns to the case of the Muhammadans of Macedonia. From information which has reached myself and others it seems certain that an organized and cruel slaughter of non-combatants, men, women, and children, has been going on for weeks past, and is still in progress, the object being nothing less than their extermination. The victims (including fugitives) are said already greatly to exceed the sum of half a million. In fact (if my information is correct, and I have every reason to believe it so) the most awful massacre of modern times is being perpetrated in the name of Christianity. I should be the last to expect humanity in Eastern warfare, but this thing is not warfare, it is butchery. The evident desire of our English Government to hush the matter up is causing bitter indignation as the tidings spread. To persons like myself, who had imagined the promotion of good feeling between Christian and Muhammadan to be a part of England's standing policy, it is inexplicable. Considering the fuss which has been made here over local massacres by Kurds or wild Albanians, our silence over this tremendous horror must seem very sinister to every Moslem.

What were the numbers of the Muhammadan population of the conquered territory two months ago, and what to-day? What are the tortures which have been inflicted upon wretched creatures, men and women, pitilessly hunted down? What is the military status of Bulgarian *komitadjis*; is it not the same as that of Turkish *Bashi-Bozouks*, about whose doings there has been such outcry in the past; and have the Bulgarian authorities hanged one of them? What has been the rôle of the Bulgarian and Serbian regulars? These and other questions (e.g., torture of the Jews) call aloud for international investigation. The honour of Christendom and civilization alike demand a full inquiry. Such an inquiry, and the repression of the States concerned if guilty, would do more than missionaries to relieve the darkness of the Moslem world.

Yours faithfully,

MARMADUNE PICKTHALL.

Five Chimneys, Buxton, Jan. 11.

Protest by the London Moslem League.

The Secretary to the London All-India Moslem League issued a *communiqué*, drawing the attention of the Government to the "indignation that has been aroused in India at the reports of the treatment that has been meted out to the Mussulman population of Macedonia by the Balkan invaders."

"In spite of the secrecy in which the sufferings of the afflicted people have been enveloped in England," continues the *communiqué*, "the cumulative evidence which is pouring in from disinterested sources, and which the committee believe to be corroborated by the official reports received by the various Chancelleries of Europe, leaves no room for doubt that the Mussulmans of Macedonia have been subjected to a treatment for which there is no parallel in modern history."

"The Secretary of State will readily realise the anger the accounts of these barbarities, which even the general silence of the British Press could not prevent from leaking out in India, have aroused in that country, a feeling which pervades all classes and sections of society."

"The savageries committed on people allied to the Indian Moslems by religion, and in many cases by racial ties, by professed Christians making war in the name of and under the symbol of Christianity, have naturally caused intense and universal bitterness, mingled with disappointment. The Indian Mussulmans cannot understand why England, which is not a European Power only, nor a Christian Empire only, should join with other European States in pressing Turkey to surrender to adversaries who have proved their racial and religious hatred by terrible deeds of savagery, one of their holiest sanctuaries, which at the same time forms the key to Constantinople. As citizens of the British Empire, in whose greatness they glory, and in whose welfare they are interested, the committee respectfully submit that it is of vital importance that England should not appear to the Moslem world as a partisan or upholder of injustice and wrongs by shutting her eyes to cruel deeds."

The following resolutions were adopted by the committee of the League on the 11th January:—

1. That the committee of the London All-India Moslem League desire to draw the attention of the British public to the cumulative evidence from disinterested sources appearing in the Press of neutral countries bearing on the Macedonian barbarities, and to demand in the name of all that is true and honest in the life of a great nation, which owes a duty to its fellow subjects of other creeds, that the people of England should take such action in regard to the wholesale massacres and outrages that have been perpetrated by the Balkan invaders amongst the Mussulman population of Macedonia as would do credit to their collective conscience and their sense of justice and humanity.

2. That the committee of the London All-India Moslem League have no hesitation in declaring that, in the face of the evidence that is coming to light, which they believe is fully borne out by official communications received by the Chancelleries of Europe, silence will be regarded by the Eastern world as tantamount to connivance.

3. That if it be not the desire of the British people to permanently alienate the goodwill and sympathy of their Asiatic fellow-subjects, the committee venture to urge that the veil of secrecy that has been so long drawn over the atrocities in Macedonia should be lifted; and in the case of any philosophical or diplomatic doubt on the subject, they suggest that the constituted representatives of the nation should insist upon the appointment of an independent International Commission of Inquiry, and the stoppage of the further extermination of the Moslem population of Macedonia.

4. That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to the Press.

Balkan War Fund.

A LETTER, signed by members of the committee of Lady Lowther's Fund, of the Balkan War Relief Fund, and of the Macedonian Relief Fund, and dated from the Mansion House, has been published by the *Times*. Referring to the necessity for further funds, it says:—

The situation is one of altogether exceptional emergency. The whole country has been devastated. Houses and villages are destroyed. The heads of families and the young men have been serving in war, and many of them killed or wounded. There are thus thousands of helpless and innocent people—Moslems and Christians alike, old men, women and children—who are left utterly homeless and destitute. Unless they can receive some prompt relief to tide them through the winter months they must inevitably die of exposure and starvation. Many, indeed, are already dying.

The organisations connected with the Lord Mayor's Fund are now fully established. Agents have been carefully selected and appointed to take charge of the various districts. Flour and blankets are being distributed, and H. M. Consul at Philippopolis is himself giving valuable aid in supervising the relief. At Constantinople Lady Lowther's Fund, working through committee of the British residents, is taking charge of large numbers of refugees, especially women and children, and is fully organised for more extended operations if only money is available.

But our resources are now practically exhausted. It is estimated that £50,000 more at least is wanted to deal even with the most pressing needs. If help is sent at once not only will life be saved, but recovery of these regions from the ravages of war will be immeasurably promoted.

King Nicholas's Dithyrambs.

THE special correspondent of the *Times* in St. Petersburg, having telegraphed to King Nicholas of Montenegro inquiring what truth there was in the rumour crediting him with the intention of ceding Mount Lovtchen, the peak which dominates Cetinje on the west, to Austria, the post-King replied as follows:—"Mount Lovtchen is the Serb Olympus, a monument reared by the Divine hand to liberty and her defenders. It is the cradle of our glorious dynasty. It is also the pedestal of the musclemen where the ashes of Peter Petrovitch Njegos rest. Lovtchen resisted even when the Asiatic invader had arrived under the walls of Vienna. It will still resist in the future. With its sublime peaks, Lovtchen, the well-beloved, is dear to us and more precious than if its entire body were one colossal diamond. Lovtchen is inalienable."

Ismail Kemal Bey.

ISMAIL KEMAL BEY, the present chief of the provisional Albanian Government, is now 68 years old. He claims descent from the famous Ali Pasha of Janina, who a hundred years ago nearly succeeded in establishing an independent Albanian State, and belongs to one of the foremost Albanian families, the Vlora, which counts among its other members the ex-Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha. In his younger days he was Turkish Governor at Constantinople, but when the Russo-Turkish War, which resulted in the cession of the Dobruja to Roumania, Ismail Kemal became a member of the Sultan's army, and afterwards Veli of Tripoli. At the same time he secretly joined the first Albanian Liberty society at Constantinople, to which also Ferid Pasha, Turkish Pasha (the present Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg), and many other prominent Albanians belonged, and when the society was suppressed in 1890 he fell into disgrace and had to flee abroad for his life. He then travelled a good deal all over Europe, residing at Rome, Paris, Naples, Barcelona, and London.

While in Paris he joined the Young Turkish movement and became an adherent of Prince Sabah ed-Din, who advocated provincial decentralisation. After the revolution of 1908 he returned to Constantinople, and on being elected deputy for the Sandjak of Berat led the twenty or so members of the Albanian group in the Chamber. He did not at that time advocate Albanian autonomy, but insisted on administrative reform, the construction of roads, afforestation, and so forth. His antagonism, however, to the centralist tendencies of the Young Turks led him gradually to the formation, towards the end of 1911, of the Liberal Union (the Party of Liberty and Concord), which had for its avowed aim the overthrow of the Government, by peaceful means if possible, by force, if necessary. It was this indifference to the means which made a rapprochement between him, the Old Turks, and the Hamidian school possible, and, as the Young Turks were afterwards able to prove by documents from the archives of Yıldız Kiosk, he was in close relation with his former enemy, Abdul Hamid.

Ismail Kemal was one of the organisers of the counter-revolutionary stroke of April 18, 1909. For this, on the victory of Mahmud Shevket's troop, he had once more to flee the country and to resume his wanderings from one capital to another. His efforts, however, were now longer directed against his old enemies, but against the Young Turks. He was in close touch now with the Austrian and then Montenegrin Governments, who were assisting the Albanian revolts, and he attended in the course of 1911 and 1912 numerous Albanian congresses in the mountains, at which various national claims were formulated.

In May last he sent out a memorandum to the representatives of the Great Powers demanding complete Albanian autonomy under an Albanian Governor-General and a European guarantee, and in July he visited London, where he has a number of friends of old standing. All this time he was still the legal representative of Berat (which includes Valona), but at the last election he lost his seat, a relative of his, Sureya Bey Vlora, having been returned in his place. It was only after the fall of the Young Turkish regime that he was able to return to Constantinople on the express invitation of the Sultan, but at the beginning of November he was once more in Budapest and Vienna, where he concluded an agreement with Count Berchtold on the subject of Albanian autonomy. He then left for Durazzo by way of Trieste in a special steamer of the Austrian Lloyd, accompanied by a number of Albanian notables, and hoisted the Albanian flag in Valona, constituting himself at the same time the head of the provisional Government—*The Manchester Guardian*.

A New Republic.

By a decision of the Conference of the Ambassadors a new Republic, perhaps the most remarkable in the world, has, it is said, been called into being. This is the monastic republic on the Athos peninsula of Chalcidice. Strictly speaking, this is not a new creation. The "republic" has been in existence all through the thousand years of the Byzantine Empire and through the five hundred years of Turkish rule. But it was a republic in inverted commas, a republic on sufferance and in practice more than by right. It will now become a real and legal republican enclave in what may presumably be regarded as the new extension of the kingdom of Greece, under the special protection of Greek-Orthodox Powers.

The name of the peninsula and the republic is derived from the mountain Athos, whither, according to the Greek legend, the devil took Christ in order to show him the extent of his kingdom. From the top, too, a huge bonfire announced to the Greeks the capture of Troy, and it was at the foot of Mount Athos that wild storms destroyed the Persian fleet under Mardonius. In more recent times, it was on the top of Athos that a halo was seen one night in 1820 by an old Greek monk, announcing the forthcoming liberation of the Greek Orons from the Islamic Crescent, and though the immediate following revolt of the Greeks of Chalcidice was ruthlessly suppressed by the Pasha of Salonica, it is from that miraculous sign that the Greeks date the beginning of their national struggle.

Sacred Athos is a holy place for the Hellenic nation, but it is also holy for the entire Greek-Orthodox world. To this wild mountain the first Christian anchorites fled from Egypt to save themselves from the persecution, and there were founded some of the first monasteries of Christendom. The settlements grew, attracting saints and pilgrims from all over the Christian world, and were in course of time fully endorsed by the Emperors of Byzantium, who placed at their disposal the peninsula. Then the Turks came, under Mahomet I., conquering everything that stood in their way. The Athos community, however, for its return for the delivery of Salonic, was left in the possession of its rights and privileges, and these rights and privileges were confirmed to them by Sultan Mahomet I. after the monks had voluntarily surrendered to him their farms at Lemnos

and the Anatolian coast. Since then the community has never been disturbed. Time and tide have been of no consequence to it. It has lived and is still living the same life as over a thousand years ago, amidst everlasting beauty of scenery and the everlasting joy of prayer and fast.

The community entirely consists of monks, with a small sprinkling of "lay brethren," and with only one Turk, the official representative of the Sultan, residing at Karas. No woman has ever entered the holy precincts of the Athos territory, even the Turk having, on his appointment, to leave his harem behind. For a long time it was even believed that no animals of the female sex, not even a hen, were permitted to enter the country, but that was shown to be a mere legend. The solitary Turk has nothing to do in this community except receive, on an appointed day, the sum of 37,000 francs as tribute to the Porte. In all the rest the community is completely independent, having its own Government, its own laws, and even its own police of fifty brethren. Its population amounts to between six and seven thousand men, chiefly monks, who either live in the monasteries, of which ten are situated on the northern and ten on the southern coast of the peninsula, or in separate settlements, to the number of eleven, scattered all over the peninsula, or else in solitary cells on the holy Mount itself. Each of the monasteries has a representative at Karas who, together with four evasautive men (Epistatai) taken from the various monasteries in turn, form under the presidency of Primate of Athos, also elected in turn, the governing Synod. The Synod meets from time to time for the transaction of business common to the entire monastic community at an ancient church at Karas, where there is also a small bazaar, a school for young monks, and some houses for the lay brethren.

The life of the community passes in devotion and prayer. One-half of the monasteries are conducted on "zeuhotic" principles—that is, on the principle of common meals. Their inmates are provided with all the necessities by the monasteries, and they have their meals in common and all of the same kind. No meat is allowed in their case; they may only have bread, water, and vegetables. They fast often and long, and they spend from six to twelve hours daily in prayer. They elect their own chief, the "Hegoumenos," for life, and they owe him unconditional obedience. The other half of the monasteries are conducted on "idiorhythmic" principles, which allow the inmates a certain latitude in their mode of life. Each has a right to eat and to dress as he likes, and receives from his monastery bread, wine, and a little money to satisfy his further needs. This class of monks elects its chiefs every two or three years.

The great majority of these monasteries have been founded by Greek monks, but there is also a Russian, a Serbian, a Roumanian, and a Bulgarian monastery. Every year tens of thousands of pious pilgrims, mostly coming on foot, visit the sacred community from parts of the Orthodox world as widely separated as Greece and Siberia. A pilgrim who has been to Athos is like a Hadji who has been to Mecca. The community has not been free from internal strife caused by national jealousies, the Russian monks especially being the subject of suspicion on the part of the Greeks, who saw in them agents of the Russian Government. At one time it was seriously believed that a whole arsenal had been secretly formed at the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon, with a view to turning Athos into a Russian "Gibraltar."

R.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

The Financial Situation.

BARTON'S Agency reports the arrival in London of M. Theodoroff, the Bulgarian Minister of Finance. It is stated that M. Theodoroff's visit is in no way directly connected with the peace negotiations; he is said to have come with the sole purpose of taking a preliminary survey of the Money market and of making himself familiar at first hand with the conditions under which loan operations might possibly be undertaken after the conclusion of peace. Whatever be M. Theodoroff's immediate object, it is evident that his advent must be regarded as another confirmation of the imminence of a treaty of peace.

In German commercial circles there is noticeable a strong movement of protest against any settlement in the Balkans which might give Austria-Hungary preferential trade conditions. There seems to exist a certain degree of apprehension that Austria-Hungary is seeking such exceptional conditions and that the German Government is in danger of complying too easily with the wishes of her ally. To outsiders the idea of such compliance, to the detriment of German trade, seems impossible. Not so, however, to the Düsseldorf Chamber of Commerce, which has memorialised the Ministry of

Commerce and Industry to draw attention to the danger, and to pray that all necessary measures may be taken to parry it. Germans must be feeling bitterly the grossness of Austrian ingratitude, and are doubtless promising a less ready display of the "shining armour" in future.

Continental opinion is not at all convinced that the conclusion of peace and the promised resumption of payments will enable merchants to cash moneys due to them by Balkan debtors. Germany is pessimistic above all others in this matter. A certain wise reserve in the granting of credits, so often reproached to English traders, is, it appears, not a bad thing after all.

That Russia intends taking an active interest in future development of the aggrandised Slav States appears evident from an article published this week in the *Nova Vremya*, which advocates the foundation of a great institution having for its purpose the encouragement of industrial and agricultural enterprise in Bulgaria. It is hoped in St. Petersburg that Russian capital will be able to carry out this new project alone; but it seems more probable that it will ultimately be merged in the Frau-Bulgarian scheme, of which the preparation is well advanced.

I ventured the opinion some time ago that, among other conditions, the financial straits of the Balkan Allies and Turkey would conspire against recommencement of hostilities. So far, in spite of mutual threatenings, the antagonists have not taken to the field. The utter barrenness of all the exchequers concerned becomes more and more evident, in spite of all expedients employed to mask the fact from the world. The governor of the National Bank of Greece has been making a most worthy effort in this direction. In a communication published in the *Times* he states that the resources of Greece in men and money are not exhausted; yet, almost in the same breath, he says that "it is only within the last few weeks that financial assistance became necessary." The extent and nature of this assistance are not indicated, nor, indeed, whether it has actually been received. Having admitted this much, M. Valaoritis goes on to give a sketch of the economic development of his country and of the brilliant future which everyone hopes is still in store for her. I am forcibly reminded of the direct "preliminary puff" which is the forerunner of every well-prepared prospectus. We shall see.—COMMENTATOR in the *Near East*.

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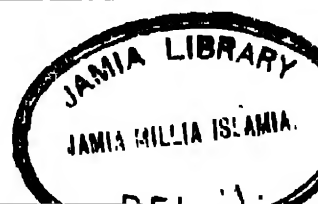
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The Week.

Persia.

At question time, Sir Edward Grey said that good progress was being made with the arrangements for the advance to Persia for her immediate requirements. There was every reason to hope that the matter would shortly be concluded. The question of obtaining a substantial loan from financiers would then be considered.

A Toheran message states that it is understood that Britain and Russia are prepared jointly to advance Persia £400,000. The terms have not yet been settled.

Lord Lamington put a series of questions in the Lords with regard to Persia. He suggested that a considerable section of Persians did not regard M. Mornard with great favour and recommended the establishment of a treasury board consisting of a Russian, a British and Persian or neutral representative and the augmentation of the Gendarmerie with the co-operation of Indian officers.

Lord Morley paid a tribute to the Swedish officers and also to Captain Eckford, whose murder was a terrible incident in the great road problem in which we were more interested than anyone. He emphasised the objections to a punitive expedition and said that we had abstained from such a proceeding with a view to giving the Persian Government the best chance they

could have. The co-operation of Indian officers with the Gendarmerie would be most risky, and those best able to judge warned Government that friction and jealousy between Swedish and Indian officers and the Persian Government would be likely to follow. With regard to money Lord Morley said that it was proposed to raise another £400,000 half in Russia and half in Britain and also £100,000 contributed by England for the special use of the Toheran Government. Security for the money would be found in a loan of four, five or six millions in regard to which negotiations were now proceeding between the Persian Government and the Société D'Etudes. The substitution of a treasury board for M. Mornard would impair the authority and independence of the Persian Government. The Imperial Government did not doubt M. Mornard's capacity and goodwill.

The Arnold Case.

Mr Channing Arnold was released before six o'clock on the morning of the 19th instant from the Rangoon Jail.

Quite an ovation was given to Mr Channing Arnold at Fytche Square Gardens, which was thronged with members of every community. As Mr. Arnold entered the square there were rounds of applause and vociferous cheering, which continued until he mounted the temporary platform erected for the occasion. Having been then garlanded, presented with bouquets, and pelted with rose petals, he addressed the assembly in a loud and distinct tone, calling upon them to be always loyal to the British Raj. It was not possible to get a more humane government in any part of the world, even if they looked back to ancient or modern history. Though he had been incarcerated for crime when he had tried his level best to prevent exposure, he was compelled as a last resort to throw his cards on the table and show the authorities where certain faults lay which needed remedying. His one object was justice, of which the British nation might rightly be proud. He would gladly undergo similar imprisonment if he thought it was for the welfare of the country. He spoke in terms of praise of the treatment meted out to him by the jail authorities, and concluded by asking the crowd assembled to give three cheers for the King-Emperor. This having been done, three more were accorded to Mr. Arnold.

When the news of the release of Mr. Arnold was received from Rangoon the Privy Council was sitting to hear the application for appeal. Sir Robert Finlay asked for an adjournment for a few days on the ground that important matters had been raised. The Lord Chancellor agreed and fixed the hearing for the 24th instant.

The All-India Medical Mission.

Constantinople, Jan. 27.

On the 20th of January I wrote to you just before my departure to Omerli. I arrived there with Dr. Fysoe, Dr. Abdur Rahman, Mr. Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Hussain Raza Bey, Abdul Waheed and Haji Abdullah, our dragomen, having arrived

there the day before. The first thing we did was to make a little bridge over the little stream between the railway line and the valley where our tents were to be pitched, some of the soldiers stationed in Omerli helping us in this work. We then started pitching the first tent. As none of us had any experience in tent pitching, it took us quite a long time, with a great deal of discussion, to put up this tent. By the end of the evening we succeeded only in pitching up one double-tent and a bill tent. Next day we succeeded in putting up three double-tents, one single tent, the operation tent and the remaining two bill tents; a mixed shower of rain and sleet prevented us from putting up the last tent. It would have done your heart a lot of good if you had seen the members of your Mission working in the teeth of a most bitterly cold wind and the mud almost knee deep. Here at least there was no distinction between the doctor and the dresser, everyone hammering the pegs, fixing the poles or spreading the canvas and doing the work like real enthusiasts. The next morning there was a heavy downpour of rain, and, although one hundred soldiers arrived from Hademkon for our aid, we could not avail ourselves of their services owing to the wretched weather. I left the next day for Constantinople in order to send all our equipment to Omerli and proceed there with the utmost despatch possible in this country.

I must mention that bitter experience has taught me never to rely in matters of provision on anybody but ourselves. My men and myself having been driven to eating nothing but cheese and bread for three days, owing to the box containing our provision having been stolen by someone on the line. I have now arranged for a bi-weekly supply of stores from Constantinople, at least one of my men always accompanying the stores.

[Here we have omitted Dr. Ansari's account of the coup d'état which we published in the last issue—Ed., *Comrade*]

I have been waiting ever since my return from Omerli to make enquiries regarding the issue of the Turkish Treasury Bonds. I visited Talaat Bey who promised to make enquiries about it. But not being satisfied with this indefinite promise I went and saw the Minister of Interior who understood English, made notes of all I had told him and promised to give me definite information this afternoon. He could not fulfil his promise owing to an important meeting of the Cabinet. To-morrow I am going to visit the Grand Vizier with the Drafts you have sent for him and a translation of both your letters in Turkish. I am hoping to get information about the Treasury Bonds, which I intend cabling to you at once. I am sure a loan of three or four million Turkish pounds would be of immense help to Turkey. To write to you for hastening this matter on my part is obviously superfluous, as you are already too keen on the matter, and besides it would be impossible for you to hurry up the matter without the receipt of Treasury Bonds from Turkey.

I must end my letter with a brief account of the Mission. I have sent out two wagons full of the baggage, mostly those things which had arrived from London. Half of another wagon has also been loaded and the other half will be loaded to-morrow. This wagon contains a portion of the articles which have been bought for us here in Constantinople. These things are mostly for kitchen and other general stores, a complete list of which is being prepared for your perusal. These articles have not been paid for as yet, as the Croissant Rouge have not sent the bill yet. I may mention that this list was carefully prepared on comparing our invoice with the authorized list of articles supplied to the Field Hospitals worked under the auspices of the Ottoman Croissant Rouge. I will send you the bill as soon as it is presented after I have carefully scrutinized the same.

There is one thing which is notably inadequate for our equipment and that is, the tents. They have sent us four double tents, 30 by 16, and two single tents, 30 by 16. These tents would hold with utmost difficulty not more than 16 beds each, that is, altogether 96 beds for patients. Besides these there is one tent for operations and three bill tents, which are very small and would not hold more than three attendants. You would see that we have no tents for the doctors and dressers, nor any tent for dispensary kitchen, store or the office. We have been fortunate in being able to borrow two tents from the Bombay Mission, but we still require at least four to six tents more. It is impossible to get tents in Constantinople for love or money, and I am afraid we will have to rely on the kindness of the Bombay Mission for tents. Obviously it is impracticable to cable for tents to England or India, as it would take a month before we got them.

Omerli, Near Tschataldja Lines, Feb. 2.

I have sent you a cable after getting the answer from the Minister of Interior, but I wish I had not done so, as two days after during my interview with Rifat Bey, the Minister of Finance proved that the Minister of Interior had given me absolutely

wrong information on the subject of the Bonds. I explained to Rifat Bey who was naturally very grateful to you for all that you are doing to raise money in India by the sale of the Turkish Treasury Bonds, but after explaining to me all the details of the manner of issuing the Bonds, he expressed his utter inability to issue these Bonds in less than three months time. He was very sorry at this delay, but he suggested that I should cable to you to arrange with the Banks if it was possible to receive money from the people for these Treasury Bonds and give them receipts for their money to be charged for the Bonds when they were ready. He would like to know if such an arrangement was possible, and also the names of the Banks, and the conditions on which they were willing to sell the Bonds. I had been waiting for your reply to my first telegram before cabling to you the above instructions received from the Minister of Finance.

I went to Bab-i-'Ali on the 30th of January with your first letter to the Grand Vizier, enclosing a cheque of hundred and twenty odd pounds, and your second letter, enclosing two cheques of thousand pounds each. I had your letters translated in Turkish, as previous experience had taught me that this was the best way in order to facilitate matters. I also took your telegram along with two others, one from Rangoon and the other from Bombay, with their Turkish translations. I found Sheikh Abdul Aziz Shawish also waiting in Bab-i-'Ali, and as we were both called in together he acted as my interpreter. Mahmoud Sherkat Pasha received me most courteously, and shook hands with me in a most cordial manner. I explained to him the feelings of the Mussulmans of India at the great crisis which Turkey was going through and the hopes they now centred in him and his Cabinet for saving Turkey and the whole Islamic world from disgrace and utter loss of prestige. He was very brief in his reply, but his words were pregnant and sincere. He said, among other things, that the Mussulmans of India had been very generous in their help towards the relief of the wounded and the sick, and that the Turks would never forget their kindness and help at such a time. After reading the Turkish translations of your letters and cable he was very pleased, and made enquiries about you and all that you have done in organising the All-India Medical Mission and the Red Crescent Fund for the relief of the wounded soldiers and the refugees. He promised to send your telegram to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and said that I will have the receipt sent to me in due course of time for the three drafts I had given him from you. I asked him about the war to which he replied that they were ready for it, but he was not sure of the Balkan Confederacy. As regards Adrianople, he said that the garrison had enough provision for two months. In the end, he promised a private presentation of all the Members of the All-India Medical Mission to His Majesty the Sultan, and expressed a desire to see them himself.

I had sent all the Members of the Mission previously to Omerli, where they had all the tents ready. Our stores, provisions and equipments had all reached Omerli also and were being stored in one of the tents which we were compelled to use exclusively for this purpose. This tent is single and very dilapidated. The snow and sometimes rain gets through upside it and hence it could not be used for wards for which it had been designed. I regret to say that in the choice of the tents both the quality and number have put us to a lot of trouble and expenditure. I have been compelled to buy tents from a local English firm, luckily at a very moderate cost. I have already bought ten small double-tents for the staff and the office at thirteen pounds (£13) each, each tent accommodates three persons. I have also ordered three large tents at £20 each for holding 8 patients in each. It is absolutely necessary to have these tents double, as the winter here is terribly severe, and living in single tents would be absolutely impossible. The British Red Crescent Mission has been compelled for the same reason to give up its tents and erect wooden barracks at a cost of more than twice the price of a tent.

We have all been working terribly hard and have got our camp ready to receive soldiers from Tschataldja day after to-morrow, as the war is going to begin to-morrow, Monday, at 7 P. M. I may tell you that our field-hospital, if not the best, is second to none in Turkey. Not only are our wards, dispensary, operating theatre and general provision most excellent, but every member of the Mission has got the zeal and energy of ten persons, and a most excellent *esprit de corps* exists among them, of which I feel naturally very proud.

Dr. Barry has been invalided due to rheumatism and would soon be returning home.

Husain Raza Bey has also got some lung trouble, and I am thinking of sending him back to India. I have secured the services of Dr. Fud at £8 per mensem. He will act both as a doctor and interpreter.

P. S.—I am afraid *Uncle* cables would not be allowed. They even censored my last cable to you about the revolution. Five names and several words were removed from the cablegram. But rest assured I will keep you posted with all important news.

MUSTAFA ANAD ANSARI

TETE À TETE



SHAIKH ABDUL AZIZ SHAWISH has sent to us the following cablegram, dated Constantinople, 22nd January, 4 p. m.—“Serbs Montenegrins lost 10,000 at ‘Scutari’ Adrianople captured Bulgarians’ ‘aeroplane’ Money absolutely necessary.”

The Latest War News.

Awaiting Indian Princes’ answer concerning Bonds While the Turks are fighting with such heroism and holding their own with splendid courage, it would be a matter of bitter humiliation and shame for the Mussalmans of India if they failed to supply the soldiers of Islam with their sinews of war. The vital question now is that of money, and Turkey is waiting to see the nature of the response that Moslem India makes to her appeal for help. We hope the “answer of the Moslem princes in India concerning the Turkish Bonds” will be worthy of their dignity, their love of Islam and the urgency of the cause. We trust their brethren in Turkey will not have long to wait for the answer.

According to a resolution of the Bombay Legislative Council, the Government of India was requested to consider the advisability of opening the ports of Calcutta, Chittagong and Madras for the convenience of the Hedjas pilgrims.

The Hedjas Pilgrim Traffic.

The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, who was the author of the proposal in the Bombay Council, put a question on the subject in the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council and asked for information as to the steps the Government of India had taken in the matter. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, in reply, said that the proposal had been carefully considered by the Government of India, in consultation with the Governments of Madras and Bengal, but that it had not been found possible to accept it. Detailing the reasons, he said that, as regarded Madras, neither that nor any west coast port in the Madras Presidency was so situated as to attract many pilgrims from the Presidency. “The latter who formed only a very small percentage of the total number of pilgrims from India, would naturally prefer the cheaper and quicker route via Bombay.” Past experience had shown that Chittagong could not compete with Bombay in the matter of the pilgrim traffic, and difficulty was always experienced in obtaining ships of pilgrims or a full cargo of pilgrims for ships. The extent of the pilgrim traffic in the port of Calcutta, before it was closed in 1897, had always been extremely small, and it was extremely unlikely that such as there was in the past would return should the port be re-opened in view of the greater convenience of Bombay. “In these circumstances,” concluded the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, “the Government of India have, in concurrence with the Governments of Madras and Bengal, come to the conclusion that the opening or re-opening, as the case may be, of the three ports above-mentioned, while entailing considerable expenditure, will have no appreciable effect.” Now, the main arguments underlying the decision of the Government of India are that pilgrims themselves prefer the route via Bombay on account of its cheapness and convenience, and that it would consequently entail considerable amount of needless expenditure to open the ports of Calcutta, Chittagong and Madras to pilgrim traffic. Be this as it may, the decision leaves matters where they were and the problem of dealing with the enormous congestion caused by the influx of pilgrims in Bombay remains in all its acuteness. The opening of the port of Karachi will afford relief only in so far as the north-western part of the country is concerned. We think it is desirable that the Government should invite the opinions of all district and provincial engineers and associations of merchants throughout the country and frame its decision in the light of such opinions. The unsatisfactory conditions of the pilgrim traffic in Bombay clearly demand some comprehensive measure of

relief, and we hope the Government of India will be found willing to devise it as early as possible.

THE HON. SECRETARY of the London Moslem League sent a letter on behalf of the Committee of the League to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the 14th January, respectfully drawing “the attention of His Majesty’s Government to the indignation that has been aroused in India at the reports of the treatment that has been meted out to the Mussalman population of Macedonia by the Balkan invaders.” The letter proceeds to say that, in spite of the secrecy in which the sufferings of the afflicted people have been enveloped in England, the cumulative evidence which is pouring in from disinterested sources, and which the Committee believe to be corroborated by the official reports received by the various Chancelleries of Europe, leaves no room for doubt that the Mussalmans of Macedonia have been subjected to a treatment for which there is no parallel in modern history. “The wholesale violation of women and girls combined with mutilation, the slaughter of children, the extermination of men, the shooting down of people running out of houses deliberately set on fire, the blowing up of prisoners, the destruction of Moslem villages and the indiscriminate massacre of their inhabitants, are acts which the most extreme racial or religious fanaticism can not justify.” After referring to the anger that the accounts of these barbarities have aroused in India, the letter concludes by respectfully submitting “that it is of vital importance that England should not appear to the Moslem world as a partisan or upholder of injustice and wrongs by shutting her eyes to cruel deeds.” We are not aware if the Secretary of the League has received any reply to this important communication. Judging, however, by the attitude of Sir Edward Grey, as recently defined in the House of Commons on the subject, we doubt if the appeal of the Committee has had a desired effect. Sir Edward Grey regards the atrocities as if they were wild rumours lacking adequate confirmation, and, in any case, he does not think a neutral Government is justified to take any definite action, especially when he remembers that tales of Turkish atrocities in Macedonia, not very long ago, used to reach him. As regards the Moslem feeling in India, he considers it is likely to be incited by questions in the House of Commons. Well, all we need say is that the Foreign Minister of Great Britain should have so lightly disposed of the state of Moslem feeling and should deprecate all reference to it in Parliament. That terrible atrocities have been committed in Macedonia no honest Chancellery in Europe can have the cynicism to deny. To condone them as if they were awful measures of retribution and take shelter behind fond professions of neutrality is to declare the moral bankruptcy of a civilised State. Neutrality does not surely mean that a great people and their Government should not utter a word of protest in face of unutterable horrors. The so-called “Armenian Atrocities” shook liberal England to its depths, and it was merely an accident of international politics that the whole weight of British diplomacy and British arms was not used to avenge “the victims of Turkish misrule.” It is difficult to avoid the lesson that the conscience of a modern State in Europe is very often a slave of an opportunist diplomacy and of the interests that it is designed to serve. Lord Lamington deserves the thanks of the Indian Mussalmans in particular for his frank exposure of the fallacy with which Sir Edward Grey had sought to muzzle the House of Commons. Lord Morley calls Sir Edward Grey’s attitude “admirable.” We do not know if this apologia can relieve Sir Edward Grey and the British Government of their responsibility as custodians of great and noble traditions of humanity and justice which are the proud heritage of the British race. All that has happened in Macedonia may have been inevitable, but it can not on that account cease to be wicked, vile and horrible. After all, the doctrine, “all what is is right,” reduces all human will and purpose to absurdity, and great ideals and aspirations seem but a futile juggling with words. It is rather sad to think that of all persons Lord Morley should have told us that the horrors of this war need not deserve a moral censure of Great Britain because they were inevitable.

SEVERAL causes have combined to render the question of cattle preservation as one of great economic importance to this country. Now that growing attention is being paid to the study of the vast agricultural problems, and efforts are being made to solve them in the light of modern agricultural science, and with reference to new needs and new possibilities, the preservation and breeding of agricultural livestock cannot be left at the mercy of chance and accidents. The duty of the Indian Government in this connection is obvious. Apart from the fact that the lives and prosperity of millions in this country depend upon agriculture, the State derives the bulk of its revenues from this staple industry, and it cannot, therefore, in view of its own great interests, refuse to create all needful facilities for the development of

The Preservation of Cattle.

Indian agriculture. A cattle survey of the whole of India was, some time ago, promised by the Government; but, as would appear from the Hon. Sir Robert Carlyle's reply to the question asked by the Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis in the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, the proposed survey has not yet been undertaken. The Government of India advised Local Governments that the preparation of technical surveys should be preceded by the collection of general information, somewhat on the lines of the report on cattle and dairying in the Punjab issued by Mr. Stow. "It is understood that reports on these lines are under preparation, but it is not known when they will be ready for publication." We trust the Department of Revenue and Agriculture is alive to its responsibilities and will speed up an inquiry the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. Spontaneous efforts organised by the people themselves will, above all, prove of immense practical value. It may be worth mentioning in this connection that we recently received a copy of a draft prospectus "on behalf of an influential body of representative Hindu gentlemen, who have formed themselves into a Committee to bring forward a scheme for an All-India Cattle Preservation Society." The scheme, as put forward, is an ambitious one. It is designed to take the shape of a joint-stock company "with a capital of 50 crores of rupees in 10 crores of shares of Rs. 5 only." It is proposed to have "one cow shed in each 5 villages, accommodating 50 cattle, one in each town, accommodating 500 cattle, and one in each district (city), accommodating 1,000 cattle, all over India." It is claimed that, if the scheme is completely worked out, "we shall be able to save 71,68,000 cattle in the first attempt and engage 28,00,000 of our countrymen in service. Besides a dividend of about 10 per cent. or thereabouts in the first year, a liberal supply of pure milk and *ghee* will be within easy reach of all India." The prospects, herein set forth, are truly glorious, only if we were sure that sustained energy and efforts would be put forth to realise them in practice.

AN UNKNOWN fate had saddled Turkey, in the hour of her supreme trial, with a politician who, to say the least, had long been rendered obsolete. Kiamil had none of the courage, boldness and decision of character that were needed in the

Kiamil and the War.

great crisis in the fortunes of his country. By his timid and fatuous dependence on others and utter political imbecility he has ridden Turkey to disaster. How such a man could rise to supreme power in these days is a rather interesting story. Reviewing the position of Kiamil Pasha before his fall, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* said that "an act of courtesy on the part of the English Royal couple had unwittingly a considerable effect on the domestic situation in the Ottoman Empire." While in Egypt on their Durlar journey the King and Queen invited old Kiamil, who was then in exile, to dinner, and caused the whole company to be photographed. Copies of that photograph, representing Kiamil Pasha sitting near the Queen, with King George standing behind, were circulated all over Constantinople, including the Sultan's palace, and had a tremendous effect on the imagination of the Turks, who concluded, therefore, that if Kiamil Pasha were ever to come back to power England would place herself by the side of Turkey and protect her against all enemies. It is this idea, generated by a simple photograph, which was largely responsible for the overthrow of the Young Turkish régime and the installation of Kiamil at the head of affairs. This was fatal, for not only had all those fantastic hopes in England since then been disappointed, with the result that Kiamil Pasha had been abandoned by all his former adherents, but the fall of the Young Turks also largely contributed to the disastrous war. "Should the history of the Balkan War ever come to be written by a really competent pen," says the *Frankfurter's* correspondent, "it will surely be found that the psychological moment created by the internecine strife among the Turkish officers had, if not a decisive, at least a considerable effect on the decision of the Allies to declare war. The Young Turks now assume that if they had remained in power war would have been avoided. It would, of course, be difficult now to adduce facts to prove this. It is, however, true that they well understood how to maintain very good relations with Bulgaria and Serbia."

WHILE the Greeks are loud in their pretensions about the *Ægean* islands and have recently gone into raptures over a leading article which the *Times* wrote in enthusiastic support of their claims, the Great Powers by no means agree amongst themselves as to the final solution of the question. Roughly speaking, the Powers of the Triple Alliance favour the retention of the islands by Turkey. The Italian Government has, in particular, expressed itself decisively against their cession to Greece.

The *Ægean* Islands.

M. Jean Carrère, the Rome correspondent of the *Temps*, discusses in a message to his paper the Italian attitude in respect of the *Ægean* islands. The islands are still in the occupation of the Italian

troops, since, though the last Turkish troops have just left Tripoli, many officers and a large number of soldiers under the command of Aziz Bey are still lagging behind in Cyrenaica, where the Italian troops are in consequence still in the same positions which they occupied during the war. In vain has the Italian Government appealed more than once to the Porte urging it to recall the remaining troops without delay, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne. The Porte, however, keeps on promising and delaying, on the plea that the evacuation must be effected gradually and, so to speak, clandestinely, for fear of a massacre by the disappointed Arabs. In view of this and in virtue of the terms of the treaty, the Italian Government finds it impossible to withdraw from the islands, which must be held as a pledge for the ultimate withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cyrenaica and as a precaution against a renewal of hostilities by Aziz Bey. The Italian Government, the writer says, is aware that the Turks may use this opportunity and may purposely remain in Cyrenaica in order to force Italy to remain in the islands, to keep off the Greeks. But Italy, on the other hand, is not at all inclined simply to hand over the islands to Greece—particularly those adjoining the coast of Asia Minor. On this she is at one with her two Allies, who are anxious to preserve and even to consolidate Turkey in Asia. The ultimate fate of the islands will be decided by the Powers. We may, however, be sure that the Turkish standpoint, however reasonable and just, will weigh little with the Powers unless it happens to coincide with their own interests.

THE Collective Note of the Powers to Turkey, advising her to yield to the demands of the Allies, will for ever live as a remarkable monument to the cynicism of modern diplomacy. The frank injustice and brutality of the whole proceeding

The Coercion of Turkey.

have placed in its true perspective the attitude of the European Chancelleries in their dealings with the Turks. With very few exceptions the European press welcomed the Note, as if its presentation were the most natural and proper thing for the Powers to undertake. The essential iniquity of the thing has impressed but a few clear-sighted observers whose sense of justice has not been obsessed by the shady game of international politics. One such German observer has recently expressed his views with refreshing candour and laid bare the hidden springs of devious policy and intrigue that led to the production of the Note. While most of the organs of the German press, which frequently get their inspiration from official quarters, were very sparing in their comments on the Collective Note, the more independent journals, especially the Liberal papers, did not conceal their displeasure at the objects and tone of that document. Herr Theodor Wolff, for instance, wrote in the *Herbster Tageblatt*:—"Should anyone in Germany have read the Collective Note of the Great Powers without a feeling of disgust it only means that either his interest in matters political is weak or that his stomach is very strong. Prince Lichnowsky, who has signed the paper in London, and Baron von Wangenheim, who has taken part in the duty of handing it in at Constantinople, are two men of good reputation, and it is with sincere sympathy that one sees their honourable names being mixed up with this business. For though this Collective Note, which after so many assurances of protection and guarantees is trying under various threats to compel the Turks to surrender Adrianople, is alleged to have been drawn up by statesmen of the European Great Powers, its draft nevertheless seems to have emanated from one of those interesting cafés which are frequented by specialists in letter writing of this kind. How could Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg have prevailed upon himself to engage Germany in a policy which is so much opposed to the German sense of propriety and, what is still more important, to German interests?" Two considerations have apparently weighed with the decision of this statesman, continues Herr Theodor Wolff. The Bulgarians refuse to satisfy Roumania's claims unless they are assisted in obtaining Adrianople and for this reason the Austro-Hungarian Government, which is anxious to satisfy Roumania, has been urging this painful step in Berlin. On the other hand Russia and France have, in order to secure their influence in Bulgaria, promised the Bulgarians to obtain for them Adrianople, and for this reason they have frightened the hesitating Berliners by the delicate suggestion that the Russians might otherwise march into Armenia. "In fact the shining lights of European diplomacy threaten the Turks, should Adrianople not be finally surrendered, with the withdrawal of their 'moral and material support.' As for moral support, its value must be fully obvious to Turkey at the present moment, and with regard to the usurer's threat not to lend any more money, it must sound somewhat comical to anyone who knows Europe's hunger for profits and commissions. That Note, however, goes further and announces that in case of the Porte's resistance the hostilities may be perhaps spread to the Asiatic provinces of the Empire. The natural question is by whom would they be extended if not by the Powers themselves?" Herr Theodor Wolff then outlines the nature of the reply which German diplomacy ought to have given to such suggestions.

a reply based on Germany's sense of morality and fairness as well as on her interest in the preservation of Asiatic Turkey intact,—and expresses the opinion that "in such a case Sir Edward Grey would perhaps have found co-operation with the colleagues of the other cordial members of the Entente less convenient."

Old Heads for Young.

Moslem India is to-day more united than it ever was before; and, whatever H. H. the Aga Khan may think, Indian Mussalmans would solidly vote for Turkey's fighting to the bitter end rather than yield to the Balkan Allies or their more powerful Allies in European Chancelleries. We trust no one will accuse Moslem youth in this matter, for this is the work of another and a more effective agency—Moslem Manhood. We have received a private communication from an honoured contributor of the *Comrade* who has spent a life-time in quiet, unostentatious work and is too much of a scholar to be accused of soldierly militancy. By instincts liberal, but in politics a most thoughtful conservative, he is one who commands as much confidence in official circles on account of his political views as personal affection among his own people for his patent sincerity and all the qualities of heart and head that go to make a cultured gentleman in the best sense of that hackneyed epithet. He writes to us: "I was hoping from the first that the Turks would in the end refuse Peace with Dishonour and resume war. It is better to fight and die I am not a soldier, but I would love to be in the ranks. I hope God will grant them victory against these scoundrels who are not even fit to clean their shoes. My little grandson . . . who is only six years old, prays every day for the Turks and Persians, and his mother, my only daughter, actually cries her eyes out when she reads of Turkish reverses. *Whatever their treacherous Christian enemies may say, they have brought these misfortunes on themselves by too much toleration.* This is the truth, not a paradox, or, in other words, what seems paradoxical is really true." We hope this will convince every sceptic about the true feelings of all Moslems to-day and warn Sir Edward Grey in time. Will not some honourable member of H. E. the Viceroy's Legislative Council ask a question whether Government is aware of feelings which are secret to none except Sir Edward Grey? The six year old thinks like grey-haired sixty and grey-haired sixty feels like the little rite of six. Shall we still delude ourselves by thinking that all that is needed to "improve" the *Aktion* is to supply old heads for young?

The Ottoman Treasury Bonds.

As would appear from the latest letter of Dr. Anzari published elsewhere, Rifaat Bey, Minister of Finance of the Ottoman Empire, in an interview with Dr. Anzari, "expressed his utter inability to issue the Bonds in less than three months time." The delay may be unavoidable, but the intending purchasers need not wait till the Bonds are issued, as we have already arranged with the Alliance Bank of India and the Bank of Bengal to receive deposits from the people and give receipts for the amount of money received. The Bonds will be duly issued to the purchasers later on as soon as they are received by the Banks from the Ottoman Treasury. The essential consideration is that the whole amount of five million pounds sterling, for which the Bonds are to be issued, should be subscribed for without delay. We may state here in this connection that we had requested several other Banks in India to inform us if they were prepared, like the Alliance Bank of India, to receive deposits and effect purchases of the Bonds for intending purchasers for an inclusive charge of 2 annas per cent., with a maximum of two annas for each transaction. And we are glad to say that we have received letters from the Benares Bank, "Limited," the Karachi Bank, "Limited," the Standard Bank, "Limited," the People's Bank of India, "Limited," the Punjab Banking Company, "Limited," the Delhi and London Bank, "Limited," and the Bank of Upper India, "Limited," expressing their willingness to receive deposits for the purchase of the Ottoman Treasury Bonds on the terms specified by the Alliance Bank. The Bank of Bombay is also willing to receive deposits and effect purchases of the Bonds, but on the same terms and conditions as the Bank of Bengal, i. e., for an inclusive charge of 2 annas per cent., with one rupee as a maximum commission for each transaction. We trust the intending purchasers will thus have ample facilities placed within their reach to deposit money for the number of Bonds they wish to purchase.

We trust in all cases they would authorise the Banks to forward the money by telegraphic remittance to Turkey every day and not wait for the receipt of the Bonds. We have already authorised the Alliance Bank to cable our mile of £75 to Rifaat Bey for 150 Bonds.

The Comrade.

Education in India.

THE Government of India have issued an important resolution reviewing the existing state of Indian education and laying down certain broad lines for its future development. The document covers a wide ground. It enunciates the educational policy and principles that the Government have in view, examines the scope for future efforts and defines in general outline the manner in which the vast problem of evolving a comprehensive system of education in India may be solved. Obviously, it is difficult, in view of the complex character and vast dimensions of the problem, to do more at present than set forth in a brief summary the Government standpoint and see its bearing on the actual educational needs of the country.

The Resolution begins by recalling a passage from the speech of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, delivered in reply to the address of the Calcutta University on the 6th January, 1912. The passage has been truly described as the educational charter of India, and as the Government have obviously sought in that passage the bases of its educational policy it would be worth while reproducing it in full.

It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life, and it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.

The ideals that these memorable words enshrine are noble and comprehensive, and no better programme could be devised for the guidance of India's rulers than the one that would result in brightening the homes of His Majesty's Indian subjects and in sweetening their labour by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train. The Government of India are evidently alive to the solemn nature of the task that His Majesty's gracious message has imposed upon them, and indications are not wanting that they would strive to discharge their great obligations in no grudging spirit. To have to guide the intellectual energy of vast and historic communities in the travail of new birth, and evoke from them a robust patriotism based on common culture and common aspirations, is at once a great privilege and a great responsibility. We believe that the responsibility has been accepted most willingly and in full.

It is gratifying to learn that the Government of India have decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to assist Local Governments by means of large grants from Imperial revenues, as funds become available, to extend comprehensive systems of education in several provinces. They further recognise that each province has its own educational system which has grown up under local conditions, and that in view of the diversity of conditions in India there can not be one set of regulations and one rate of progress for the whole of India even within provinces. But, while avoiding all attempts at centralising provincial systems or introducing superficial uniformity, the Government of India regard it as important at intervals to review educational policy in India as a whole. This policy is based on certain principles which were discussed at three important conferences of experts and representative non-officials held within the last two years.

In the forefront of their policy the Government of India desire to place the formation of the character of the scholars and under-graduates under tuition. The need is unquestionably urgent, and it would, indeed, have been a matter of surprise if the Government had failed to recognise its supreme importance. The question that has yet to find a satisfactory solution is one of ways and means. Now, it would readily be conceded that in the formation of character, the influence of the home and the personality of the teacher play a large part. The general unrest of the Indian society has invaded the Indian home, and it would be long before an atmosphere of doubts and uncertainties will cease to infect the intellectual and moral fibres of the growing generations. We hope with the Government of India that increased educational facilities under better educational conditions will accelerate social reform, spread female education and secure better teachers. Much attention is being given in the meantime to religious and moral education, comprising direct religious and moral instruction and indirect agencies such as monitorial or similar systems, social life, traditions, discipline, the betterment environment, hygiene and physical culture and organised recreation.

One may, however, reasonably doubt if the utter lack of spirituality that characterises the public education organised by the State can be cured by such palliatives. The root cause of the evil lies in the atmosphere of a public school or a college. Those who have studied the spirit of the atmosphere know that it is intensely secular and awakens none of the finer instincts of the scholars. The young mind acquires its sense of the relative value of things by the visible emphasis of its environment. It is no fault of Government nor of the teachers that the State-managed institutions in this country breathe a spirit of bargain. Their loudest note is commercialism. And how could it well be otherwise? A Government possessing an entirely new culture and new standards of life imposes a brand new system of education on the people of India, with a view to their ultimate benefit. The only value that the popular mind is able to recognise in the new training is that it is some mysterious sort of "open sesame" to positions of public authority and power. This attitude fixes the essential relation of the new teacher to the social life of the country. The parent sends his boy to school as he would send him to a workshop. The boy goes to school with the feelings of a convict entering his prison cell. He enters an environment where the value of everything depends on idiosyncrasy and accident. He faces a régime of discipline which he can not understand and which he mentally regards as an inexplicable irrelevance. He is put through queer exercises of the brain and receives vague impressions of facts, events, persons and various other things that his own orbit of life and experience does not contain. He is afraid of his teacher as he would be of a taskmaster solely bent on putting him through a grind of lessons. And when at last, after years of thankless toil, heartburnings and rebellions, he is ready to receive the hall-mark of the university and the time comes for him to leave the school, he feels a tremendous relief, the dead-weight of suppressed energy and thwarted desires lifts off his soul a little, and he plunges into the world around him with evident greed to live his own life, untroubled by gratuitous suggestions and advice.

The picture may appear to be overdrawn, but in essential features it is unmistakable. To state the whole matter plainly, the education imparted in Indian schools and colleges is not the organised experience accumulated by the people themselves in the course of their history. It represents the experience of different races under a different environment. Unless it takes root in the soil and becomes part of the social life, energy, thought and feeling, the whole process will remain an artificial one, and will consequently be attended with many risks and diverse limitations. Either the education of the younger generations of Indians should reflect the ethos of the Indian people or the people themselves should be brought up to the level of the teaching. Assuming that the Western sciences and arts embody the best and most useful knowledge available at this stage of the world's progress, it is manifest that the Indian society should be reconstructed in the light of this knowledge. The only method to hasten this consummation is to allow the people to teach themselves. Only thus will a complete system of national education be evolved in harmony with the environment and adapted to the needs of the people. The problem of character building and of rearing strong, self-reliant and virile personalities will in the process find a natural solution. The essential thing is the control of educational policy and principle. As long as the people's voice is not predominant in the shaping of the educational policy in India and in the consideration of the principles no amount of official activity and expenditure will succeed in rendering Indian education an integral part of the people's life, related to the social purpose and responsive to social needs. The most important duty of Government is, therefore, to gradually prepare the way for the complete assumption by the Indian people themselves of the control and direction of Indian education.

Apart from this fundamental consideration of policy there are various other problems of vital importance relating to the manner of developing the Indian educational systems. The Government of India have no sympathy with the federal universities that control Indian education. "The day is probably at hand," says the resolution, "when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating university. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating Universities have control, securing in the first instance a separate University for each of the leading provinces in India and secondly to create new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency." In pursuance of this policy the Government of India have decided to found a teaching and residential University at Dacca, and they are prepared "to sanction under certain conditions the establishment of similar Universities at Aligarh and Benares and elsewhere as occasion may demand." With the same object in view

the establishment of Universities at Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur is also contemplated. In the opinion of the Government it may be possible hereafter to sanction the conversion into local teaching universities, with powers to confer degrees upon their own students, of those colleges which have shown the capacity to attract students from a distance and have attained the requisite standard of efficiency. "Only by experiment will it be found out what type or types of universities are best suited to the different parts of India." It is wise to recognise that the educational systems in India are yet in the stage of experiment, but it is doubtful wisdom to limit the scope of the experiment. The needs of the various sections of the people should form the essential basis of educational policy. Again, while no one can under-rate the importance of the teaching university as a real factor in the growth of knowledge and thought, one can not forget that the federal university plays a great and necessary part in the education of a people still in the initial stage of intellectual development. And in any educational experiment the views and aspirations of the people can not be ignored, for they are, in the most intimate sense, the expressions of the people's needs. If the Mussalmans, for instance, insist on an affiliating University at Aligarh, it is because they desire to evolve the type of education suited to their requirements and make that type accessible to the youths of their community in every part of the country. The time for differentiation and specialisation would come after a certain level of culture has been reached. Principles are not immutable verities, but represent merely the recognition of uniform needs in relation to place, time and circumstance.

As we have already observed, the resolution traverses every important aspect of the educational problem in India. It discusses the subject of primary education in some detail and lays down certain broad lines for its diffusion and extension. It reviews the present state of female education and develops certain views of general application for its growth. It takes into account the condition of secondary and higher education and refers to the need of making provisions for higher studies and research. It traces the progress made all over India in the matter of industrial and technical education and puts forward schemes for the proper organisation of medical education. Every one of these questions demands a vast amount of study and examination, and we hope to be able to deal with some of them at an early date.

Gaekwar-Baiting.

WITH the departure of Mr. Cobb from Baroda we had hoped, not without reason, that the cobwebs of imaginary sedition in, and very real prejudices against, the State would be brushed aside, and the most enlightened prince of India would be left free from worries of this kind to devote himself, as he has always done, to the task of carrying on his State one step further towards his ideals of perfection. But it is apparent that a few individuals are determined to let the Gaekwar have no peace. When a schoolboy who was pelting a toad with stones was asked by another why he was hurting a harmless toad, he had answered, "I'll turn it to be a toad." Those Anglo-Indians who will not rest satisfied with what they have already done to cause distress to His Highness the Gaekwar, simply because he shared with them the virtue of a manly independence, seem determined in the spirit of that schoolboy "to turn" the Gaekwar to be manly and self-respecting.

We do not know who contributed the article to the *Pall Mall Gazette* towards the end of last October to explain the Durbar Incident over the *nom-de-plume* of "One Who Knows." But whoever the writer, his was certainly a belated contribution, unless he believed that the wrath of a section of Anglo-India had sufficiently subdued for him to attempt to remove the prejudices created in the minds of the British public by stories of an incident exaggerated out of all proportion. But this belated contribution, however well-intentioned, has provided an outlet for a good deal of concentrated venom from one who signs himself "One Who Knows Better," and presumes to share the divine privilege of knowing what is in the hearts of people, which humanity has hitherto reserved for One who knows best. This, however, is not the rebuffing of an uncontrolled temper at the belated defence of the Gaekwar, but a deliberate attempt made after three months, during which the venom has been allowed to become still more poisonous in its potency.

But let us come to grips with the so-called facts of the Durbar Incident. It is wholly untrue to say that "when he (the Gaekwar) arrived at Delhi he wrote a letter to Headquarters which were deliberately at variance with the facts presented for Ruling Princes desiring an interview with the Viceroy." To the

best of our knowledge no such correspondence took place between the Gaekwar and the "Headquarters," although there was some official correspondence before His Highness's departure for Delhi. But the writer in *Pall Mall* admits that somehow offence had been taken at "Headquarters" before the Durbar Incident, and, whether His Highness the Gaekwar was guilty or not of giving such offence, when he came to the Durbar Amphitheatre it is clear that he was being watched through the glasses of prejudice which, like concave and convex mirrors, reflect only in a distorted form.

In the second place, it is absurd to say that His Highness "disregarded official injunctions with which he had been explicitly acquainted" concerning the Durbar. As a matter of fact, His Highness did not at all know of these injunctions, and was even wondering in his mind why they had not been communicated to him. He received no copy of any of such injunctions, and was, therefore, not in the least "explicitly acquainted" with them.

Much is made of the Gaekwar's costume on the occasion of the Durbar, and we are inclined to think that the writer has missed his vocation by not contributing weekly articles to some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries on "Women's Interests" and vying with "Butterfly" in her descriptions of modes and millinery. Now, whatever one's views about dress, one is bound to observe the conventional decencies of the world, and, in the case of official ceremonies, everyone who chooses to go there to attend them has to put on a costume that is *de rigueur* for the occasion. We do not know whether any costume was prescribed for Indian Princes as it had been in the case of the Indian people. But if it had been, we may be sure that the Resident of Baroda would have seen to it that the Maharajah conformed to the official requirements to a button. We may, therefore, take it that it was not so prescribed, and no one offended against the rules of the Government of India's sartorial department if he did not decorate himself like a bride. As regards the Gaekwar himself, it is no secret that His Highness wears the simplest of all dresses, and in this respect conforms to "the note of good breeding" not only in England but also in India, where men who are in their forties do not wear gaudy silks and satins unless they have ambition to appear as "lady-killers." We do not know what qualifications the Gaekwar's critic possesses for presuming to call himself "One Who Knows Better." But we know this much that we have known His Highness in a humble way for the last 10 years, and during all this time could never find an occasion when we could suspect that he often "affects" a chaste simplicity when he is "to attend any public ceremonial at which exalted British personages are present." Is it only a mere love of the picturesque, or the desire to be different from others, that leads so many Westerners to admire the "picturesque" costume of Orientals? We suspect it is the latter, for the brilliant sun of India presents excellent opportunities to Englishmen in this country to cease insulting God's light by "affecting" a sombre hue in their customary suits of solemn black. Far from trying to apologise for the hideous costume of his own people, the *Pall Mall* writer accuses the Gaekwar of purposely appearing in a costume unworthy of the occasion in order to insult His Majesty, and this merely because it was white and made of cotton. Had the Gaekwar harboured any such motives he would certainly not have elected to appear in the Durbar of Lord Curzon, with whom he was not exactly on terms of close friendship, in a "white satin robe edged with gold." But if His Highness did not in the last Durbar appear in gold and satin it is also a mischievous misstatement of facts to say that "he elected to do homage to the King-Emperor in cheap white cotton such as the clerks in his public offices wear." We fear, in spite of being great admirers of the Gaekwar, we cannot credit him with being too generous to his clerks in the way of high salaries, and if they can wear the costume he was wearing on the occasion of the last Durbar, we would strongly urge the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the corrupt practices of the clerical establishments of his offices. We presume the *Pall Mall* writer can still buy in Bond Street and Regent Street linen and lace worth more than some of the gaudy rubbish that passes under the name of silk and satin in the mercer's shops in Native States. Now, the Gaekwar was wearing a fairly expensive garment with an exquisite border of Indian lacework, and, although His Highness is simple enough in his dress, we are afraid he is in anything but an *angrakha*, and keeps several laceworkers from Kashmir and other places busy with embroidering his *angrakhas*. That a writer presuming to call himself "One Who Knows Better," and who from internal evidence appears to be one who ought to know better, should describe such a costume as cheap and within the means of office clerks is an indication of his honesty in dealing with the whole Durbar Incident and his reflections on the administration of the Baroda State. But the matter of dress does not

end here. The writer asserts that "in his own State on occasions he (the Gaekwar) is wont to appear in much braver array," and points to "a portrait of the Gaekwar as he is accustomed to present himself at times to his own people," which appeared in the *Sketch* of the 27th December, 1911. This is supposed to depict the Gaekwar "in the full uniform of his 'army,' a uniform which is neither very simple nor very chaste." Now during our personal experience of Baroda, which is unquestionably more intimate and of a longer duration than that of any European, we never saw His Highness in anything braver than a cowardly linen, and the army to which the Gaekwar's critic refers in inverted commas—typographical signs which have been imposed on it by the rigours of British policy—has never been such a favourite service of His Highness as to induce him to appear, even once during all the time that we could gain experience of Baroda, in this military uniform.

We are not artists ourselves, but we do not think we will be far wrong in stating that these good people, do not love specially when they come to the East in search of colour and bright sunshine, to paint an India potentate in white linen. But to suggest that the portrait published by the *Sketch* depicted the Gaekwar in a costume that he often wears even on ceremonial occasions is as much at variance with facts as, for instance, would be a remark that His Highness appears with a *dupatta*, or scarf, only because he allowed himself to be painted with one as a concession to Giron the French artist, whose portrait of the Gaekwar can be seen any day in the Maktapura Palace. Incidentally the *Pall Mall* writer mentions that in the uniform of the *Sketch* portrait His Highness wears the aiguillettes of an aide-de-camp to the King-Emperor, an honour he does not possess. If that is so, His Highness has erred in the company of the European tailors who were commanded to prepare a military uniform for His Highness on the distinct understanding that it was not an imitation of any uniform elsewhere. We hope the question of the Gaekwar's dress, at any rate, is now settled once for all, not because of what we have said, but because of the unbending logic—unbending even to reason—of the Gaekwar's sartorial critic who thinks that a reference to the note of good breeding in the matter of dress is tantamount to a criticism of His Majesty the King-Emperor because on the occasion of the Durbar at Delhi he wore his crown. We do not know what His Majesty thinks of all this, but to us it appears the height of insolence to use the person of His Majesty as a stalking horse for every vile insinuation aimed at the Gaekwar and the safe satisfaction of every personal revenge.

Another "fact" to which the *Pall Mall* critic refers relates to the wearing of the jewels. Evidently the *Pall Mall* has discovered a Tavernier to describe the jewels worn by the Gaekwar on public occasions. At the Durbar of 1903 the Gaekwar is stated to have worn a "breast-plate" of diamonds which this connoisseur of jewels appraised at a quarter of a million sterling. At the State Ball in 1903 he is said to have worn a chain of diamonds. We suppose all this was done to do homage in a fitting manner to the Lord of Kallistion for the love the Gaekwar bore him. But what passes our understanding is the logic of this connoisseur of robes and jewellery when he says, "the one thing that damns the apology of 'One who Knows' is that the Gaekwar actually arrived at the King-Emperor's Durbar wearing jewels." But does this not damn the criticism of the critic himself? If the Gaekwar did arrive at the Durbar wearing his jewels, such, presumably, as the clerks in his public offices would not wear, he would not have come to the Durbar in a white cotton dress out of malice forethought. Evidently, therefore, whatever designs the Gaekwar had of insulting His Majesty were foisted in the Durbar itself. The *Pall Mall* writer says that, "for reasons best known to himself, before the King-Emperor arrived His Highness took them off. There were many who were present who could verify this statement. Was it nerves which prompted him to strip his cotton robe of jewels?" When he confesses that the reasons for such an action are best known to the Gaekwar himself, would it not have been more charitable to insinuate nothing by asking whether this was due to the Gaekwar's nervousness? At any rate, if there are many who were present who can verify his statement, we trust they will also have honesty enough to verify that a beautiful pearl necklace which His Highness was wearing on the occasion was handed by His Highness to his son when he discovered that the latter had, possibly through some oversight, not been given, or from personal disinclination had not himself asked for, any State jewels to wear on such an occasion. But it seems that the demands of loyalty are so exacting that, in order to be a respectful ally, an Indian prince must cease to be a fond parent.

Next comes another "fact" in which it is His Excellency the Viceroy who is used as a cover for darting another poisoned arrow at the Gaekwar. The writer says that "the

programme laid down that everybody was to rise when His Excellency drove into the arena and to remain standing until he had taken his place beneath the Imperial canopy." Now, as a matter of fact, no such programme had been given to His Highness, and neither the Resident, nor any of the Ministers in attendance upon His Highness, explained it to him. It was certainly not explained to His Highness that when the Viceroy was sitting in his carriage His Highness was to stand. When the Resident drew his attention to the fact that "everybody duly rose except one man," and, if we are not mistaken, tried to impress upon him that "in all that vast assemblage one man remained defiantly seated," and that "that one man was the Gaekwar of Baroda," His Highness at once stood up. If the Gaekwar "jumped up as if he had been shot," we should like to know what the remarks of the Resident had been who was observed to bend down and say something to His Highness. Were they as courteous as the Resident wished the Gaekwar to be to the Viceroy? But we know this much that it would be perfectly incorrect and a perversion of facts to say that His Highness resumed his seat while all the people, including the greatest princes in India, were standing at that moment.

These were incidents and side issues to which the public had not, we believe, been treated before this in any discussion of the Durbar Incident, and we, therefore, went into details to leave no chance of further mischief. But when we come to the so-called insult to the King-Emperor, it would be enough if we left the version of the crime on one side, and stated the facts as they took place, and not as they have been manufactured since then. His Highness made obeisance once to the King-Emperor, as he had been asked by the Resident to do. He was not given to understand that a second obeisance to the Queen-Empress was required of him, and it is utterly false to say that His Highness turned his back on Their Majesties. On account of our personal relationship, we watched the homage done by the Gaekwar as well as one who thinks he knows better, and, unless we are assured that he presumes not only to know but also to see better, we are prepared to adhere to the testimony of our own eyes. What the Gaekwar actually did was to step back and turn aside a little in some confusion, and he appeared to ask a European officer on duty the way he was to go back. When that was pointed out to him, he turned at an angle and went by that way. If it was anything it was a little *gaucherie*, such as that of which a thousand titled ladies and gentlemen in England in *levées*, Courts and Drawing-rooms are guilty on the testimony of His Excellency the Viceroy's own brother, who was in attendance on His Majesty as an aide-de-camp at the time of the incident, and who has not kept his view of the whole incident a secret. But what a dowager of seventy with impunity may do is unpardonable in an "admittedly rather nervous man," because he "has been a Ruling Prince for over 80 years."

We are also told by the *Pall Mall* critic that "one of his little affectations is to carry a stick." We wonder whether in the list of his "affectations" his critic includes the Gaekwar's habit of walking fast, or for the matter of that walking forwards and not backwards, or even breathing. But this "affectations" and the fact that the Gaekwar carried a stick when he did homage to His Majesty, gives his critic an excellent opportunity of discouraging like a Gold Stick in European Courts on the enormity of carrying sticks at such functions. Where, however, he has overlooked the mark is the statement that "every one in India knows what the late Nizam would have done if his heir had been audacious enough to appear before him in open Durbar armed with his stick." Now, we have no desire to involve His Highness the Nizam in any odium in connection with the Durbar, but it would appear that the heir of the late Nizam did carry a stick when he went to pay his homage to his august ally, and, if we are not mistaken, the Maharajah of Mysore and several other princes similarly carried sticks in their hands. As regards going away twirling his stick, we fear His Highness the Gaekwar was guilty of this *gaucherie* in the Durbar of 1908 also; but we are almost sure that so unconscious is His Highness of following this well-known habit of his that if he had been asked even a minute after the incident he would not have exactly remembered whether he did or did not twirl his stick on his way back after having somewhat awkwardly turned away from the place where he had done homage.

As the *Pall Mall* critic says, thousands saw the act, hundreds of thousands have seen it reproduced on the cinematograph, and the facts are not disputed even by the Gaekwar himself. But we should like to know who saw what the cinematograph did not reproduce—the anger of wrathful princes. We should indeed be obliged for the name of even one of "the proud and the loyal and chivalrous Rajputs" who "told him in fierce terms what they thought of his conduct." This is a pure fiction like others invented

by the writer. Not a single prince is known to have talked to the Gaekwar about this incident, and no prince is known to have come to him. It was merely a friend among the gentlemen present on the occasion who came over and informed His Highness that the European community had greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted the incident. His Highness, who would be the last to wound anyone, at once, and of his own accord, wrote a letter explaining that no discourtesy was meant.

As we have said before, a section of Anglo-Indians is not willing to spare the august person of the Sovereign nor the Viceroy in search of cover for a venomous attack on one who represented Indian manliness, and the best proof of this is that, while the accusation related only to the Gaekwar's "aggressive lack of respect alone," the punishment pleaded for was to deal with "a series of acts of turbulent defiance extending over many years." The writer shrieks for the Gaekwar's blood as the Sansulottes did for the blood of those of a better social position than their own, although he does it with less reason. "He was saved by the gracious clemency" of His Majesty, but "I venture respectfully to think he was saved unwisely." "All India expected his deposition!" This gentleman may or may not have any right to represent European opinion in India, but when he talks so foolishly and wildly in the name of "all India," we have every right to cry "Halt!" and request him to show his credentials. Had the Gaekwar been dealt with as the writer suggests, we have reason to believe that His Majesty's noble mission of cementing India with Great Britain in loyal friendliness and mutual goodwill would have to a large extent failed. But it was a wise Providence that had placed on the British throne one who knew how to win the heart of all India, and not "One Who Knows Better."

Even after having squirted so much venom from the garret into the gutter, the Gaekwar's critic is not satisfied. Like a Pharisee he thanks heaven he does not discuss a case relating to the private life of the Gaekwar as was done by "One Who Knows." But the reason is obvious. The case which was brought into the English court of law with such calculating cruelty just on the eve of the Durbar, and wired by Renter to India with such subtle effectiveness, would have explained the nervousness of a prince who has always been a prey to nerves, and whose private life is believed, even by this determined enemy of his, to be "above reproach." But he makes up for this self-complacent and extremely useful reticence by referring to obvious "domestic influences," and to "the adulations of Swiss hotel managers who are his chief delight and the folly of English peeresses who are stupid enough and ignorant enough to greet him with *courtesya*." We may or may not commiserate with the managers of Swiss hotels where His Highness's insomnia carries him in search of nature's soft nurse, but we heartily sympathise with this merciless exposé of the follies of English peeresses. As for the New York drawing-rooms and the "incense," they offer Indian ruling chiefs, it will go hard with the peers of England if this critic of the peeresses closed for them their happy hunting grounds also, where something more substantial than incense is offered. If we mistake not, it was the drawing-rooms of California that asked for some incense from the Gaekwar for its youth and beauty.

Verse.

TO-DAY, TO-MORROW, AND YESTERDAY.

What is the life of a man, you say?

Only a shout that is borne away,—

Only a song 'midst toil and play,—

To-day, to-morrow, and yesterday.

What is a woman's love, you say?

Only a star above the way,—

Only a kiss in the month of May,—

To-day, to-morrow, and yesterday.

What is the heart of a child, you say?

Why, there's a joy that is ours away,—

A priceless pearl for which we pray,—

To-day, to-morrow, and yesterday.



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUY.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

--As You Like It.

After an interval of three weeks the Council assembled again to have a short and sweet saturnalia of questions, presentations of Select Committee Reports and references to Select Committees. Hon. Members came rushing from all parts of the Continent to sit for an hour on the green benches and realize the satisfaction of being Honourable--with a capital H--for a dreamwhile. In the absence of H. E. Sir Guy in the chair. Four Hon. Members came to pledge their allegiance, and foremost among them was the Lion of Banganapalle, a veritable King of the Forest with massive features and very broad shoulders. He roared out his loyalty that he did any man's heart good to hear; he roared that he almost made Sir Guy say: "Let him roar again, let him roar again," and were it not that should he have done it too terribly he would have frightened the sheaths and the picture-hats in the gallery above, he would have shocked his loyalty, and that were enough to hang us all as uproarious loyalists. Next came Oh, My! of Burma, followed by the Bombay Duck. Thanks to the Government, he bobbed up his head once more above the water to act as a pilot boat for the ancient craft known as *Wagfala-l-Aulul*, which had to voyage through the Scylla of English Equity and the Charybdis of gratuitous Indian obstruction. The rear was brought up by the Second Ranji ominously associated in his very first innings with the Duck.

The landlord of Madras who owns a libraryfull of names, hereafter to be called, for brevity's sake, Ranghiranga, asked the first question about agricultural education to which Boudair Sahib replied at some length. Encouraged by this courteous attention, Ranghiranga put in the briefest of all questions, just asking what special attempts, if any, had been made to remove the general illiteracy of the peasant population in the country. Considering that the peasant population in the country numbers more than 200 millions, and practically the entire branch devoted to primary education employed in teaching Ram Dabsh the three R's, and, considering that the Mild Hindu had been at it hammer and tongs for a full triennium, 'twas simply delicious to see an Hon. Member of the Council rising from his lordly bed, rubbing his eyes and yawning leisurely, to know what attempts, if any Boudair Sahib and his Department had made to enlighten his ryots. What would not Burly Rajah have given to dispossess this wiseacre of all his acres for the sin of being anxious to remove the general illiteracy of the peasant population? Boudair Sahib in no mood to stand up in Council and recite, for the Hon. Member's edification, huge Imperial tones that would shame the Encyclopædia Britannica, manufactured by his Department for the edification of his office Duffry who stacks them in the Secretariat library as soon as the

Secretariat Press can turn them out. So to this brief question was given a brief answer in two words. "Read reports!" As if this not enough, the Rip Van Winkle of Madras landlordism turns his attention from one set of dumb driven cattle to another and asks whether Government had even a remote intention of opening such things as veterinary dispensaries in rural parts for the protection of agricultural cattle. The New Sage, disturbed from his sagacious slumbers by one who had himself been roused from his sleep a moment before, was terribly sarcastic. "No, Government had had no such intention till Hon. colleague taught them their duty. The 358 veterinary dispensaries in India were only make-believes and had no real existence. At any rate, what had they to do with rural parts? They were all for Presidency Towns, and far from being for the protection of agricultural cattle, were concerned only with the rinderpest of agitation and the foot and mouth disease of peripatetic orators!" To another question addressed in the direction of Sir Guy a reply was given by proxy that the High Prices Enquiry Report was likely to be submitted shortly, meaning thereby that it will be received when still higher prices ruled in the country. After this it was once more the turn of the Sage and his sarcasm. "Are any steps taken by the Departments of Agriculture in different Provinces to popularise new ideas about agriculture?" The Sage bowed politely, and handed over to the questioner the third report on the introduction of improvements into agriculture by the work of the Agriculture Department, and asked whether Ranghiranga was not satisfied with Agricultural Associations, Local Demonstrations, Vernacular Agricultural Journals, Leaflets and Circulars, Agricultural Shows and Exhibitions, Itinerant Assistants, Seed Farms and Seed Depôts the utilization of individual expert cultivators for the introduction of improved methods, Vernacular short courses, training sons of cultivators, assistance in marketing and connection with the Co-operative Movement.

When all the five chambers of Ranghiranga's revolver had been emptied into the serried ranks of Government, Cherry Chitnis rose to ask what replies, if any, had been received from Local Governments, during the short interval of three years, to his question of 10th February, 1910, regarding official tours and the proposals of the Decentralisation Commission, and whether any measures had been proposed to add to the comforts and conveniences of the villagers who have to act as the Commissariat Department for touring officials. Sandow III looked a world of reproaches at Chitnis, and took all the cheerfulness out of him by a glance which spelled "*Et tu, Brute?*" in letters of fire. The answer was a curt reference to one vouchsafed a year ago to Gurguri, and clearly indicated that, as in the case of the Turks in the Balkan War, the weakest joint in the armour of Government was the *casal* that greatest of all trials of Generals and Tehsildars. An army is said to march on its stomach, and, although the Sahib has a string of polo ponies and now sports even motor cars, the Tehsildar would prefer to walk on his head if it saved the *Kalattar* from his reptility. After this question Chitnis turned his attention from those who marched on their stomachs to those who

did it on four legs, and enquired about his cattle survey question of three years ago and the opinion of the Inspector-General of the Veta. The Sage replied that no reply had been received from the Inspector-General, and presumably because he had nothing else to do, and even then failed to reply in two years to Chetry Chitnis's question, the Sage announced that the Inspector-General's office was abolished last year. Well done, General De Vet! If it took Kitchener two years to suppress your namesake, it did not take less for the namesake of the Silent Sage of Chelsea to discover in you a dangerous rival in silence and abolish your office, amalgamating it with his own.

Bahim-too-la-Karim-dega put a few questions about the opening up of other ports for the embarkation of the pilgrims for Mecca, to which Bontair Sahib replied that out of consideration for the pilgrims themselves Government were anxious to open as few doors for the cagebirds as possible. Madras Hajees were too few and embarkation from the port would not pay. Chittagong Hajees were too many and some excellent *bandobast* always provided ships when there were no pilgrims, while Providence gave pilgrims when Companies provided no ships. The gateway of Bombay was, however, wide open, and a new wicket had been opened at Karachi, with a set-off in the shape of a British company to replace the Moghals, and acquire, by the grace of Government, a monopoly.

Rajah Mir Kasim asked about the architecture of new Delhi to make sure there would be no P.W. D. corner in artistic building, and was assured that the Battle of the Styles was still raging.

Rangbiranga came in for a second innings the same day. He did not attempt another score of five figures, but bitterly complained that, all landlords having been decoyed to Madras for public functions when the one public function to which he had invited them was connected with voting for the Imperial Legislature, only 79 recorded their votes out of 123. But Sandow thought this was good enough for vested interests, and refused to trust even landlords with a vote given anywhere else except under the eyes of the Collector.

The Second Pundit, not satisfied with a new Council, asked for a new constituency of graduates, and was told that the question was as old as the hills, and the reply that could be given him was as mildewed as the mountains.

Chetry Chitnis once more rose to ask a question, this time about the silver linings to the coats of the India Council, and wanted to know if an official of Indian financial experience and a non-official Indian from the commercial community could be included in the latest Royal Commission? Would the Government also lay on the table any official paper or papers which may be available on the subject for the information of the Indian public? Noble Woodburn Ghiani stood up aghast and reproachfully asked Chetry Chitnis: "How could you?" Did not Chitnis know already that in discussions about the purchase of silver and the Gold Standard Reserve the Secretary of State had refused to dole out even a little speech which was silver, and had instead chosen to exercise a golden reserve? "Papers? What papers? We have no papers," said Ghiani in the bitterness of his heart, for the Secretary of State had not trusted the Government of India with the least record of the famous fight between the Capulets and Montagus of India Office finance.

When the questions were over, Sandow III presented the report of the Select Committee on Extradition Bill. Who says Fazoal-bhai now? Has he not saved the third cousin seven times removed of Indian Princes from being packed back to the Native States whence they had bolted away for dear life, with the hope of saving themselves from the fitful wrath of an irate Prince, beloved of the Politicians by reason of a lavish investment in Polo Cups and loyalty? Incidentally, Fazoal-bhai has placed between the Rao of Cutch and the merchant princes of Bombay something like twenty Rains of Cutch, in the shape of that recording angel, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, who shall in all cases record the statement of persons accused by Native Princes and arrested on the warrant of Politicians, and may exercise the privilege of putting another desert of Sahara between the accuser and the accused in the shape of a Local Government!

The Moslem Dowager presented the Council with twins—the Official Trustee and the Administrator-General—and then the Bombay Duck came to the surface and thanking H. E., reserved his remarks for the sitting *in camera* in the Select Committee, and ducked his head again in the water. Not so reserved the Gheznevide who, imitating the sun in the two poles, which whirled during a day of six months to make up for the night of half a year, is now regretting the last triennium's virtue of silence as a lost opportunity in the way of speech, but with every effort to make up for lost time. He began an assault on the Medes and the Persians of Bombay, U.P. and bifurcated

Bengal, and brought to his aid as auxiliaries the Government of the late-lamented Ebasam and the now-to-be lamented Government of the North-West Frontier which, along with Madras and the Punjab, accorded him their unstinted support. Learnedly talked all the Moslem Law of Endowments like a Madrasa Mad Mulla, praised the Dacca Nawab as a recognised and veteran leader and mourned the disruption and the ruin of ancient Moslem families. But who says of the East and the West that never the twain shall meet? The Gheznevide, not satisfied with His Holiness the Mulla, became for the nonce the Solicitor-General of fental England and rattled off "Coke upon Lyttleton" and Blackstone's Commentaries and all about primogeniture and entail. How could Their Lordships of the Privy Council defend Equity and the Keepership of the King's Conscience? Even in England they had those excellent institutions, the younger son cut off with a shilling and thrown upon his own resources—and bridge—which acted "as a great incentive to his building up a fortune," and the first-born of England who succeeded to his father's broad acres and gout and was thrown upon the resources of his ancestors and his tenants, and incidentally into the arms of the latest Gaiety favourite and Mr. Lloyd George. The Gheznevide would have gone up at a break-neck speed over the ditches and the hurdles had not his progress been arrested by that great progressive, Jabbar-Qahhar, the only Moslem left in the 20th century like a veritable Robinson Crusoe on the deserted island. But the Gheznevide proved himself to be the best of horsemen, and keeping a firm grip and a steady hand over the reins, dug the spurs of religion into the flanks of his ge-gees and cleared this five-barred gate with the remark that a good Mussalman holds nothing so dear as religion, and that he would never have approved of this bill if he had had the least doubt that it was only a burning brand stolen by a latter-day Prometheus from Gehenna. "Nothing like religion in these days," whispered the cynic, "to win the applause of the masses and put the fear of God into Governments." As a concession, however, to the 20th century, the Gheznevide talked a little of women's rights and not of men's and British Ministers' wrongs, and seemed willing to enfranchise women instead of the ancient pastime of chastising them. After supporting the main principles of the bill he turned his attention to some necessary pruning and cutting down of the section which engrafted modern innovations on the ancient law of his on-religionists.

Now clearly this was the day of the lawyers and not of landlords or lancers. But Free-Lance, now converted into a True Believer, so anxious to be delivered of his *fatwas*. He had envied for long the despotism of despatch boxes which stared him in the face every day as they serenely reposed in front of the eight serenely reposing Members of the Government of India and their Secretaries. The gallant Tiwana, forced on the last Council day to recognise the might of the pen, had brought a despatch box with him to-day to match those of the other boxers, and when it was his turn to speak, deliberately turned the key in the box, opened it and drew out an elaborately prepared speech. The whole world was on the tiptoe of expectation, but its hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Free-Lance contented himself with saying that although he had gone through the entire correspondence on the bill and was able to deal with it as it deserved, he reserved his opinion till he had ascertained the wishes of those who had done themselves the honour of accepting him as their representative. But who could that be? It was not the landlords, who returned a Hindu this time, and surely it could not have been the Mussalmans? How could a backward community have had the sense to make such an excellent choice? Is it possible that Free-Lance represents in the Council the good sense and the honesty of Government, while the Khan Bahadur represents—outside it—the benign Government's reward of the lovers of non-nations?

The Dowager was truly Moslem to-day and discoursed sweetly on Moslem Law. Not content with quoting Moslem judges and pleaders, divines and Doctor of Law of to-day—not to mention the Moslem League—the Dowager sought inspiration in original authorities of the law of his faith. He proved that not in vain had he sat at the feet of the Mullas to go through the entire labyrinth of the *Nizamigga* when, as he may well confess, they tried their level worst to make him a good Moslem.

After another short speech from the Bombay Duck, the Dowager was up again, in order to defeat perpetually once more and settle the endowment of the Moslem Baronet of Bombay in perpetuity. In graceful terms referred to the presence of his amiable colleague, Fazoal-bhai, worthy son of a worthy father, and himself a brilliant young pioneer of industry who followed well in the footsteps of his father. High as was the compliment paid by the Dowager to his revered father, all acknowledged that 'twas no exaggeration. Long may he live to enjoy his Sovereign's recognition of his merit as an earner and his wantonness as a giver!

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Feb. 15.

A Constantinople message says that heavy fighting took place at Bulair on the 13th instant. Both sides suffered considerable losses.

The Constantinople authorities have decided to expel all Hellenic subjects from the Dardanelles and its environs. Fifty persons thus expelled have arrived at Athens. They report that two thousand Greeks have already been arrested.

The conference of Ambassadors yesterday discussed the Turkish proposal in favour of intervention by the Powers. The conference also discussed the difficulty between Rumania and Bulgaria, and agreed to give counsels of moderation at Sofia and Bukharest.

In spite of the friendly statements and articles published at Vienna the anti-Austrian feeling in St. Petersburg is becoming increasingly bitter. There is reason to believe that the Austrian ideas with regard to Albania far exceed those of Russia and will certainly excite the resentment of the Balkan Allies.

A Canea telegram states that H. M. S. *Yarmouth* landed a detachment of bluejackets and hauled down the flags of the protecting powers and the Turkish flag, rendering military honours, and thereafter hoisted the Greek flag. The Cretans made an enthusiastic demonstration in favour of Greece and the protecting Powers.

London, Feb. 17.

A Constantinople message states that the Turkish ironclad "Assari Tewfik," which went ashore near Midia, has been abandoned. The crew have arrived at Constantinople. The Bulgarians state that she struck a Bulgarian mine and that the Bulgarians mining detachment subsequently destroyed her.

Uncensored despatches from Constantinople estimate the Turkish losses at Bulair on the 12th instant at five thousand killed and over ten thousand wounded and taken prisoners. The Turks also had three thousand wounded in the fighting at Kurudagh on the 7th February.

It is believed that the Greeks intend landing troops at Kabatepeh on the west side of the Gallipoli Peninsula to attack Gallipoli and Bulair from the rear.

The Turkish are hampered not only by penury, but by insufficiency of officers and shortness of supplies. The men to-day in office are gradually becoming entangled in the same confusion and disorganisation which attended the Turkish collapse early in the war. Political differences between officers are also a serious factor.

A Sofia telegram states that the Turkish transport taking part in the landing at Charkeni on the 12th instant was sunk with the crew.

There are increasing indications that the Turkish Government, in view of the growing confusion and discontent in the Army and financial chaos, is showing greater disposition to abandon its uncompromising attitude and face the inevitable.

A telegram to the *Daily Mail* from Constantinople states that the Grand Vizier has been converted to his predecessor's view that the greatest need of Turkey is to end the war, and it is reported that he has suggested to the Embassies the possibility of surrendering Adrianople.

Hakki Pasha, who bears further proposals to the Ambassadors in connection with peace in the Balkans, has arrived in London.

A Sofia message states that the Government has decided that foreign consuls and subjects desiring to leave Adrianople shall be granted facilities to do so immediately.

A Constantinople telegram states that a belated Turkish account of the fierce battle at Szentari on the 4th February, in which the Montenegrins have already admitted they suffered heavy loss, says that the army of sixteen thousand besiegers was completely defeated leaving three thousand dead and wounded on the field with six guns and quantities of ammunition.

The Turkish warship *Hazudiyeh* left Malta at one o'clock this morning.

Uncensored telegrams from Constantinople indicate that the army of sixty thousand men, commanded by Enver Bey, has been a complete failure. Nothing has since been heard of the column. It is alleged that it landed at Eregli, but as the fleet subsequently made vain attempts to effect landings at other points the story of the expedition's success is doubted. The most costly of the fleet's efforts was the landing at Charkeni where of four thousand men who disembarked only half escaped.

The armada eventually made for Gallipoli where a portion of the troops were landed to assist in the defence of Bulair lines, whence according to refugees over three thousand wounded were brought to Gallipoli. The armada comprised forty-five vessels, but many of them were small, even Bosphorus steam ferries being commandeered for the purpose.

London, Feb. 18.

It is officially stated in Constantinople that the situation is unchanged at Bulair and Adrianople where the bombardment was resumed yesterday. The Bulgarians at Tchataldja advanced in the direction of Belgrade Forest and bombarded Osmanlikui.

All available accommodation at Cetinje has been requisitioned for the wounded at Scutari whose numbers are heavier than was at first believed. It is officially intimated that the attack on Scutari will not be resumed at present.

Reuter learns that diplomatic circles do not attach much importance to the alarming view expressed elsewhere of the relations between Austria and Russia. The matter will be considered at the next conference of Ambassadors. In the meantime the Russian counter-proposals have reached Vienna. Austria has now intimated that she is willing to agree to the exclusion from Albania of the plains of Scutari, Ipek, and Prizrend, but she maintains her view that Scutari itself, Djakova, Dibra, and Jannina must form part of autonomous Albania.

A Vienna telegram states that at a prolonged council of members of the joint ministry on Sunday and yesterday according to the papers Count von Berchtold made a speech in which he declared that the letters exchanged between Emperor Francis Joseph and the Tsar had justified the best hopes of the friends of peace. He said that in the event of complications either side would uphold peace.

London, Feb. 19.

Reuter learns that the Powers are contemplating mediation between Rumania and Bulgaria, which have been fruitlessly discussing various compromises. The matter has now been referred back to Bukharest.

Rumania offered to renounce Selistria if she received a further extension from the Black Sea to Kaliakra, but Bulgaria refuses to assent to this because forts erected there would command Varna.

A Bukharest telegram states that an official statement declares that the latest concessions by Bulgaria are unsatisfactory. The sole hope is that the Powers will initiate mediation. In spite of public agitation the Rumanian Government is preserving its *sans froid* conscious of its strength. It points out that British diplomacy has played a considerable part in the effort to effect a peaceful solution.

London, Feb. 20.

The Turkish Government has obtained an advance of half a million sterling from the Belgian group on security of various barracks and the parade ground in Constantinople.

A Sofia telegram states that the representatives of the Powers with the exception of the Russian have been instructed to propose to Bulgaria to submit her differences with Rumania to the decision of the Powers.

A Constantinople message says that snowstorms and bitter cold have checked hostilities for the last week. In consequence there have been no serious developments. It is stated that the Bulgarians are experiencing difficulties in the matter of supplies.

It appears that a suggestion is being discussed in the chancelleries of Europe that Italy and Russia should arbitrate in the dispute between Bulgaria and Rumania. It is semi-officially announced at Rome that Italy is prepared to participate in such arbitration though she would prefer mediation by all the Powers.

In the House of Lords last evening Lord Lamington raised the question of the atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Balkan Allies on Muhammadans in Macedonia, and the effect which the stories were having on Muhammadans in India. He protested against Sir Edward Grey's statement in the Commons that the feeling in India was stimulated by questions in the Commons. These questions, said his Lordship, had done public service to the Empire and had shown the Muhammadans in India that they had friends in England.

Lord Morley recalled that England was committed to neutrality and it was not easy to judge how far the rumours were well-founded. It was impossible to suppose that in a war between races divided by centuries of antagonism hateful atrocities would

not be committed, but though the rumours might justify an enquiry they did not justify such action as Lord Lamington seemed to demand. It was impossible for a foreign Government to go to the field of war and investigate. With regard to the statement that the Muhammadan population in India were concerned and that Government was indifferent to that concern Lord Morley said the Government knew perfectly well, and certainly did not complain of it, that the Mussalmans in India were watching affairs in Tripoli, Morocco, and the Balkans with the greatest concern, but Lord Lamington had not shown any connection between the feeling in India and any failure to take action on the part of Government. Lord Morley added that he thought that Sir Edward Grey's attitude in his statement in the Commons on 18th instant was admirable.

* London, Feb. 21.

It is authoritatively stated in St. Petersburg that Rumania and Bulgaria have accepted the mediation of the Powers.

The Montenegrin delegate, M. Popovitch, yesterday visited the Foreign Office. He said that he had been instructed to intimate that Montenegro would rather risk annihilation than accept a compromise depriving her of Scutari.

An Athens telegram states that the artillery duel continues at Bizani to the south of Janina. The Turks are supported by hordes of irregulars. They yesterday attacked the Greek camp at Devrentza, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

M. Venizelos, the Premier, yesterday paid a flying visit to the front and conferred with the Crown Prince.

A Sofia telegram states that the Bulgarians on Monday notified the commandant of Adrianople that foreigners would be permitted to leave. The commandant did not reply.

A Constantinople message says that the French Embassy has been informed that the commandant of Adrianople is willing to agree to the assignment of Karagatch quarter as a sanctuary for Europeans. This is taken to mean that the commandant is unwilling that foreigners should leave, fearing that they will disclose information which may be detrimental to the garrison.

The Late Nazim Pasha.

HUSSEIN NAZIM PASHA, the details of whose death are reported on page 8, was born in Constantinople in 1848. He began his military studies in Turkey and completed them at Saint-Cyr. During the Russo-Turkish War he attracted the notice of Redjeb Pasha, and became chief of his staff. In those days he was a friend of Abdul Hamid's, but, suspected of taking an interest in politics, he was denounced, arrested by night, publicly degraded, and sentenced to five years' solitary confinement in a fortress at Erzinghan. As soon as he was allowed the use of books he devoted himself to studying the literature of his profession, and thus accumulated a store of modern military knowledge which was afterwards to stand him in good stead. At the end of the five years he remained for two years in Erzinghan under strict surveillance. He had developed diabetes while in confinement, and was supposed to be incurable. He presently succeeded in escaping, and worked on the roads as a navvy for some months. Freedom or hard work cured him of diabetes, and he made his way to Batum, arriving there in time to hear of the outbreak of the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908. From Batum he worked his way as a stoker to Constantinople, where he arrived penniless and unknown. His first act was to borrow £78 from Sir Adam Black, wherewith to buy a general's uniform. On appearing in this he was received with open arms by the Committee of Union and Progress, and on the proclamation of the Constitution was appointed to command the 2nd Army Corps at Adrianople. Before taking over this post he insisted that his former public degradation should be wiped out by public reinstatement. At Adrianople he set to work with extraordinary energy and was largely responsible for the completeness of the fortifications. He surrounded himself with a staff of officers mostly trained in Germany, but his professional reading had inspired him with a great belief in British military methods, and he frequently sought the advice of the British Consul, who happened to be an ex-officer of the British Army.

In February, 1909, Kiamil Pasha, then Grand Vizier, appointed Nazim Minister of War in the place of Ali Riza. This led to a struggle between the Committee and the Grand Vizier, which resulted in the latter's overthrow. Hilmi Pasha's Cabinet, which followed, was overthrown by the "counter-revolution," and during the exciting time which elapsed before the "counter-revolution" was suppressed by Mahmud Sherket, at the head of the 3rd Army Corps, it was largely owing to Nazim's influence that order was maintained in Constantinople, and the entry of Mahmud's troops into the capital was effected with so little

bloodshed. From this time till the beginning of the disastrous war with Italy the Young Turks were supreme. Nazim was sent as Vali to Baghdad.

In Baghdad, with his customary energy, Nazim set on foot a reorganization scheme, the success of which much disappointed those in Constantinople, who had hoped, by sending him away, to obscure his popularity. Armed with practically unlimited powers and with the help of some officers whom he took out with him, he restored order in the most vigorous fashion, and inaugurated many useful works of public utility. But the Jackson barrage contract, which he was instrumental in bringing about, was not ratified in Constantinople, and Nazim was recalled, in spite of the collective resignation of 125 of his officers, the protests of all Baghdad, and the offer by the Sheikhs of Mesopotamia to put their armed forces at his disposal.

On his return to Constantinople in May, 1911, the Committee, realizing their mistake, made him president of the Army Council, and in July, 1912, he became Minister of War in the Cabinet of Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha. On the outbreak of the present war he appointed Abdullah Pasha to the chief command in Thrace, mainly because Marshal von der Goltz Pasha had a high opinion of him, but after the defeat of Lule Burgas he decided to command the field army in Thrace in person. It was he, therefore, who resolved on the retirement to the lines of Tchataldja, where he had his headquarters in a railway carriage at Hademkeui. A man of great mental and physical activity, he showed inexhaustible energy in supervising the defence. He was not a brilliant soldier though von der Goltz is said to have described him as "the first general of the Empire," but he was a charming gentleman and an honest man, and the whole Army believed in him.—*The Times*.

The Coup D'etat.

An Uncensored Despatch.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 26.

In consequence of the activity of the censorship, which is doing its utmost to prevent Europe from learning that Thursday's coup d'etat was not a national uprising against the conclusion of a dishonourable peace, and that the death of Nazim Pasha was not an accident but a very foul murder, my telegrams have suffered no little mutilation of late, and therefore, at the risk of repeating myself, I am sending the following account, based on personal observation and on the accounts of credible eye-witnesses, of what took place at the Porte on Thursday.

There can be no doubt that the Government had been repeatedly warned of the possibility of a proclamation on the part of a group of officers who were anxious for a renewal of the war at all costs, and of politicians belonging to the Committee of Union and Progress. Kiamil Pasha was serenely indifferent to what were to plain men obvious risks, and his confidence in Nazim Pasha prevented the Government from taking any special precautions. The officer in charge of the guard at the Porte seems to have been absent from his post at the critical moment, and the troops received neither warnings nor special orders what to do in case of necessity. The outbreak, therefore, found the Government unprepared. It was an affair in which minutes counted. The first warning of danger was the appearance of Djemal Bey, Vali of Adana, on horseback, accompanied by five mounted officers. As they rode into the Porte a group composed of about a dozen persons darted out of a café, unfurled a red and white flag embroidered with texts from the Koran, and rushed up the steps. Parties of men armed with revolvers appeared from round every corner. A few were officers, others belonged to the *felai* element of the Committee, others were roughs of the class employed by the Committee in demonstrations against the Balkan Legations. The number did not exceed 50 all told. They rushed up the steps with cries of "Down with the Government," "We will hold Adrianople," and demanded to enter the Porte. At this moment Enver Bey and his uncle, Halil Bey, rode up, and entering the Porte asked to see the Grand Vizier.

DEMONSTRATION BEFORE THE PORTE.

I myself arrived at the Porte about an hour later, and had a good view of what was taking place. A group of about 100 persons with a banner was standing on the steps. Among them were a number of well-known Committee men and several *Adjans*, who were intoning "La illahi illa Allah." Whenever a pause took place in these pious exercises orators denounced the Government and made patriotic speeches. The guard at the Porte stood at ease watching the proceedings with vacant smiles of complete indifference. About 100 more sympathizers were outside the gates cheering and handing round copies of a manifesto. The

part of the crowd assembled there appeared to be spectators. There were many officers among them. Some appeared pleased, some angry, the majority indifferent. Within two streets of the disturbance no one seemed to know or care what was happening at the Porte. The fall of Kiamil Pasha, and the installation of a new Grand Vizier were greeted without enthusiasm, save by a few partisans.

NAZIM PASHA'S DEATH.

As for the death of Nazim Pasha, although official *communiqués* have been issued proving that all was an accident, the confessions of *falais* drunk with triumph and the evidence of persons, eye-witnesses of the events, are too strong to be resisted. As Enver, Halil, and Djemel Beys, followed by Talaat, Omar, Nadjib, and Midhat Beys, together with other leaders of the Committee, burst in, Nazim Pasha came out of the Council Chamber and cried, on seeing Enver Bey:—"What is this importunance?" "The importunance is yours," replied an ex-officer, Mustafa Nedjib, and fired on the Commander-in-Chief. Three Bullets struck Nazim Pasha, who fell dying. His Aide-de-Camp, Tewfik Bey, dropped, shot through the head. Nazif Bey, Aide-de-Camp to the Grand Vizier, shot down Nazim's assassin, and then fell himself, according to some accounts by a *fedai's* revolver, according to others shot by an officer.

Outside, the guard, hearing shots, wavered. A soldier levelled his rifle at Enver Bey, but the order to fire was not given. The Commandant's guard came up too late, and was literally bluffed into silence by a cool-headed officer among the conspirators.

NEGLECT OF WARNINGS.

As already remarked, the Government did not fall for lack of warnings. That very morning Talaat Bey had called upon Kiamil Pasha and informed him that there would be bloodshed unless the Porte refused to comply with the Note of the Powers. The Commandant of Constantinople, Memdukh Pasha, is said to have assisted the conspirators, but the story appears to be untrue. Memdukh Pasha arrived too late and tried to collect a body of men from the nearest battalion. He found that it had been tampered with. He rode to another barracks, but found that the officers were absent and that the men were unwilling to interfere in officers' quarrels. Thereupon he abandoned the attempt. The rank and file played a more passive part throughout the day. But if the conspirators were neither numerous nor supported by the public, they made up by promptitude for what they lacked in numbers. The telephone and telegraph wires between the Porte, the Palace, and the War Office were cut. A posse of *gendarmes* and secret policemen, led by Samuel Effendi, a Jew, of Serez, head of the Secret Police under the Committee régime, prevented anyone from leaving or entering the newspaper offices where a strict censorship was applied. The members of the Government were made prisoners. M. Huguenin, director of the Anatolia Railway, Herr Weber, First Dragoman at the German Embassy, and an Englishman, Mr. Kingham, manager of the National Bank, were also arrested and remained prisoners until about 5-30 P. M. The first Minister to be released was Gabriel Nouradunghian Effendi, whose reluctance as a Christian to sign a peace involving territorial losses and thus to incur the charge of treason was partly responsible for the delays which enabled the conspirators to prepare their scheme of attack. He protested against the murder of Nazim Pasha, was, by his own account, insulted and hustled and finally summoned to the presence of Talaat Bey, who had installed himself at the Ministry of the Interior, and begged to join the new Cabinet as Minister of Public Works. This offer, to his credit, he refused. The other Ministers, who were courtiously treated, were released at 3 o'clock this morning, with the exception of Abder Rahman Pasha, Minister of Finance, and Rashid Bey, Minister of the Interior, who have not yet been released as their lives, for reasons hereinafter given, are believed to be in danger.

CAUSES OF THE MOVEMENT.

Now for the causes of the movement. There has been much of Austrian, Jewish, and German intrigue. In circles favourable to the last Cabinet large quantities of money are said to have been distributed. The affair is even connected with the German delay in subscribing to the joint Note. It is impossible to say how much truth there is in such reports. That Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, whose absence from the Grand Council should have been a warning, and Ismail Hakki Pasha, ex-Vah of Van and a leading supporter of the Committee, have been regular visitors at night at the German and Austrian Embassies is notorious, but proves nothing. The local Jewish Press has lately shown an interesting parallelism with the *Nouvelles Presse* and other organs which, despite temporary infidelities, have never quite abandoned their love for the Committee of Union and Progress. The theory is abroad that the Jews of Central Europe and of Salonica, who never concealed their longing for a consolation prize, have given more than a platonie support to the movement based on

the demand for the retention of Adrianople, which, if granted or won on the battlefield, would force the Bulgarians, towards Salonica, and thus save the Jews of that city from annexation by their redoubtable commercial rivals the Hellenes.

As for the alleged demand of the nation for a continuance of the war, the public certainly seemed rather relieved on Wednesday at the prospect of peace, and information from well-informed sources depicts the large proportion of the rank and file of the army as heartily sick of the campaign. The discontent of the officers was the base upon which the Committee and its foreign helpers worked. The Committee of Union and Progress on November 4 persuaded the Sultan to agree to the nomination of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha as Commander-in-Chief. The Cabinet stopped this, and tacitly allowed the arrest of a number of members of the Committee by martial courts on evidence which proved to be insufficient or false. The arrested persons, who were released by order of the ex-Grand Vizier, had not to complain as had the Committee's victims, who had been arrested on equally flimsy evidence, of ill-treatment in prison, but the imprisonment nevertheless rankled.

It may be asked why the Committee did not wait for the conclusion of peace to carry out the *coup*, when they could have represented the Government as having betrayed the country. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, the Committee of Union and Progress desired to regain control of the electoral system which has passed out of its hands. Secondly, there had been signs during the last few days that its influence, very strong after the release of its leaders, was on the wane. This decline was due to the fact that an official inquiry established the fact that the appointment of Hussein Djavid Bey, a director of the National Bank of Turkey, and editor of the *Tanin*, as a delegate of the Ottoman bondholders in the Turkish Public Debt Administration was the result of political pressure applied to the Greek and Armenian bondholders by the Committee. The bulk of the bondholders agreed that the appointment should be declared null and void. Public interest, too, had been aroused by the reopening of the Zeki Bey murder trial on an order of the Court of Cassation on the ground that the verdict did not specify which of the two members of the Serez branch of the Committee actually committed the crime. The first hearing of the case, although long drawn out, aroused great interest, as proving that the members of the Committee at Serez, most of whom have since perished at the hand of Bulgarian bands, were a law unto themselves and were guilty of violence and extortion on a large scale. Although the prosecution failed directly to connect either Djavid or Talaat Beys with the murder, the prospect of the reopening of the trial, in which the ex-Minister of Finance, Abder Rahman Bey, and the Deputy for Gumuldjina, Ismail Hakki Bey, played a great part, was highly displeasing. No organization could stand having its dirty linen washed twice in public. It is very significant, too, that Abder Rahman Bey remains in prison, while Ismail Hakki Bey was arrested last evening without any reason being assigned, and his friends apprehend his execution.

COMMITTEE METHODS.

For the present the Committee seem disposed to adopt a terroristic policy. Many arrests have been made. The Press has been frightened into line. The hanging of certain obnoxious persons is being openly discussed, and attempts are being made to work up religious fanaticism. It would seem, however, that a counter-revolution is apprehended by some of the leaders; Hadji Adil's circular to the Vahs is not that of a man sure of his ground. As for the opinion of the man in the street, if he has any, he keeps it to himself.

It remains to be seen whether the new Government will be able to keep up its present militant attitude with regard to the war. The Powers have already received their answer, if not actually, in words, but with pay a month in arrears, with a Russian ultimatum looming in the background, with Adrianople at its last grasp, can it fulfil its bellicose promises? It also remains to be seen how the army at Tchataldja will take the change. Foreign opinion here is mainly expressed in the quotation "*Quem Deus vult perdere*," &c. The one thing certain is that this hapless country seems, since it ceased to be Asiatic, to have become Central American rather than European, and to be rapidly elevating the *pronunciamento* to the dignity of a political institution.

Foreign Press and the Revolution.

COMMENTING on the Young Turkish *coup d'état*, the *Temps* makes the following statements:—"It is doubtful if the Sultan, with his customary constitutional correctness, lent a hand to the movement. Enver Bey, it is true, is married to an Imperial

princes, and the heir to the throne, as we have stated before, is in sympathy with the new rulers. But Enver Bey and his friends probably acted by themselves, while Mahomet V. in accepting the resignation of Kiamil Pasha and placing the seals of office in the hands of Mahmud Shevket Pasha merely endorsed the accomplished fact. On the other hand, the popular voice was this time represented by a certain number of adherents of the Party of Union and Progress, the organisation of which had effaced itself, but had not been dissolved. What lends to the movement a national character is the intervention of several hundred *softas* (theological students), who since the revolution had not co-operated with the leaders of the Young Turks. Their alliance with the military chief is one of the characteristic facts of the events of Thursday."

This is an unexpectedly lenient view of the *coup d'état*. The German Liberal press, though profoundly anxious as to the possible international results of the new situation, nevertheless judges its authors with still greater sympathy. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* says:—"This revolution at Constantinople may prove a blessing or a curse to the Ottoman Empire. It may have for the whole of Europe the most calamitous consequences, but this consideration must not prevent us from making this admission, that what we have now witnessed was a heroic act, and that after all the wretched display of Turkish generalship and diplomacy it is a joy to see that there are still some men left in this nation."

Commenting on the *coup d'état* the semi-official *Fremdenblatt* remarks:—

"It was undoubtedly the highest form of love for his fatherland in Enver Bey which lent wings to his thoughts and force and determination to his actions, to which human sympathy can certainly not be denied. This warm-hearted feeling for the person himself, however, cannot influence the judgment on his action. The *coup d'état* which occurred in the middle of a serious foreign crisis and which brought fresh complications in its train will be most severely condemned in every political quarter in Europe, and it will be impossible not to have the impression that this is a passing episode and an ephemeral success, for the iron hand of necessity is stronger than the strongest personality in history."

The article proceeds to say that heroic songs may be written by a future generation about Enver Bey, extolling him as the national hero of the Ottoman people, but the Europe of to-day which appraises his action at its proper value, will only pass her severest censure on him for having braved the necessities of the aims and the wishes of Europe. The advice of Europe was intended to smooth the path of the sorely tried Turkish Empire towards a return to peace, and whoever wishes to disturb this work brings with him new germs of disease and fresh crises.

"Europe has expressed herself unanimously in favour of peace. In view of the new turn affairs have taken in Constantinople and the results which may possibly ensue, we wish to express the definite hope that Europe, setting aside all special advantages and side issues, will agree to take steps which should be unanimous both as regards their means and ends in order to avert a danger which political thoughtlessness might possibly conjure up."

The New Turkish Cabinet.

MAHMUD SHEVKET PASHA, Grand Vizier and Minister of War,
Saïd Pasha, President of the Council of State;
Hadji Adil, Minister of the Interior;
Prince Saïd Halim, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
General Tehuruk Sula Mahmud, Minister of Marine;
Ibrahim Pasha, Minister of Justice;
Rifat Bey, Minister of Finance;
Battarlan Effendi, Minister of Public Works;
Hairi Bey, Minister of Evkaf (Pious Foundations);
Djölal Bey, Minister of Agriculture,
Oskian Effendi, Minister of Posts;
Shukri Bey, Minister of Public Instruction.

Mahmoud Shevket Interviewed.

THE *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent at Constantinople telegraphed on the 28th January an interview which he has had with the new Turkish Grand Vizier.

Mahmoud Shevket said: We have come to power in order to act. Foreign collaboration is precious to us and indispensable for the methodical reform and regular administration of the country. We shall take foreign advisers for all the Ministries. Moreover,

my former experience as a Governor General has convinced me that the key to reforms of the civil administration is serious inspection. We shall divide the Empire into great administrative zones, and for each zone we shall engage a foreign inspector. I also know that foreign capitalists, with whose assistance we cannot dispense, complain the timidity of the Government or the length and sterility of Parliamentary discussions have hitherto prevented the promulgation of necessary laws and hindered the conclusion of some eminently useful affairs. Without waiting for the summoning of Parliament under the form of provisional laws promulgated simply by Imperial *irade* for which I shall assume full responsibility, a law will be enacted permitting the working of land banks, instituting freedom of contract, and liberty to establish joint-stock companies. Without any wearisome formalities we shall conclude the requisite agreements for the construction of railways and carrying out all necessary public works. Moreover, in the broadest possible spirit we shall study all the proper measures for the restoring of the Ottoman credit, which has been so severely shaken by the calamities through which we have passed.

That, your Highness (I observed), is an admirable outline of intentions.

It is not an outline of intentions (the Grand Vizier replied); it is a list of resolutions.

And the question of peace or war, your Highness? After all that is the fact of such grave moment that you must speak of it at last.

Well, it is peace (Marshal Mahmud Shevket said) on condition that Europe makes peace possible for us. We have not come to power in order to defy Europe and reply to her advice by bluster. You may rest assured that we have come to power in order to speak to Europe with the deference and gravity that are dictated by the situation, and to make an appeal to her conscience so that—I repeat—she may render possible that peace which we desire so ardently, as much from reasons of humanity as from the knowledge of our duty as a European State. We do not want to draw the sword, and we shall only draw it if we are faced by the alternative of choosing war or the reprobation not only of Ottoman opinion but of Mussulman opinion throughout the world.

The Porte's Reply.

(REUTERS'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 30.

THE Foreign Minister has just handed to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador the Porte's Note in reply to the Note of the Powers. The text is as follows:—

"The undersigned, the Sultan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, has taken note of the Collective Note which the Ambassadors of Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and Italy were good enough to transmit to his predecessor, dated January 17. The Ottoman Government does not hesitate to recognise that the conclusion of peace corresponds with the hopes and interests of all, and that it is desirable to put an end as soon as possible to a struggle which it in no way provoked.

"In their communication the Great Powers thought fit to advise the Imperial Government to consent to the cession of the town of Adrianople to the Balkan Allies and to allow them (the Powers) to determine the fate of the *Ægean* Islands. The Imperial Government thinks it right to point out that it has already given undeniable proofs of a conciliatory spirit by consenting to immense sacrifices. Adrianople being an essentially Mussulman town and the second capital of Turkey, and being therefore indisputably bound up with the Empire, the mere rumour of its cession provoked a sentiment of reprobation throughout the country and such excitement as brought about the resignation of the last Cabinet. Nevertheless, in order to give a final proof of its pacific disposition the Imperial Government is prepared to place itself in the hands of the Powers as regards the part of the town of Adrianople which is situated on the right bank of the river Maritsa, while keeping the part situated on the left bank. The Mussulman mosques and other historic and religious buildings being in the part of the town situated on the left bank of the Maritsa, the retention of this part of the town under the direct sovereignty of Turkey is for the Imperial Government a necessity of which it cannot fail to take account without exposing the country to a commotion which might bring about the gravest consequences.

"As for the *Ægean* Islands, the Imperial Government takes the liberty of observing that while some of these islands are by reason of their immediate neighbourhood to the Dardanelles indispensable to the defence of the capital, others which form an integral part of the Asiatic possessions of the Empire are in

is indispensable to the security of Asia Minor. Any solution which should tend to diminish the authority of the Imperial Government in these islands would result in transforming them into so many centres of agitation which would extend their action to the adjoining shores. The consequence would be the creation of a state of unrest similar to that which existed in Macedonia, and which threatened and still threatens the tranquillity of Europe. Independently of the deplorable effect which it would produce on Ottoman public opinion, such a solution would run counter to the aims of the Powers themselves which have at heart the establishment of a durable peace and the consolidation as well as the prosperity of the Empire. Therefore the Sublime Porte would be willing to abide by the decision of the Six Great Powers regarding the status of the islands occupied by the Balkan Allies so long as they take account of the considerations set forth above and of the care that ought to be given to the integrity of the Dardanelles, which the Sublime Porte holds to be a question of the highest European interest.

The Imperial Government is convinced that the Great Powers, in a spirit of justice and equity, will be ready to recognise the extent of the sacrifices to which Turkey has already consented and will agree that the Sublime Porte would be right in rejecting any further demands or claims which might be raised by the Balkan Allies. The Sublime Porte takes note with real satisfaction of the benevolent dispositions and promises of the Great Powers regarding their moral and material support with a view to repairing the ravages of war and developing the natural resources of the Empire. To this end it is indispensable that the Powers should recognise now and henceforth the right of Turkey to proceed unfettered with the adoption of an autonomous Customs tariff, the conclusion of treaties of commerce on the bases and principles of modern law, and the application to their subjects of Ottoman fiscal laws to which Ottoman subjects are or may in the future be subject, and that the Powers should consent meanwhile to an increase of 4 per cent in the Customs duties. The Porte believes that it is only less indispensable to abolish the foreign post offices existing in Turkey on conditions, which it would be easy to determine, that would offer commerce all the necessary guarantees of celerity and security in postal matters. The Sublime Porte also thinks that a declaration by the Powers of their desire to put an end to the capitulations system in the Ottoman Empire and the opening after the conclusion of the peace negotiations of joint consideration of means to realise this end will form, with the economic matters enumerated above, an ensemble of measures which will make possible the realisation of the promises of the Powers set forth in the above-mentioned Note."

At the Tchataldja Lines.

(BY AN ENGLISHMAN AT THE FRONT.)

For two months on Red Cross duty with the Turkish forces, I was stationed since the early part of November a few miles behind the Tchataldja lines, and thus had an exceptional opportunity of watching events and obtaining first hand information concerning the situation. Most of the Turkish officers spoke French more or less perfectly, and always seemed pleased to chat with an Englishman. Their courtesy was unflinching. My first impressions of the Turkish "Tommy" were distinctly unfavourable—that is, until I learnt that the tattered, woe-begone men I met slouching along were mostly *redifs*, the old reservists; indeed, was assured that at that time the army was composed of two-fifths *redifs* and one fifth recruits, two-fifths only being regulars.

THE ARMISTICE.

Towards the end of November, however, the character of the troops changed greatly, and all through December trailload after trailload of fine, well set-up soldiers were rushed through day and night to railroad at Hademkeny. This was the real army, mobilised for business some two months after the outbreak of war, and hailing from Asia Minor. The Turks made good use of the armistice, for by the end of December they had put a new army into the Tchataldja lines with thousands of tons of supplies, rifles, and some eighty new guns of modern pattern. By the end of December the Tchataldja lines had been rendered impregnable. It is, however, improbable that the Allies could at any time have got through, except at a terrible cost of life. When it is realised that in their so-called reconnaissance against the Turkish left flank on November 20 the Bulgars, who had against them a starving army, decimated with cholera and dysentery, lost some ten thousand men in four hours, it can be seen how hopeless was their chance of planting the Cross on St. Sophia a month later. Moreover, the strain of the campaign was beginning to tell badly on the Allies troops: they were suffering from cholera and dysentery just as badly as the Turks; they had no reserves to bring up, because every fighting man they had was already in the field, while their supply base was many miles away and their transport dependant

on bullock wagons, the latter serviceable as long as the weather kept fine and the ground hard. But with the beginning of the New Year came rain and snow, turning the wagon tracks—they cannot be called roads—into veritable quagmires.

YOUNG TURK STRATEGY.

This, then, was the position at the end of December, and the feeling in the army was that, the armistice having done its work, it was time to get down to business and relieve Adrianople. Time after time I was told by both officers and men that their Government would never dare abandon the besieged city to its fate, but that if such a course were seriously considered the army would mutiny, the commander-in-chief would be shot, and the Ministers massacred. In the middle of December, while the peace negotiations were proceeding, the Young Turk leaders evidently learnt that the Government were prepared to give up Adrianople if the Powers would guarantee a forty-million loan. A few days afterwards thousands of boxes of sweetmeats were sent to the soldiers in the lines, ostensibly as a patriotic gift, but each box contained a warning that the army was being sold by Nazim and the Cabinet, and if they wanted to go on fighting they must back the Young Turk Party. As a result, two of the Young Turk leaders had to fly from Constantinople, and got safely away on the French steamer *Frigu*. Naturally, the soldiers, many of whom had not seen any fighting and were tired of the monotony of inaction, supported the Young Turk scheme. Thus, if the new Government really mean to defend Adrianople, Shevket Pasha will have a willing army with him.

There is, of course, the possibility that the Young Turks have merely used the Adrianople question as a pretext for regaining power, and that the bait of the offered loan will prove too strong for them, but if so I am confident that, with the army in its present temper, the kaleidoscope will soon be given another turn.

TURKISH BRAVERY.

At the present moment the Turkish army is comparatively in a better position to advance than was the British Army when Lord Roberts started out from Bloemfontein for Pretoria. The British troops knew nothing of the country they were operating in, the railway was very badly cut up, and the enemy fresh and mobile; to-day the Turks have a tired army to tackle, a familiar terrain, and a easily wended railroad.

Needless to say, sympathies are entirely with the Turks. They have fought bravely, under the most horrible lack of organisation, both as regards commissariat, arms, and hospitals. In spite of all this, they are eager to retrieve some of their old fighting prestige.

CHOLERA AND DYSENTERY.

The stoicism of the Turk is astonishing. I saw many wounded brought in from the battle of Kirk Kilisse ten days afterwards—horrible wounds, undressed, and covered with mud, which had entered the wounds when the men had fallen; yet whilst lying on the stretchers waiting to be attended to, they would be quite happy with a cigarette. Cholera, of course, was rampant for a time, both in the Turkish and Bulgarian armies, but the Turks rarely distinguish between cholera and dysentery, and of the 20,000 so-called cholera cases more than half were dysentery. With the cold, frosty nights in December cholera soon vanished and the troops got remarkably fit.

REFUGEES

At the time the most serious problem facing the Turkish authorities is the disposal of the refugee families who have fled from the theatre of operations. These unfortunate people are being transported across the Bosphorus in thousands and dumped down in huge camps, but many of them have lost their clothes and all their possessions, and their state is pitiable. Lady Lowther has a fund for their assistance, and now that the severe weather has started, clothes and money are most urgently needed for these unhappy sufferers from the war. Thousands of the women have not only lost their goods but husbands and sons as well, and any gift one can make in mitigation of their suffering will be all the more welcome because it is from the *Iugilesa*.—*The Near East*.

Bulgarian Outrages in Macedonia.

THE Salonica correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* gives the following details of atrocities stated to have been committed in Macedonia by various Bulgarian bands. In the districts of Kratovo and Kotelchana the bands at work were those of Kumanovo, Spiro Dikov, of Uskub, Alexandroff, of Ishtip, Tcheinopoleff, and others. In nine villages in the Kratovo district 182 Christian and 200 Moslem houses were burned down, the village of Gradets, with 500 dwelling and other houses, was first destroyed by artillery, and then the entire Moslem population, including children, was massacred. The same fate befell the villages of Pishitas, Podluk, and Doloni, near Ishtip and Ishtibani. In five Christian, five Moslem, and

one mixed village in the district of Kotohana 188 Christian and 595 Moslem houses were burned down, and 48 Christian and 264 Moslem houses were burned down in 40 villages in the district of Ishtip. In the Kumanovo district 44 Christian and 202 Moslem houses were burned down. The destruction was in all cases accompanied or followed by the plundering and slaughter of the population, and by outrages on women, in which the local Christian population took an active part. The Kumanovo mosque was blown up, and 31 Albanian villages in the neighbourhood were razed to the ground.

The Serbian march on Koprulu was preceded by an invasion of their bands, which plundered and massacred the population. In the district of Kafadar, which numbered 98 villages, 91 were almost completely destroyed, and all the Turkish landowners who had not fled, including those who had made an agreement with the Bulgarian bands, were massacred by the Serbian bands. The same fate befell the Moslems of Drenovo, and on the road to Palekura fresh graves were observed with the heads of Turks sticking out, these having been buried in the ground up to the neck.

The district between the Struma and the Mesta (or Kara Sa) was the scene of exploits of the Bulgarian bands of Dede Donchhoff, Tane Nikoloff, Karomphiloff, and Mikhailoff, which massacred one-half of the entire Pomak (Moslem Bulgar) population. Many of the latter were also forced to embrace Christianity. Demir Hisar was completely plundered. At Shingovo the entire Moslem population was massacred, at Vetrin 20, at Meshell all, and in the mosque of Metchishti 25 Moslems were killed. At Seres (presumably by order of Sandausky) all the Greek and Bulgarian prisoners were released; they went to the village of Ormalu, consisting of 200 houses, and plundered and killed the entire Moslem population. In Visoka, consisting of 400 houses, about 500 Moslems, including boys of 13, were massacred by Dumbalokoff's band, and the women were outraged. Dumbalokoff and his associates appeared afterwards with their plunder at Salonica and made purchases in the finest shops.

At Kilish a Turkish doctor consented to embrace Christianity. He was baptised, named Nicholas, and then killed, while his wife was carried off by a Bulgarian officer. At Kurkutovo all Moslems, men, women and children, were killed, only 20 young girls were spared in order that they might be baptised. As they refused to comply with this order, they, too, were killed. At Eshekue all the 60 houses were plundered and burned down. The males were killed, and 19 young girls were outraged, thrown into a grave alive, then covered with sand. Tane Nikoloff was arrested for this outrage, but afterwards released. At Hogdonitza 60 Moslems were shut up in a mosque and massacred. Near Monastir most of the outrages were committed by Tchakalaroff's band. Round Krupishta all the Moslem villages and their male population have been destroyed. In the Moglena district not a village was left standing. At Petrovo, near Demir Hisar, a woman could no longer witness the spectacle of her daughter being outraged by the soldiers. She seized a gun and fired at the Bulgars. A general massacre ensued, all women and girls being shut up in a house and burned.

All these atrocities, the correspondent adds, have been the subject of long consular reports, and he gives credit to the Greeks for having been more humane than the others—*The Manchester Guardian*.

French Interests in Syria.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Jan. 23.

M. CAMILLE FIDEL, Secretary General of the Société des Etudes Coloniales et Maritimes, writes to me with regard to my despatch under the above heading in *The Times* of January 23, and says that the aspirations which on the authority of the *Journal des Débats* I attributed to Mgr. Zoumaz, were not expressed by that "Maronite prelate" at the meeting held on the 16th inst. under the auspices of the Société des Etudes Coloniales et Maritimes, but were embodied in a motion passed by the council of that society on November 30. M. Fidel sends me the text of his council's motion, which is as follows:—

"The council of the Société des Etudes Coloniales et Maritimes, considering that it is desirable that the principle of the territorial disinterestedness of the Great Powers should be affirmed as regards Turkey in Asia, in conformity with the recent declarations of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of France and Great Britain, and considering that certain Egyptian ambitions which have Syria for their object might become a menace to the territorial integrity of Turkey in Asia and to the special rights acknowledged as appertaining to France by the Treaty of Berlin, protests against

these ambitions and expresses its confidence in the Government's care for the defence of our influence and of the interests which that influence has enabled to be created; and expresses the wish that, in the undesirable eventuality of Syria's ceasing to be a part of the Ottoman Empire, the French Government shall affirm its fixed determination not to permit any sovereignty or protectorate other than those of France to be substituted in that province for the Ottoman sovereignty. As a subsidiary wish, the council desires that a French naval force should permanently be maintained at Beirut so long as the political situation does not seem to be sufficiently settled to secure the safety of our nationals and the maintenance of our influence."

M. Fidel further challenges the accuracy of information which reached me to the effect that some of the Syrians present at the meeting of January 15 protested in the strongest terms against the hypothetical speculations of the lecturer and declared the determination of their countrymen to allow themselves in no circumstances to come under the authority of any European Power. M. Fidel writes:—

"It is possible that certain persons who were present did not absolutely share all the views which were expressed by the speakers, but what I can affirm without fear of contradiction is that, Vice-Admiral Besson having asked if anyone had any remarks to make, a single Syrian asked leave to address the meeting, and expressed himself in the same sense as the speakers. For the rest the almost unanimous applause with which the speeches were received clearly showed that the speakers had correctly interpreted the opinions of the audience."

The Turco-Greek Naval Engagement.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEAR EAST."

SIR,—As I happen to be one of the few privileged persons who witnessed the naval engagement off Tenedos between the Greeks and Turks, which took place on the 18th inst., it might interest your readers to hear the details.

On the 14th inst., the Greek New Year's Day, the *Hamudiye*, *Medidiye*, and four Turkish torpedo-boats left the Dardanelles for the Aegean. These ships, however, went as far as Sedul-Bahr, at the entrance to these Straits, and remained there till the evening. After the sun had set, the *Medidiye*, accompanied by the four torpedo-boats, returned to the Dardanelles, but the *Hamudiye*, captained by Raouf Bey, who is one of the most intrepid sailors of the Turkish fleet, a regular "Deli Hiong" (mad squib) in fact, did not put in an appearance, and the Greeks here at once jumped to the conclusion that the *Hamudiye* had been captured by their fleet. Others declared that Raouf Bey had gone against the orders of the admiral, and, out of spite, had gone to meet the Greek fleet and surrender his ship. Other versions were that the *Hamudiye* was anchored at Kavaulik Liman, a point above Koum Kalé, or had been sent to Constantinople overnight with an object. All these surmises were destined to prove without foundation, for it appears that the much-talked-of *Hamudiye* left Koum Kalé very early the next morning, when it was still quite dark, and made a dash across to Syria. Raouf Bey succeeded in evading the Greek fleet, whose crews were evidently still singing "Aghion Bassilia" (the song usually sung on New Year's Eve), and went direct to Syria, where he called upon the transport *Macedonia* which had been converted into a cruiser, to surrender. The captain of the *Macedonia* refused, and Raouf Bey sank her in the port. Shortly after the *Hamudiye* disappeared in the distance like a bad dream.

To come back to the Dardanelles, the Turkish fleet received a wireless message from the *Hamudiye* giving details of what she had done at Syria, and thinking that the *Averof*, the best ship in the Greek navy, would be sent after her, decided to make a sortie and attack the remaining units of the Greek fleet, with every chance of finishing them off.

On Saturday, therefore, the 18th inst., the whole of the Turkish fleet made for the Aegean, and with it your humble servant departed for a village on the coast called Renkeny, which perched on the top of high hills, from the summits of which one can have a very good view as far as Tenedos, Imbros, and, on clear days, Samothrace and Lemnos. The weather was perfect, and on arriving at my destination I was informed that the Turkish fleet had made a bee-line for Lemnos, but was long since out of sight. I scanned the horizon with my telescope, but nothing could be seen, so I decided to wait. It was then 11-15 A.M. At 11-50 A.M. I suddenly heard a tremendous cannonade, coming, as I thought, from the direction of Lemnos. My glass was up in a second, but I could see nothing. The cannon kept on thundering in the distance for over half an hour, and the vibration and reverberation seemed to reach my very bones. As I was pondering over the fate of the poor Turks, someone shouted "Look at that little cloud of smoke south-west of

Tenedos." I looked, and presently saw several columns of water rising in the distance, but not a ship could I distinguish.

Bit by bit the Turkish fleet backed towards Sedul-Bahr, passing outside Tenedos, and I could then plainly discern the four big Turkish battleships lined up before their smaller vessels and fighting like fury with (to me) an invisible foe. Shells were falling round them, but there were no signs of the enemy for some time. As I looked the *Barbarossa* or *Torgut Reis*—which of the two I could not tell, as they are sister ships—was suddenly lost to sight in a cloud of smoke, which seemed to envelop her from stem to stern for over twenty minutes, and I naturally thought she was sinking. To my surprise, however, the smoke cleared off, and her guns were once more brought into action. Shortly after the *Azeroff*, which was hidden behind Tenedos with seven other Greek ships, was seen to emerge and steam at top speed across the bows of the four Turkish battleships in a bee-line for Imbros. Her object was apparently to steam past the foremost of the Turkish ships and then turn her flank, thus cutting off the retreat of the latter. The Turkish admiral was no fool, however, and ordered his four ships to run parallel to the *Azeroff* in single file and follow one another in whatever direction the *Azeroff* went.

That was the finest part of the battle, and the Turks simply went for their enemy tooth and nail. They, of course, understood that if the *Azeroff* succeeded in turning their flank they were done for, as the seven Greek ships which had remained behind the *Azeroff* would then come up and place them between two fires. It was a race between the *Azeroff*, which had started some distance behind the *Barbarossa*, the last of the Turkish ships, and the *Mehidiyeh* which was the foremost of the line.

The *Azeroff* gained rapidly on her opponents, and it seemed to me as if she was going to succeed. The admiral of the Turkish fleet, however, had a card up his sleeve, which he used to the best advantage. The order was given by him to the small ships of the Turkish fleet, accompanied by the four destroyers, which are said to travel over twenty-four knots, to move forward, and thus place the *Azeroff* between them and the four Turkish battleships which were slowly moving towards them. The *Azeroff*, seeing the splendid move of the Turkish admiral, was afraid to get between the fast destroyers and the battleships, and turned round sharply, running again across the latter, which now had their sterns turned towards her, and were firing shell after shell at their enemy. The *Azeroff* passed the *Mehidiyeh*, then the *Mehidiyeh*, then the *Torgut Reis*, and stopped before *Barbarossa*, now tackled exclusively. The *Barbarossa*, as previously stated, which she was bringing up the rear, and was evidently hard hit, for she travelled very slowly, and at one time her sister ship had to turn back and assist her in the fight. For two whole hours the duel between the *Azeroff* on the one hand, and the *Barbarossa* and *Torgut Reis*, on the other, lasted, but it is was clear from start to finish that the Turkish ships were no match for the *Azeroff*, whose accurate fire played havoc with her opponents. The whole battle lasted three hours and ten minutes, after which the Turks, much battered and torn, retreated slowly but in excellent order towards the entrance to the Dardanelles. It was undoubtedly a victory for the Greeks, but the Turks behaved like men all through, and it is more than wonderful how they managed to come out of it without losing one ship. They fought to the bitter end, and stood their ground surprisingly well, returning here, I am told, with but two shells each, which they had kept in order to cover the retreat of their smaller ships.

The Turks fired the last shots as the *Azeroff* proudly went to join the other Greek ships between Tenedos and the Rabbit Islands.

Dardanelles, January 23, 1913

GODFREY WHITTAIL.

The British Red Crescent Society.

We have received the following communication from the President of the Society:—

2, Cadogan Place, S. W., London, Jan. 29.

The President to the British Red Crescent Society begs to enclose herein copies of letters received from Sister Wheatley, one of the Society's nurses who, with two other members of the staff, is administering relief in the Broussa district.

Her account of the terrible distress among the refugees who have been driven from their homes by the Balkan invaders and are now in the utmost destitution will, he believes, appeal to all in the British Empire who have pity in their hearts for human suffering. The distress and destitution are so widespread that the funds at the disposal of the Society are wholly inadequate

to cope with the demands of the situation. He, therefore, ventures again to appeal to the charity of both England and India to come to the Society's assistance. Funds are needed not only for supplying the immediate wants of the refugees, such as clothing, charcoal and food, but for housing them in the bitter winter months and starting them for a fresh existence in their new homes.

The number of the destitute amounts to nearly 200,000 souls in Asia Minor. From this the public will conceive the amount of help needed.

The Society will be grateful for any contribution that may be sent to help it in the prosecution of the work of mercy in which it is engaged.

The President begs to report, for the information of the public, that the Society has contributed so far: £1,800 for the relief in Salonica, £550 for Monastir, and £5,000 for the districts in Asia Minor where the refugees are congregated.

Colonel Surtees, the Director of the Society, has visited a the places and established local committees for the supervision of the relief work in conjunction with the British Vice-Consul, wherever such official is available, or the governor of the district. A Central Committee has been organised in Constantinople to work in conjunction with the Society in London. This Committee is composed of distinguished Turkish notables, viz., Damad Ferid Pasha as President, Nasir Sherif Pasha (Senator), Ferid Pasha (late Grand Vizier), General Vincombe Pasha, Sir Edwin Pears and Mr. Holmes as Secretary.

At Broussa the officials of the Society are assisted by Mr. Gilbertson, Vice-Consul, and Miss Gilbertson. At Konia by Mr. Dodds, an American Missionary to whom the Society is most grateful for assistance rendered.

The President takes the opportunity of conveying the Society's gratitude to His Majesty's Consul-General at Salonica and to Sister Augustine for their self-sacrificing devotion for the relief of the refugees.

Contributions may be forwarded either to the Bankers of the Society, Messrs. Coutts and Co., 440, Strand, London, W. O., or to the Honorary Treasurer, A. S. M. Anik, 2 Finchurch Avenue, E. C.

Cheques to be crossed "British Red Crescent Society."

The Balkan Crisis.

A POLITICAL MASKED BALL.

Europe is still in the throes of the Near-Eastern crisis. Like the mirage on the wilderness, the cherished vision of a settlement is suspended between earth and heaven. Even optimists are growing sceptical of its reality, especially since the fall of the Kianul Cabinet. For few of the momentous problems which divided the Powers have received a solution, and not one of these solutions can boast of finality. All that has as yet been done is to hollow out on the sand of the beach some contours of the new Balkans. The resulting figures may be used as a mould for the molten metal or be washed away by the tide of war.

Into the complicated situation as it is to-day the most sarcastic statesman strives in vain to gain adequate insight. Data are lacking for a probable forecast even of the near future. Indeed, a clear picture of what has happened during the last couple of months has not yet been drawn by anyone. And for a good reason: through the prevailing confusion it is hardly possible to discern what the various *dramatis personae* really feel and think and aim at. They resemble fancifully dressed figures at a masked ball. What seems, is not, and what is, wears a disguise. Motives are embellished by euphemisms, words hide thoughts, and feints dissemble aims. The fibres of certain great nations are closely intertwined with roots of little nationalities engendering results which—as the causes remain invisible—baffle or bewilder the observer.

All that can be said with certainty is that the issues still to be decided are momentous, that the nascent forces seem potent for good, and that their movement will ultimately culminate in a series of far-reaching changes deserving the name of revolution. I should add, however, that the Peace Treaty of 1913 will not abolish the Near Eastern question without leaving an undesirable residue. If I had to sum up the salient features of the present crisis in a single formula, I should say they are the result of the rapid crumbling of a political system which has for ages been firmly rooted in the thinking and feeling of Europe, and of the rivalry between the nations most deeply affected thereby which are decorously striving to sway the new synthesis, each one in the direction of its own particular interests.

Probably never before has Europe cut such a ridiculous figure as to-day. Intent on leaving the Balkans permanently peaceful and independent in political self-completion, she is toying with expedients and multiplying makelasts. She is fighting shadows and hitting herself. Aware that if only she has a genuine desire to keep the peace, it cannot possibly be broken—she conceives that desire, yet continues to fear the outbreak of war at every hand's turn. In other words, she wills peace but disbelieves the reality of her volition. It is quite certain that each one of the Powers would readily consent to a heavy sacrifice rather than drift into war, yet each one irrationally suspects the other of designs which cannot be realised without the shedding of blood. These baleful misgivings are visible in the demeanour of the Great Nations, in the barracks and at the Council Board. In Austria-Hungary and Russia the number of troops ready to respond to the war clarion exceeds considerably the normal peace contingent. Each Government is, of course, ready to explain this increase in a harmless way, but all the world is alive to the fact that its real motives are hidden out of sight. Austria-Hungary points to the occupation of Albania by Serbia as a sufficient justification, and lets it be understood that as soon as those troops have evacuated the territory, and she and Serbia have settled their differences, she will entertain the idea of disbanding her own extra soldiers.* And, in turn, she complains that Russia's army has been augmented by some 350,000 men, certain classes of the reserves having been kept under arms instead of being sent to their homes. The Russians retort that they were moved to take this step by Austria's partial mobilisation, and that they will retrace it as soon as the cause has ceased to be operative.

THE NERVOUS ABILITY OF SERBIAN POLITICIANS.

The Serbs, on the other hand, whose civil administration is taking root in Durazzo and other parts of Albania, defend their policy by arguments which undoubtedly prove their right to pursue it, but leave out of sight other equally forcible arguments which demonstrate the folly of exercising that right. "Why," for instance, it is asked, "should Serbia, who is at war with Turkey, be forbidden to occupy the territory of her enemy which she has conquered?" Why, indeed? Albania was part of the Ottoman Empire when the campaign began, and will continue to form part of that Empire until peace is formally concluded. In terms of international law those propositions are unanswerable. In occupying Albania, Serbia is well within her rights. But none the less she is playing a dangerous game, as her best friends have told her. If every individual nation stood upon its rights without abating a jot in favour of its neighbours, war and not peace would be the normal state of mankind. Serbia, however, has gone far beyond her rights if it be a fact—and there is strong evidence in support of the allegation—that she has introduced a civic Serbian administration there, established it on a footing of permanency, and allowed it to be understood that it has come to stay. It was equally impolitic to coax or compel simple-minded Albanians to sign petitions to the Powers asking them to allow their districts to be annexed to Serbia. Sometimes two or three such petitions, purporting to have originated spontaneously in places far distant from each other, are worded exactly the same way. This mode of procedure, deprecated by Serbia's real friends, enables one to understand the irritation of Austrian politicians, the increase of the Austrian army, and the insurgence of a fresh danger to European peace.

Serbian statesmen enjoy a reputation for cleverness, but they seem to labour under one grave defect which I feel tempted to call nervous ability.

But one cannot desire a truer measure of the actual condition of Europe than the work done and the work vainly attempted by the two bodies of European statesmen now in London—the Ambassadors' Meeting and the Peace Conference. The task of the latter is to conclude a Peace Treaty, while that of the former is to liquidate the Balkan war without provoking a European conflict. If we ask what results have been attained by these two assemblies, we learn that the Conference has made no progress, and has with difficulty been kept from landing the Balkans into war again. The Peace Delegates of the Allies, swayed by Dr. Daneff, who, in turn was moved by his Government, were twice on the point of taking precipitate action which would have provoked another campaign against Turkey, when they were laboriously reined back by the Ambassadors. On the other hand, the meeting of the Ambassadors has settled in principle two delicate questions turning on Albania and Serbia, but has temporarily laid aside all other issues of importance, because argument about them seemed hopeless.

ADRIANOPLE THE CRUX OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

As I noted in a former article, it was obvious from the first that the crux of the peace negotiations would be the fierce struggle for

Adrianople which began during the *pourparlers* at Tchataldja, and that upon this rock the efforts to come to an accord might be wrecked. And in effect on two occasions they were within an ace of being wrecked in consequence of the intemperate ambition or the maladroitness of Bulgaria. To have averted that catastrophe is one of the Ambassadors' main titles to recognition.

The grounds on which Turkey and Bulgaria claim Adrianople, each one for itself, are in the last analysis sentimental, and therefore beyond the reach of argument. To the Osmanli, this place is not merely the strategical key to Constantinople. It is, above all else, the sacred city round which cluster the most glorious memories of their gallant race.

Bulgaria's mainspring of action is likewise sentimental; with her it is a matter of *amour-propre*. She will not forego the fairest fruit of an undisputed victory, purchased at enormous cost in men and money. To waive her claim to Adrianople would be a humiliation, and a rising nation qualifying for the hegemony of the Balkans cannot submit to be humbled in the eyes of the world. To assert, as some Bulgars have done, that Adrianople is necessary as a safeguard against the onslaught of the Turks, is fantastic. Turkey is a peace factor in Europe to-day, not the redoubtable marplot she once was. Her rôle of invader is past. She eschews territorial aggrandisement. As a neighbour she is lamb-like, as a friend she would be helpful owing to the vast undeveloped resources of which she disposes, and as an ally she may yet become an important factor in the history of the Near East. Furthermore, it would always be possible to stipulate that the fortresses, if she held them, should be razed, and Adrianople rendered useless for defence as for attack. But the crucial point is not there. Bulgaria stands on her dignity and is resolved to stamp the mark of her dignity on all the transactions by which the war is being liquidated. If the Gueshoff Cabinet signed a treaty abandoning Adrianople to Turkey it could not face the Sobranje and live. Neither would peace in the Balkans be worth more than five years' purchase.

BULGARIA'S ORIGINAL MISTAKE AND JEALOUSY.

Under these conditions one is astonished at the short-sightedness of the Bulgarians, who at the time when Turkey was suing for peace, might have required the surrender of Adrianople as a condition of the armistice, but failed to insist. That, I venture to think, was a capital error, fertile in untoward consequences. It was M. Daneff, President of the Bulgarian Sobranje, who carried on those negotiations with the Turks at Tchataldja in the name of the League. Before tackling the business in hand he consulted his colleagues and learned that the Greeks insisted on the surrender of the three beleaguered towns as a condition *sine qua non*. M. Venizelos, the spokesman of the Hellenes, pointed out that the enemy was thoroughly demoralised, was suing for peace, and had undertaken in advance to assent to any concessions that might be demanded, and he urged that the Allies should present a united front and hold out for possession of the three towns.

"Let us demand," he said, "the cession of Janina, Adrianople, and Scutari." "We can get that now if only we insist on it. Unless we do this and make the surrender of the cities a condition on the acceptance of which depends the armistice, we may have to suffer enormously in the future. For it is probable the Turks will shortly recover their cold bloodedness and self-reliance, and will refuse to deliver up the strong places. What shall we do then? That is a danger that should not be lightly incurred. It will engender others and cost us time and money, and perhaps men as well. For so long as the fortified places hold out, the Porte will not, cannot, order their surrender."

On this point the Bulgarians, as the bones of the Cradition, dissented from the Greeks. They were not in a condition to hold out just then. Rumours of these differences reaching me, I suggested that what the Allies ought to aim at was not an armistice at all, but peace preliminaries. That, I explained, would supply a solid groundwork for the subsequent negotiations, would ensure a rough and ready settlement of essentials, and would enable the belligerents to conclude a treaty within two or three weeks after the termination of hostilities. Moreover, it would require no more time to bring about than would an armistice.

That was also the judgment of M. Venizelos, who pressed the point vigorously, but the Bulgarian statesman, prompted by the resourceful King Ferdinand, demurred. He was in a hurry to conclude an armistice, averse to waiting until the Turks should give way on the subject of the beleaguered cities, and resolved not to be beholden to the Allies even for the slightest military success. That determination was the source of the present deadlock. As Goethe put it: "If you miss the first buttonhole you will not succeed in buttoning your coat."

The Bulgarian army, weakened by its treacherous losses and jaded by forced marches and continued hardships, could not

*After having sent this article to press I learn that Austria has begun to demobilise.

force the Turkish lines at Tchataldja. And on that account the Bulgarians were almost as eager for a rest as were the Turks, and were therefore unwilling to jeopardise the armistice by insisting on hard terms. Aware of this, the Greek and Serbian Premiers offered them the assistance of their respective troops, of whom over a hundred thousand could set out at once. These reinforcements would turn the scale and compel the enemy to consent to the surrender of the besieged cities. A land march on Gallipoli, followed by the capture of its heights, which dominate the hills of the opposite shore of the Dardanelles, would enable the Allies to keep open the Straits for the passage of the Hellenic fleet. And it might be taken for granted that before the Greek warships could anchor opposite Stamboul, the Porte would have assented to the Allies' terms, and a lasting peace would have been assured. But the Bulgarians, whose passionate desire for military glory unalloyed by foreign participation is intelligible, declined the offer. They did not, however, frankly refuse it; they simply left it without any response. That was the second time in the course of the campaign that the proposal was made to them by their Allies, and each time it was simply ignored. They were resolved to win all achievements in the field by their own unaided efforts, or else rely upon diplomacy to eke them out. The Bulgarian army would wrest what the nation needed from the Ottoman grasp. And as for Constantinople, it must either be taken by the artillery and infantry of the little Tsardom or not at all. In no case should Greece be permitted to capture it. In accordance with these principles Bulgaria turned a deaf ear to the proffered aid. Thereupon the Greeks refused to sign the armistice, and have continued to wage war ever since.

THE LATEST TURKISH REVOLUTION.

It was considerations of the same patriotic but somewhat narrow character that determined the quality of Bulgaria's statecraft throughout the negotiations and led to the deadlock, which has now been followed by the latest Revolution. The Kiamil Cabinet has been overthrown, and the Committee men under Mahmoud Shouket Pasha brought in. The new Ministers are, of course, as patriotic as their predecessors, but their policy is different. They are in favour, it is said, of fighting for Adrianople to the bitter end. If so, they are about to risk the very existence of the Ottoman Empire on a single throw of the dice. The only hope left is that once they have seized the reins of power, which was their main object, they may remain satisfied with that. Moreover, they may, on coming into office and assuming responsibility, find that it was Fate which uttered its immutable decree through the Grand Council which put the hopes of Turkey in the hands of the Powers. For although their army be excellent, the war-nerve, money, is absent. And without that no war is possible. One expedient may perhaps occur to them, to confiscate the sums belonging to the public debt. One hopes they will never humiliate their fatherland by shameless spoliation. And yet, that act of madness might perhaps save the Empire. For Europe would then be obliged to control the financial administration of Turkey, with admirable results. In a quarter of a century the population of Turkey would doubtless be one of the most prosperous in Europe. At present January 24th one is reduced to vague surmises respecting the future. The Powers and the Balkan States must await the reply to the Collective Note of the Powers, which will have to be despatched by the Government.

THE GREAT POWERS UPHOLD BULGARIA'S CLAIM

But to return to what went before. For the Powers, once sittings of the Peace Conference were "suspended," it was no easy matter to decide what to do. To mediate between the belligerents was not feasible, seeing that neither side was ready to abide by an adverse ruling. On the other hand, coercion was out of the question because neutral States cannot take sides. Moral pressure might, of course, be put upon one or other of the belligerents, but even that could with difficulty be reconciled with the spirit of neutrality, and in any case it might well prove ineffectual. A naval demonstration was advocated by many who seemed to think that if the end is good—as the maintenance of peace undoubtedly is—the means do not matter one jot. But respect for international law is at such a low ebb to-day that Europe will not willingly pass it still further. A naval demonstration would have noxious effects. Not only would it constitute a breach of neutrality, but it would also create a precedent for intervention. If Greece and Bulgaria were to quarrel later on about Salonica and hostilities between them were imminent, the Powers would be expected to intervene, whereas it is of the highest importance that Europe should henceforward leave Balkan disputes to be fought out by Balkan peoples. That is the logical and desirable conclusion of the present crisis.

The Powers decided to advise Turkey to allow Bulgaria to enclose the city of Adrianople within her frontiers. If this had

not been done, and if peace had been concluded within two or three weeks of the armistice, Turkey might possibly have retained the holy city. The motives for this advice lie near the surface. To be satisfactory, the settlement of outstanding questions and the establishment of frontiers must be permanent. It would be bad policy to resort to short-lived expedients. To leave Adrianople under the sway of the Sultan would be a temporary makeshift; the Bulgarians would plot and plan incessantly until they annexed it. And this striving would keep the Balkan Peninsula in a state of ruinous unrest. Furthermore, there is this to be said. Adrianople is in a state of siege, and although the defenders are heroes, they are not workers of miracles. Consequently the town must fall, sooner or later, and as soon as it falls it ceases for ever to be Turkish. To vindicate it for the Sultan, therefore, would be lost time unless Europe were prepared to wage war against the Allies. That is why the Powers were desirous of seeing the Porte approach the question in a spirit of compromise. But as mere counsel volunteered to the Porte has little or no effect, the question waxed urgent, in what form should pressure be brought to bear on the Ottoman Cabinet.

STORY OF THE COLLECTIVE NOTE.

A Collective Note of admonition and advice was ultimately hit upon as the least objectionable way of influencing the Ottoman people. Imagining that the Ambassadors in the Turkish capital, who can feel the pulse of the nation and are familiar with the temper of Ottoman statesmen, would be best qualified to word such a communication, the Powers charged them with the task. These gentlemen accordingly drew up a document which was to bring before the minds of Ottoman Ministers with clearness and force the advisability, in the interests of their fatherland, of making a merit of necessity, sacrificing Adrianople to Bulgaria, and yielding up the islands to the Powers, who would dispose of them as they list. Now, it sometimes happens that precisely the people who are nearest to the stage miss certain effects which only distance enables the observer to appreciate. And something analogous occurred in this case. The Note drafted by the Ambassadors in Constantinople was submitted to the Ambassadors in London, who, looking at the elements of the problem in more correct perspective, found fault with certain redundancies of style in it, and took exception to certain things which had better be left unsaid. And with these critical remarks the draft was sent back to the Powers.

Soon after this the Governments set aside the amended draft Note and requested the Ambassadors' Meeting in London to indite a new one. The work was begun at once, and from that moment onward proceedings moved with extreme rapidity until some delay was occasioned by a certain legitimate objection raised by Germany to two phrases. The Collective Note in its unamended form was written and its wording approved unanimously. This document was despatched on Friday, the 10th, to the Cabinets for approval. Through this stage too the Note passed without delay. All the Foreign Offices endorsed it, Germany alone suggesting the verbal alteration alluded to. The modification called for was slight, turning upon two words only, and was admitted by all to be quite reasonable. In making this formal change, however, there was no time lost in the English capital, and the amended document was telegraphed back to the Government on the 13th. So far everything is clear. Thereafter, however, our view is obstructed by fog. The Note which would, it was thought, be delivered on Wednesday, was not communicated to the Porte until Saturday. Why? Nobody appears able to answer this question.

Among the many conjectures yet published I have not seen any based on a supposition which commends itself to me as probable, viz., the temporary confusion in which things in the Wilhelmstrasse were doubtless thrown by the death of Kiderlen-Waechter and the appointment of his successor. Her von Jagow had not yet had time to familiarise himself with the current business of his department, and it is on the cards that the delay of which the Balkan Allies bitterly complain may stand in causal nexus with that. Anyhow, the hypothesis is possible. Short impossible is the assumption that Germany is endeavouring to undo with one hand what she has done with the other hand. There can be no doubt that she is to the full as zealous in her efforts to safeguard peace as is France or Russia. Her hand and spirit may be traced distinctly in every part of the strenuous endeavour put forth by Europe to keep the Balkan conflagration from spreading. Setting her acts thus full against the light, one must perceive the absurdity of the accusations of double-dealing which have been wildly hurled against her Government. At last the historic document was read and presented to the Porte.

HISTORY OF THE LITTLE COLLECTIVE NOTE OF THE ALLIES. FATE OF ADRIANOPLE.

In the Collective Note the Powers advise the Porte to reconcile itself to the loss of the city of Adrianople, which must in any case pass to Bulgarian in virtue of the fortune of war. They also ask Turkey to allow the future of the Aegean Islands to be determined by the Powers, which will endeavour in return to safeguard Mussulman interests in Adrianople and will undertake that the solution given to the problem of the islands shall exclude all menace to the security of Turkey. On the other hand, the Governments of these States hold out a prospect of moral and material support to the Sublime Porte in the work of repairing the evils of war and developing the resources of the Ottoman Empire in Asia.

On January 22nd the news came that the Grand Council at Stamboul approved Kiamil's policy, and confided Turkey's destinies to the Powers. And that was a reasonable decision. Unfortunately, we now learn that a revolution has swept away the Kiamil Cabinet and pitchedforked the Committee men into its place. What will happen next is mere matter of conjecture. As yet the reply has not been drafted, and it would be unwise to speculate upon the gist of it. All that one usefully can say is that Adrianople, the strategical key to the Turkish capital, is certain to become a Bulgarian town. Whether, as the Greeks hope, this acquisition will move the Bulgarians to cede Salonica to King George, is doubtful. Speaking personally for myself, I fancy it will not. As for the Aegean Islands, nobody, not even the Prime Ministers, can say what will become of them. Some are occupied by Greece, others would also have been seized by that State if they were not held by Italy, who is bound to deliver them up to Turkey as soon as Tripoli is evacuated. Turkey, therefore, in abandoning them to the Powers might choose to favour, even though it gave to Greece those "reserved" islands which, like Chios, are regarded, and have ever been treated, as strategically forming part of the coast of Asia Minor.

Before the Powers had drafted their Note, the Peace Delegates, or rather Dr. Daneff, who sometimes passes as their leader, put on record their judgment that a Collective Note by itself would not take effect on the Turks. This was done in a conversation which was carried on between this statesman and Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, when the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was exhorting the Delegates of the Allies to meet the Turks in Conference once more and to discuss other proposals of Reshid Pasha's. Dr. Daneff volunteered the opinion that a Collective Note from the Powers would prove inefficacious unless it were followed up with some more convincing proof of Europe's single-mindedness and resolve to accomplish its object in spite of obstacles. Then the Bulgarian Delegate alluded to the naval demonstration which was being talked about, and expressed his belief that that might be a sufficient sanction. This was the opinion and desire prevalent in Sofia, whence the Bulgarian Delegation draws its inspiration. Europe was to be harnessed to the Balkan State chariot, and to draw that to the places in which the Allies desire to hoist their respective flags. The Great Powers therefore may violate their neutrality when it is a question of helping the Balkan realm to expand or consolidate, but they would be committing the inexpiable sin were they to meddle in the internal affairs of those nations. That is the ruling idea. Now the aim of the Greek Powers is divergent from this. They are eager to leave Balkan interests entirely to the Balkan States, and to let these settle their own disputes peacefully or otherwise as they may deem fit.

THE BULGARS AGAIN ENDEAVOUR TO EFFECT A RUPTURE.

The Bulgarians are an obstinate race who owe more to dogged perseverance than to dash or enterprise. And the statesmen in Sofia, learning that those schemes of theirs were not adopted by the Powers, resolved to substitute others tending to the same goal. And again M. Daneff was charged with their realisation. On Sunday, January 12th, a communication was made by the Bulgarian to the Greek Delegation, the principal members of which were then at Oxford. On the following day, Mr. Madjaroff called on the Greek Minister, M. Gernadous, and, in an off hand manner, informed him that the Sofia Cabinet had instructed M. Daneff to break off negotiations and to despatch a joint Note from the Allies to the Porte apprising it of the fact. That was all. There was no explanation, no further data, nothing but a request that the announcement be made to M. Venizelos.

That communication, which was practically an order to the Delegates to allow the Sofia Cabinet to take fateful steps in their name, did not elicit a favourable response from the Greeks. They perceived no conclusive grounds for it; they deemed it impolitic to accept, and perhaps thwart, Europe's efforts to persuade the Porte, and they were unwilling to assume responsibility for it. It

was finally decided that a meeting of the Allies should be convened at the Hyde Park Hotel. It was well attended. The Bulgarian Delegate, M. Madjaroff, who was in the chair, told the members present that the Bulgarian Government had telegraphic instructions on which it was proposed that action should now be taken. M. Madjaroff, plying by the others with questions as to motives, outlook, and ulterior actions, answered vaguely, and alluded to Dr. Daneff, who, however, was absent. It had been arranged that the meeting should not be officially opened until M. Daneff arrived; accordingly, they waited for him long and patiently. At last, however, a message was received over the telephone to the effect that Dr. Daneff was about to have an important interview with a certain Ambassador and would, therefore, be unable to take the chair or appear at the meeting, which was soon afterwards dissolved. The evening papers were then authorised by the Delegates to publish a sensational item of news to the effect that the Allies had resolved to draw up a Collective Note to be presented to Turkey at the same time as the Collective Note of the Powers. Its object being to provide the drastic sanction which would otherwise be lacking, seeing that the naval demonstration would not take place, the Note would declare the peace negotiations a failure, denounce the armistice, and proceed to a renewal of hostilities unless the terms proposed by the Allies were accepted.

WHAT WOULD THEY FIGHT FOR NOW?

Astonished at this exhibition of political unwisdom, I sought out one of the leading Delegates and asked him whether the story was true. He said it was. He and his colleagues, he explained, were tired of waiting. I inquired why they would not wait for the fall of Adrianople, which, according to their own account, was imminent. The answer was evasive. Either the Great Powers, I was told, must intervene or hostilities must recommence. There was no third term. And the action of the Power was described as academic, and would, I was assured, be smiled at by Turkey, who only answers the whip. In order to reinforce that action the Allies would present their own sharp little Note, and if that failed to produce to the desired effect they must have recourse to arms again. In reply to my question what they would fight for, they answered, Adrianople. "But you will get Adrianople in any and every case without striking a blow," I objected. "Well, then, we might win the Midia Rodosto line of frontier." "Never," I answered, "for Europe will not allow Bulgaria to have a toehold on the Marmora seaboard." "Oh, well, we will simply fight to end the war." "But your campaign will put off the termination of hostilities in lieu of hastening it. If you can wait four or five weeks in comfort, why spend the time in shedding human blood to no purpose? If you want to work in that style, you would forfeit the sympathies of every civilised nation on the globe."

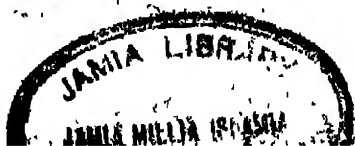
Meanwhile, the Ambassador whom M. Daneff was interviewing had read the Bulgarian Delegate a lecture on statecraft, the fitness of things in politics, and the folly of first enlisting the help of Europe and then baffling Europe's effort to give it. On the other hand, the Powers made emphatic representations at Sofia, and the baleful project was dropped. On all sides the Bulgarians were blamed for being over-anxious to leave nothing to chance.

In statecraft, as in love, too much is not enough.

The question of Adrianople is the only one that divides the Turks and the Allies by a bridgeless chasm. If the Powers had not taken sides, and if peace had been concluded within two, or three, or even four weeks after the cessation of hostilities, I believe that Turkey could have retained possession of the "sacred city." But once Europe officially recognised Bulgaria's claim to the sacred city of the Osmanli and peace negotiations were protracted endlessly, all hopes of keeping Adrianople vanished for the Turk.—*Dr. Dutton in the Contemporary Review.*

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The Week

Persia.

Lord Lansington put a series of questions in the House of Lords with regard to Persia. He suggested that a considerable section of the Persians did not regard M. Mornard with great favour, and recommended the establishment of a Treasury Board consisting of a Russian, a British and a Persian or a neutral representative and the augmentation of the Gendarmery with the co-operation of Indian officers.

Lord Morley paid a tribute to the Swedish officers and also to Captain Eckford, whose murder was a terrible incident in the great and problem in which we were more interested than any one. He emphasised the objections to a punitive expedition, and said we had abstained from such a proceeding with a view to giving the Persian Government the best chance they could have.

The co-operation of Indian officers with the Gendarmery, Lord Morley said, would be most risky, and those best able to judge wanted the Government that friction and jealousy between the British and the Indian officers and the Persian Government would be likely to follow.

With regard to money, Lord Morley said it was proposed to raise another £400,000, half in Russia and half in Britain, and the £150,000 contributed by England for the special use of the Persian Government.

The security for the money, Lord Morley stated, would be found in a loan of four, five or six millions in regard to which negotiations were now proceeding between the Persian Government and the Societe d'Etudes.

The substitution of a Treasury Board for M. Mornard would impair the authority and independence of the Persian Government. The Imperial Government did not doubt M. Mornard's capacity and goodwill. Lord Newton said he could imagine nothing more likely to cause a punitive expedition than the present situation.

Lord Morley's statement regarding the loan to Persia in the House of Lords on the 19th instant was misheard. His lordship said that the amount of £100,000 was for the special use of the Fars Government. Some portion would be used by the Governor-General of Fars, and the rest would be handed over in monthly payments of £8,000 to the commandant of the Gendarmerie.

An engineer named Green and a railway surveyor have been robbed and stripped while en route to Jask from Bushire. They have returned to Bunder Abbas. Dahaloos tribesmen have looted five hundred camels near Bunder Abbas.

The Arnold Case.

The application for leave to appeal has been granted in the Arnold case. The case was heard by Lord Haldane, Lord Robertson, Lord Shaw and Lord Moulton. Counsel for the petitioner were Sir Robert Finlay and Mr. Clarence Hamlyn. The arguments lasted for three and a half hours.

Sir Robert Finlay reviewed the circumstances and said that there was no doubt that Mr. Arnold took a strong view with regard to the proceedings before the magistrate and published articles making charges against Mr. Andrews. He had not only expressed strong opinions to the conduct of the case, but had also made charges of fact; but the defence was that the imputations were made in good faith and were intended for the public good. There was no suggestion that they were animated by personal malice. Mr. Arnold did not know either Mr. Andrews or Captain Finnie. No further investigation had yet been made of the charge against Mr. McCormack. Sir Robert Finlay contended that Sir Charles Fox was wrong in his construction of the law of rape and libel. Sir Charles had emphasised facts bearing against Arnold and had not given sufficient weight to the circumstances in his favour or to the medical evidence that might have been called.

Lord Haldane gave judgment saying that Their Lordships granted special leave to appeal. It seemed that a case had been made out of a denial of natural justice as laid down in the rulings of Privy Council.

Lord Haldane concluded by saying: "We think enough has been said to make it right that there should be further enquiry. You will understand that in saying this we express not the slightest opinion."

Mr. Donne, representing the Crown, said that he quite understood that in the circumstances it was his duty not to address Their Lordships.

TETE À TETE



THE brief letter that we have received from Dr. Ansari with this week's English Mail will, we are sure, be read with deep interest by our readers. The letter was sent from Constantinople on the 11th February and runs as follows.—

The All-India Medical Mission with Enver Bey.

"I am afraid my weekly note is impossible this time. I have had to divide the Mission into two units: one remains in Omerli under Dr. Naim, and the other is going under me to an unknown destination with Enver Bey's attacking army. This news ought to immensely please you, as ours is the only Mission out of the seven which had applied which has been given this great honour and distinction of accompanying Enver Bey. The British Red Crescent and the Egyptian Missions were all refused on the score of insufficient equipment. I may also tell you that I have personally gained much favour with the Party of Union and Progress and the Crescent Rouge Ottomane. They consult me in all their affairs connected with Hospital organisation. As regards the Bonds, I have seen the Minister of Finance and have given him the fullest possible details about them. He promised to send the Bank of Bengal and the Alliance Bank of India and your official cables with full details. That is the reason I had not cabled to you myself with a view to economy. Yesterday I saw Talaat Bey, who promised to urge the party not to waste valuable time. He has also promised to send you news free through the Agence Ottomane. I have received the official receipt of the money you sent to the Grand Vizier through me, but as it is not with me just now I will send it next week. I have to buy a lot of things for the Mission. I spent £750 for tents, although the Bombay Mission had very generously given us six tents. I have to buy a lot of drugs and stores. These, by the way, can be had in Constantinople from an English firm at a slightly higher cost than in England, but one can save time and a lot of annoyance by buying here, and one can personally satisfy oneself about the articles. That is the reason why I have requested you to send me £2,000. We have also got to supply provisions for the Mission, which is the most costly item. The Ottoman army has driven the Bulgars all along the line so far. They are near Adrianople now, and the relief of the fortress is expected daily. I will cable all important news. Abdur Rahman will remain in future in Constantinople for keeping the accounts of the Mission and arranging for the food supply. He will in future send you the weekly letter, as I don't think I would be able to do so owing to our march with the advancing army." After learning that a unit of the All India Mission has gone with Enver Bey's attacking column we would all of us be naturally eager to hear from Dr. Ansari about his experiences. He says, however, that he would be unable to send his weekly letter. We are sure the Manager's letters will be equally interesting and will give us full information about the doings of both the units of the Mission. The landing of the expeditionary column of 60 thousands of all arms under the command of Enver Bey was reported by Reuter long ago, and later on the expedition was declared to have failed. We cannot, however, believe that a column of 60 thousands, after effecting a successful landing, would "fail" without fighting a battle and even encountering the enemy. The movements of Enver Bey have for some time past been shrouded in mystery but we are confident soon to hear of him and his column, and that in a way which may not perhaps be a pleasant theme for a "Reuter's Message."

WE PUBLISH elsewhere a most opportune and weighty article of H. H. the Aga Khan on the subject of the Ottoman Treasury Bonds. His Highness deals with the financial aspect of the question, and that to our mind is the most important aspect at the present moment. It divides itself into two

parts: firstly, is the investment safe; and, secondly, is it profitable? If both these questions can be answered in the affirmative the opportunity which the issue of these Bonds presents to business men, is too good to be lost. Taking the second question first, the assured return of 5 per cent. per annum as interest, coupled with the assured return *at par* of the principal itself within 5 years, makes the Ottoman Treasury Bonds a more profitable investment than any we know of in India. It is true that merchants can make more than 5 per cent. on their outlay in commerce and industries; but all such concerns are not all equally safe, and besides, we are not all merchants. The University Fund, for instance, is not invested in Cotton or Jute mills, nor in the shares of Banks which give a 10 to 15 per cent. dividend every year. It is all in Government Paper bearing 3½ per cent. interest or in the safe deposit of the Bank of Bengal, which does not give more than 4 per cent. to the best of our knowledge. Many Mussalmans, and practically all prosperous Native States, hold large quantities of Government Paper bearing interest at 8½ per cent. only. But all this would appeal to merchant princes or Ruling Chiefs more than to the average Mussalman who is willing to accept a lesser rate of interest, if any at all, if he is assured of the safe return of the principal within 5 years. This then is the main question, and on this point H. H. the Aga Khan's contribution to our columns affords the best possible evidence. "Even at this moment of the darkest period in her history, the Turkish 4 per cent. Bonds are quoted at 84 throughout Europe." This, we believe, indicates a better credit than that of Japan, and His Highness is no more than just to Turkey when he writes: "With the fullest sense of responsibility of every word that I am saying I will say that if a poor widow came to me with her orphan child and asked my advice, I would honestly and strongly advise her to put every pie of her small fortune in Turkish Bonds." This is no idle saying, and, as a matter of fact, we could name a widowed relation of His Highness who has invested Rs. 25,000 at his suggestion in these very Bonds. As for himself, he writes that "personally I would not hesitate to get out of every investment that I possess and that does not bring me more than 5 per cent. and buy the 5 per cent. Turkish Bonds." As a matter of fact, His Highness has been better than his word, for we have ourselves cabled at his instructions to his London Bankers to purchase these Bonds for £6,000 or Rs. 90,000. But what of those of us who did not hesitate to protest against his *Times of India* article? Shall we still continue this purely negative and destructive attitude? Is this a time to preach a futile, and in certain respects mischievous, boycott of all European goods which would not provide powder for a single Krupp gun shot at Bulair and Adrianople, but may easily create a dangerous conflagration in this country? It must be remembered that all that is to be done to assist Turkey must be accomplished *within a fortnight*. Even half a million may prolong the struggle through March, when the Bulgarians must leave the battlefield and revert to their fields if a famine in Bulgaria is to be prevented. Later than this twenty millions may come too late.

آخر شب دید کی قابل تھی بسل کی ٹپ
مجدد کوئی اگر بالائے بام آیا تو کیا

We learn from the French Bank at Bombay, as from the Alliance Bank and others who have undertaken to do this business, that people come with five rupees and ten rupees and waste an hour or two each in asking silly questions, after which they stolidly return home—with their lives and tens. This is not the way of doing business. These Banks will not flood the newspapers with advertisements like our friend the Orient Bank, whose agents seem to be doing good business in spite of the Aga Khan's open disclaimer of the patronage of its scheme. But what they can do they have done. The French Bank—one of the most important Banks in Bombay—which goes under the official name of "Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris,"—has even agreed to purchase these Bonds *without any commission*, and in the last trip of Mr. Mohamed Ali to Bombay it has been arranged to secure the printed receipts of this Bank for Rs. 7-8-0 each for sale to the purchasers of these Bonds, so that money could immediately be remitted by wire to Turkey from day to day, and the receipts of the French Bank may be exchanged with the Bonds when they are received by the Bank. Could not prominent Mussalmans in each town and district send small sums like Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000 to this Bank at Bombay and buy its receipts for selling them to the people of their towns and districts, and on the sale of these receipts send another like sum for the same purpose? If Turkey could afford to wait indefinitely for Moslem India's response to her appeal we would certainly organise a deputation. But in the first place, why should Indian Mussalmans repudiate their noble brethren's leadership and still wait for their lead? And, in the next place,

تا بریان از صرانی آردند شور ملر گیده مزده شور

(By the time the antidote is brought from Mesopotamia, the snake-bitten will die.)

What to do? We appeal for a careful perusal of H. H. the Aga Khan's article, and we trust that the procedure which we suggest will be followed. Let every Mussalman who can understand English obtain

from us all the printed literature on the subject of these Bonds. Let our Urdu and other vernacular contemporaries translate our last two or three notes on the subject and reprint from the *Hamdard* bulletin the translation of H. H. the Aga Khan's article contributed to the *Comrade*. After that, let every prominent Moslem arrange to send every day to any of the Banks, that have undertaken to do this business, sums of money which intending purchasers of the Bonds are prepared to send to Turkey in anticipation of the Bonds merely on getting the Bank's receipts. Let him also purchase at his own risk the Bombay French Bank's receipts as substitutes for the Rs 7-8-0 Bonds and sell them to others in his town and district, and renew them with the purchase money thus obtained, so that through a personal investment of Rs. 500 or 1,000 ten or fifteen times the amount invested by him may be remitted to Turkey. In whatever form the investment is made the Banks should be authorised to cable the money daily to Turkey. We are asking the various Banks that have shown their willingness to do this business to sell their own printed receipts, if possible without commission, like the French Bank. In the meantime, we have great pleasure in announcing that the Poona Bank, Limited, and the Bank of Madras have also accepted to do this business on the Alliance Bank's terms. But we would beg our readers not to worry the Banks with unintelligent questions. These Banks exist for their own profit and not for relieving Turkey or teaching would-be investors the A. B. C. of investment. We have often and often enough published the fullest details about these Bonds, and before troubling the Banks, or even increasing our work, they should go through what has already been published and try to understand it. If after that they still wish to know anything more we shall not resent any inquiries. But we would still recommend them to consult a prominent Mussalman in their own town or district, and, if he is unable to satisfy them, he could obtain the necessary information from us. It is possible for one man to do four men's work, but not the work of four hundred or four thousand. At present we have to do at least forty men's work and are required to do at least four hundred thousands'. This is neither fair nor likely to succeed. At the risk of repeating these suggestions a hundredth time, we say once more "Don't delay. Don't talk. Don't ask. Trust Turkey with your hundreds and thousands. Believe in her credit at least as much as Europe does. Rest assured that the money invested in these Bonds is safe, whether Turkey wins or loses. Send money daily to the Banks yourself or through some trustworthy Mussalman in your town or district. Authorise the Banks to send you their receipts and remit the money by wire to Turkey every day. And when the Bonds have come from Turkey, exchange your receipts with the Bonds through the same Banks. But if you cannot do this, don't waste your breath in speech-making and protests. Don't be foolish enough to believe that your boycott will impress the world more than your want of confidence in Turkish credit. And for mercy's sake profane not the name of the Brotherhood of Islam when a little confidence in the credit of a solvent Moslem State can and will save the lives of those that are your brothers, and the honour of those that are your sisters."

Bombay and the Bonds. We are thankful to the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad for the trip he took to Bombay, on the 26th February, in connection with the Muslim University and, particularly, with the Bonds. Mr Mohamed Ali accompanied

the Raja Sahab and both stayed at Bombay till the 28th. Practically the whole of the 27th was passed in company with H. H. the Aga Khan, who appeared to think that his *Times* of India article had been misunderstood by his co-religionists, as he never advised Turkey to give up Europe without a struggle. He did not, however, seem inclined to withdraw anything that he had written on the subject of Moslem India's appeals to Turkey to fight the good fight, unless he saw more clearly than at present that Moslem India was prepared to assist Turkey with money for the purpose of continuing the fight. In a way we agree with him and would like our readers to know that this is an open challenge thrown to the sincerity of their appeals to the Turks. His Highness sent no such appeals to them, but has responded to their appeal for funds by purchasing nearly a lakh's worth of these Ottoman Bonds. Which of the two is the better plan, we leave it to their good sense and Islamic patriotism to decide. Bombay Mussalmans are forming a local committee, each member of which will individually underwrite or make himself responsible for the sale of Bonds to the extent of a lakh. He could purchase them himself or induce friends and relations to share the purchase with him. A meeting may be held on the 4th instant or a little later in which H. H. the Aga Khan is willing to explain the

financial aspect of the question. We regret that His Highness's early return to England and other engagements make it difficult for him to come to Delhi where the Hon. the Raja Sahab and we offered to gather together in the Jam'i Masjid a lakh of Mussalmans from Northern India to whom the details of the Bonds could be explained. We are still pressing him to come and preside at the meeting, but if our appeals fail, we trust the Hon. the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad will preside and the vast courtyard of the mosque will be filled. Bombay is expected to invest not less than 25 lakhs in the Bonds in spite of the fact that the money market is tight owing to large quantities of opium lying unsold in China, and even though a return of 5 per cent is small for capitalists of industry. But when will the "dark and true and tender" North respond to the call of duty?

The Release of Mr. Arnold. His many friends and admirers must have rejoiced to learn of the release of Mr Channing Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic*, from Rangoon Jail on the 18th February. By the exercise of the Viceregal prerogative he has been

restored to freedom before completing the full term of the savage sentence inflicted upon him. While it is gratifying to see that he has emerged from a duration infinitely vile and harsh, we can not disguise our sympathy with his attitude in regard to this act of clemency. He repudiates any suggestion that he deserved mercy, for he is absolutely convinced of his innocence and the purity of the motive that urged him to expose what he believed to be a grievous wrong. And it is solely with a view to wipe off the slur cast on him by the decision of the Special Bench of the Burma Chief Court that an appeal has been made to the Privy Council. We are confident that Mr Arnold will secure a complete vindication of himself in that Tribunal. We can not, however, view it without misgiving that the Executive should occasionally feel itself justified in sitting in judgment on an erring Judiciary. It is absolutely beside the point that such interference may some time be eminently desirable in the interests of public justice. The resolution of the Government of India on the case of the Khan of Hoti will remain a clear reminder of how the Executive may come perilously near to trenching on the judicial independence of the Bench. That the prerogative of the Viceroy has, in the case of Mr. Arnold, been exercised with adequate and just reasons no one, we believe, will be willing to dispute. What is, however, a matter of grave concern to us is that in the administration of justice even by the highest tribunals in this country cases should arise when the ends of justice can alone be served by Executive benevolence. The refusal of the Government Advocate in Rangoon to grant leave to Mr. Arnold's Counsel to appeal to the Full Bench of the Burma Chief Court will ever remain a puzzle to us, especially in view of the recent decision of the Privy Council. One cannot help wondering with *Truth* that things should be so curiously ordered in Burma that it rested with the Government Advocate, who conducted the prosecution, to say whether the defendant should be permitted to appeal. How much ignorance and prejudice exist in certain quarters in regard to this case will be apparent from the supplementary question with which the irrepressible Sir J. D. Rees recently interposed in the House of Commons. The question began: "Did not Mr. Arnold receive a trial on appeal by a Full Bench of the Chief Court of Burma, and is there any reason for showing any sympathy towards a man whose offence was so grievous and so desperately—" But before the fierce expletive could end the Speaker cut it short. As *Truth* remarks, the latter part of the question was simply an expression of the Hon Member's opinion, which is of no importance. The *Daily Chronicle*, we may remark here, throws a curious sidelight on another aspect of the case of which Mr Arnold was the victim. Referring to the official papers in the Arnold case it says:—"Mr. Channing Arnold was, in October last, sentenced to a year's imprisonment for alleged defamatory statements concerning Mr G P Andrew, Deputy Commissioner and Magistrate of the Mergui District, in disposing of an accusation of abduction and rape against Captain H. B. McCormick, a rubber planter. The criminal prosecution ended on October 19, so far as the Chief Court of Burma was concerned, and on October 26 the Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned the payment of Rs. 5,822-8-0 (£388. 3s 4d) being the costs incurred in the prosecution. A good deal of correspondence, which has just come into our possession, ensued. The Accountant-General objected to payment of the account on the ground that the case 'appears to have been a Crown prosecution, and it seems it ought to have been attended to without any additional remuneration.' The Chief Secretary thereupon informed him that the Lieutenant-Governor decided that 'the proceedings must be instituted by Mr. Andrew at his own expense in the first instance, and in the event of a decision in Mr. Andrew's favour, he should be reimbursed by the Government to the extent of the whole of the costs.' It is for the Privy Council to decide upon the ethics of this heads-I-win-tails-you-lose policy. We would simply direct their attention to the

fact that even the ingenuity of the representatives of the British Government in India could not explain how the costs in another action, that is pending against Mr. Channing Arnold are being paid in advance. The action in question is a civil one for £1,000 damages, filed under official instructions by the police-officer, Mr. Finnie, and is standing over until April next. In it the Lieutenant-Governor has already sanctioned payment to the Government Advocate of Rs. 650-8-0 (£48 7s. 4d.). These are curious revelations, and if true they are scarcely calculated to enhance the prestige of the Burma Government. But in view of Lord Haldane's statement that in refusing leave to appeal, the Judiciary was guilty of "a denial of natural justice," we are not sure which to admire most, the Executive or the Judiciary. But this is no time to discriminate in our admiration. Money is urgently needed for the appeal and it must be forthcoming if we are lovers of truth, honesty and courage. Will not our readers co-operate with us in helping to remove the stain from the fair name of Channing Arnold?

It is a genuine pleasure to us to see that the promoters of the Hindu University scheme are pushing on the work of collecting funds with determination and vigour. The University Deputation, headed by the Hon. the Maharaja of Darbhanga, has had a very successful tour recently, and it appears that upwards of eighty lakhs of rupees have so far been subscribed to the funds of the University. The Maharaja of Darbhanga, in his speech at a Bombay meeting, said that "one and a half crores will be required to start the scheme;" and, judging by the steady response hitherto made by the Hindu public, we have no doubt that the entire sum referred to by the Maharaja will be subscribed before long. In sketching the ideals that the leaders of the Hindu University movement had in view, the Maharaja observed that the constitution of the University will be drafted on the lines of universities like those of Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham in which the supreme administrative body is known as the Court. "Our aim," he said, "is to make the Hindu University in all respects adapted to India, similar in educational equipment to the best of those universities in other countries which have no largely moulded national life and character wherever they have been established." These words strike the keynote of the movement. Education in India has got to be adapted to the life and genius of the people, and this adaptation will not be achieved completely as long as the control and direction of Indian education are in the hands of the State. The Hindu and the Moslem University movements are, in essence, a protest against an artificial system that has little organic relation with the roots of Indian life.

H. H. the Aga Khan, while offering the Hindu University Deputation a hearty welcome to Bombay, laid bare the fundamental need that has rendered the creation of universities at Aligarh and Banaras so desirable and necessary. He said that India had produced very great men in most walks of life, great captains of industry, great lawyers, great scientists. "But if we turn to the emotional side of the mind, apart from the religious, and compare it with the same standard in Europe or America, we have no men worth naming, because our educational system is not natural and right, based as it is on foreign principles. Consequently the system was wanting in that touch with the emotional experience of our race. May this Hindu University develop every side of life so that out of it may come a greater, more spiritual, more tolerant, more loving India." The Hindu and the Moslem University projects represent the only hopeful, healthy and constructive educational efforts since the advent of British rule. State-controlled education has done its destructive work and subjected the earlier synthesis of society to a process of dissolution. India is, at last, becoming conscious of its life and destiny and it wants new and better educational homes to recover its mind and spirituality. The ultimate success of the projects will depend on the measure of freedom they are allowed to exercise in their evolution and practical working. The proceedings at Bombay, however, make one thing clear. The suggestion of a joint Hindu and Moslem Deputation to wait on H. B. the Viceroy, is hopelessly sterile, for whereas the Hindu University is intended to supplement the existing educational institutions of the State, which will still receive the mass of Hindu students, the Moslem University is designed to be a substitute for State institutions as far as Moslem students are concerned. Affiliation, therefore, is not so essential for the Hindu as for the Moslem scheme, and may be given up. But to the Mussalmans the recognition of this important and far-reaching principle is not a part of their life, but the whole of their existence. Banaras is not designed to centralise all Hindu educational activities, but Aligarh is; and those who talk wisely of the absence of colleges to affiliate to the Aligarh University may as well take out the heart of a cripple because he has no legs, or dig out the roots of a sapling because as yet it has no flourishing branches.

The Comrade.

Gaekwar-Baiting.

II

In the last issue we dealt with the Durbar incident and its accompaniments, but the Gaekwar's critic is not content with throwing a fierce light on that affair only. It is in a way fortunate for His Highness that it is so, for attacks on the ancestry of the Gaekwar and the position of the Baroda State show clearly that the Durbar incident was only a plausible excuse for the pouring out of a venom which had been accumulating for more than a decade.

As regards the extent of his dominions, the Gaekwar may not possess as vast a territory as some other Princes, but he rules over the Garden of India, and Dr. Voelker's testimony to the fertility of the soil, and the industrious and thrifty habits of the Gujratis which need no testimony, would be juster reasons for the large revenue of the State than the Gaekwar's extorted taxation. How many States possess such soil as Nasari's, and how many communities are as enterprising as the millowners and cotton gin and press proprietors of the districts of Baroda and Nasari and the Taluqa of Sidhpur? Again, if the Gaekwar has no ties of blood with his subjects, have Scindia and Holkar, or even the Nizams, any blood relationship with those over whom they rule? The more relevant question is, how does the Gaekwar treat Gujrat and the Gujratis? To this, the best reply is the complaint of the Mahrattas in his service that they have no preferment under Gujrati superiors, and the appointment of a Mussalman in more than one case to hold the balance evenly. It may be that the Gaekwar has not such a long pedigree as some English peers, nor should this greatly perturb one who knows that, in the words of an English poet when he deals with English peers and peeresses,

The gardener Adam and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent.

But surely, after comparing the Mahratta ruler with English peers, it does not lie in the mouth of the Gaekwar's critic to say that the "founders" of his "dynasty" "gained their possessions by rapine and pillage." We should like to know the opinion of Mr. Lloyd George about the ethics of the founders of English dynasties! Perhaps even Hengest and Horsa would have pleaded guilty to the charges of a want of knowledge and due observance of the Ten Commandments!

It is, however, amusing to find in this writer one who claims to be an authority on every subject under the sun, from jewellery to ethnology and from millinery down to Maratha history and Marathi philology. Would it greatly surprise him to know that the Gaekwar does not mean "a hordsman," but only a Protector of the Cow? We have ourselves had to deal with an appeal from opium dealers and brokers of Malwa and Marwar who wished the Protector of the Cows to pay a large sum every year out of his dwindling opium revenue for a Refuge for Kins. In fact, any one acquainted with Baroda could tell this critic a number of stories about the clever manner in which His Highness proved to those who appealed to him as a Protector of Cows that some of their thoughtless appeals when responded to sent a larger number of cows to the butchers than had gone there without their Protector's reluctant intervention.

So much for philology. Now a word as to history. The Gaekwar was never a vassal of the Peshwa. Both the Peshwa and the Gaekwar owed allegiance to the house of Satara, and in the distribution of Gujrat the Gaekwar had secured the more fertile territory. As regards the relations of the Gaekwar with the British, the treaties do not show a trace of his being a British feudatory. He commenced his relations with the East India Company as an ally. The Baroda State has no doubt passed through as many crises as other Native States; but if British assistance was helpful to the Gaekwar, it was with their assistance that the British secured a footing in Gujrat. The records of the British Government acknowledge this indebtedness and one need not, therefore, at the feet of the *Pall Mall* historian to learn new "facts." As for the present ruler, he has no less a right to be the Gaekwar of Baroda than the Maharaja-Adhiraja of Burdwan to be the successor to the Burdwan Raj. He owes his title as a collateral adopted as a son by the Dowager Maharani to the Hindu Law just as any ruling prince of Europe owes his title to the law of succession in force in his kingdom or principality; and if the Gaekwar owes his selection to the British Government in any shape or manner, his critic, who is so solicitous for the good government of Baroda, and, at the same time, acknowledges that "the records of the State of Baroda are one long story of misgovernment until the British Raj intervened and deposed the then ruler in 1825," must be thankful to the British Raj for providing, by means of Baroda's ruler since 1825—the "humble little boy playing about in a remote village"—a turning point in the records of Baroda.

What Sir John says is not that he has been not to be as long as to explain. The Education Member of the Government of India will look the sting of the comparison when the Government's policy of free and compulsory education is placed in juxtaposition with that to which the British Government has now given its consent for British India. And yet it is Sayaji Rao's "unwholesome influence" that has given to the masses both eyes and ears through their Primary Schools in addition to excellent railway communications in a country where there is no earth, but only sand or clay. It is his "unwholesome influence" that has brought about social reform in the most practical shape, and has purged the life of Baroda Sardars and Gujrati Sethias of the impurity that had cost Malhar Rao his throne. But need we continue this re-statement of facts which he who runs may read?

We may, however, say a few words about the "stage army" of the Gaekwar and his so-called flat refusal to join the "Imperial Service" movement. If the Baroda army is a "stage army" the responsibility for this must be with those who have no desire to vitalise Indian manhood. The Gaekwar receives no cordial assistance in this respect from Government, the wisdom of whose policy is not clear to the public. As regards Imperial Service Troops, the history of the Gaekwar's contingent of 3,000 horses placed at the disposal of the British Government was not encouraging enough to make the Gaekwar launch without misgiving on another experiment of the same nature. He placed the whole force at the disposal of the British Government, and we know that he has been anxious to improve it. But this was met by the British authorities with a refusal.

As regards printing presses in Baroda producing seditious literature, the defective condition of the laws in Baroda could not be remedied as quickly as in British India, because His Highness was away in England. In his absence the Council looked after the affairs and included a European Civilian who was the Minister. In important matters the opinion of the Resident predominated. To be fair to Indian Princes, it must be said that they were expected to protect the British Government from all seditious writers when they themselves were exposed by the British Government to the vile attacks of every slanderer and blackmailer. But as soon as His Highness the Gaekwar returned from Europe he took steps to amend the laws, and was all the more anxious to do so because of Lord Minto's just and statesmanlike action in making the Native States truly "protected" against insolent and audacious libellers. Lord Curzon's policy had estranged the affections, if not the lip-loyalty of Indian Princes. But Lord Minto altered all this and rallied the princes by his Odeyone speech. But the question is whether that speech is to be applied also to him "who still compares favourably with many of his fellows," on his critic's own reluctant and grudging testimony, or to such princes only as may break all the Ten Commandments of God and the thousand and one laws of mere men so long as they keep the Political rari and Khosh?

We think we have now sufficiently wiped an honest pen on the tissue of lies and insolent audacities that makes up the article of the Gaekwar's critic in the *Poll Mall*; but there is a question of considerable public importance which we have yet to ask. Who is the man who presumes to "Know Better"? The *Pioneer*, which approvingly reproduces the article, only states the obvious when it says that the writer "evidently speaks with intimate first-hand knowledge of the things he relates." Who could that be? How and when did he acquire this "intimate first-hand knowledge"? And, last but not least, who has paid him during the process of this acquisition? Is he or is he not a public servant, which should mean, even if in India it does not, a servant of the public? Does the Government authorities or even permit these servants of the public to draw a salary from the public exchequer and blacken the characters and attack the ancestry of those who are not only Indian princes but may be among India's foremost public men? To be more particular, we should like to know how Mr. Cobb is spending his leave in England and whether he has already justified, or is now attempting to justify his newly-acquired title. If we are not mistaken, Government once made an inquiry into the authorship of a letter published by the *Pioneer* over the signature of "I. G. S." That was in the days of Lord Minto when he had accepted the resignation of a Lieutenant-Governor. Is not an Indian Prince deserving of a similar inquiry into the authorship of another and a more unworthy letter against official discipline? To-day it is the turn of the Gaekwar; to-morrow it may be the turn of a Scindia or a Nizam. Whatever the loyal and proud and chivalrous Rajputs may have thought of the Gaekwar's conduct at the Durbar, we feel sure they would be wroth of the conduct of the author of this letter, specially if it happens to be one whom they may dread as a future infliction.

So long as nothing is done to check the insolence of such people it is hard to expect the Government officials, the Indian Princes will be liable to public insults in addition to the private humiliations with which they are now being treated. Every official who makes "an honest penny" by Anglo-Indian journalism would be encouraged to

garish his account of Zamindari weddings and his resentment at any inconvenience caused to officials through the proverbial unpunctuality of Indian brides and bridegrooms, by pointing the finger of scorn at His Majesty the King-Emperor's view of the Durbar incident, as the *Pioneer's* Balmprasad-Jaypore wedding reporter has done. We can readily sympathise with Sir James Meeson, whose social dealings with all classes of Indians are an ideal which even the smaller fry of the bureaucracy will find hard to approach. But we are certain that no one would resent the reference to the Durbar incident in this connection more than Sir James Meeson. If a wedding procession is unpunctual and keeps a subdivisional officer from going half an hour earlier to his club and the bridge-table, will His Highness the Gaekwar and His Majesty the King-Emperor be answerable for this "affront" to His Majesty's "representative" in the Parganah, and provide the reporter of the *Pioneer* with a fresh instance wherewith to point an immoral moral and adorn a silly tale?

Primary Education.

IN our brief examination of the policy and principles embodied in the important resolution on education recently issued by the Government of India, we alluded to its comprehensive character and the wide range of topics with which it dealt, and we deferred our detailed comment on some of the most practical issues of the educational problem now confronting India. Few will be disposed to deny that the question of mass education is one of these practical issues. Indeed, by virtue of its vital bearing on the progress and happiness of millions, it is by far the most anxious and urgent educational question with which the people and the Government alike have got to deal. The resolution devotes a considerable space to its discussion and defines the attitude and policy of the Government. It is satisfactory to read that "the propositions that illiteracy must be broken down and that primary education has in the present circumstances of India a predominant claim on the public funds represent accepted policy no longer open to discussion." But, while recognising its urgency and its need, the Government of India, for financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight, "have refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education, but they desire the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis." It is manifest that the desire of the Government to extend primary education as wide as possible, without resorting to compulsion, can be realised, if at all, only if they provide the utmost facilities for the education of the masses by systematic and vigorous efforts. The resolution indicates the lines along which the Government propose to work out their policy. First of all, it is assumed that time is not yet ripe for free elementary education, though local Governments have been requested to extend the application of the principle of free elementary education amongst the poorer and more backward sections of the population. Certain other principles in regard to primary education have also been laid down for guidance in the immediate future. They include a large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the three R's, the establishment of upper schools at suitable centres, the development of lower primary schools into upper schools where necessary, the encouragement of aided schools under recognised management where expansion by means of board schools is financially impossible, and the employment of trained teachers, as far as possible, who should receive not less than Rs. 12 per month. The programme which the Government propose to work up to is to add 91,000 more schools to the 1,20,000 already existing, and the number of scholars is to be doubled. Much stress is also laid on the improvement of the school teaching and the qualifications of the teachers. "The Government of India believe that the day is not far distant when teachers in primary schools will receive considerably higher remuneration, when all teachers will be trained and when it will be possible to introduce more modern and elastic methods in primary schools."

The aspirations of the Government as set forth in the resolution are admirable. In the absence of free and compulsory education the least that should be done is to create every facility for its expansion on a voluntary basis. The Government programme may not be adequate, but it aims at a definite move forward and would yield substantial results if realised in full. The supreme question, however, is how and when this programme is to be accomplished. The resolution is discreetly silent about the resources to be applied to the expansion of primary education as well as about the period within which the promised expansion is to be attained. In the absence of definite information on these two points the bright hopes held out by the resolution may well have appeared as mere pious wishes. The debate that took place on the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 25th February has caused widespread disillusionment just at the time when extensive hopes were being built on the good wishes and aspirations of the Education Department. The Government of India recognise the need for

the extension of primary education. They regard its claim on public funds as predominant. They even go so far as to express the ambition—very modest but still a definite ambition—to increase the number of primary schools by 91,000 and double the number of scholars. And yet they have neither fixed the time-limit within which to realise their ambition, nor set apart a definite sum for the purpose. Last Tuesday's debate in the Council has revealed that these ambitions are deliberate.

In order to realise the Government attitude as defined by the Hon. Member for Education it is important to refer to the discussion that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale initiated in the Council with his usual ability and force. Mr. Gokhale moved that "this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that all papers, including correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the one hand and between the Government of India and Provincial Governments and Administrations on the other, relating to the scheme outlined by the Under-Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons last July on the subject of the extension of primary education in this country, be laid on the table of the Council." Proceeding to discuss the motion Mr. Gokhale made a brief reference to the important discussions on primary education that had taken place in the three successive years—1910, 1911 and 1912. When the question was first raised in the shape of a resolution in 1910, recommending that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory, Sir Harvey Adamson showed considerable surprise that proposals such as those should have been brought forward. In 1911 these proposals were embodied in a private Bill which was introduced in the Council with the permission of the Government. The Bill gave rise to widespread discussion in the country, and when it came up again before the Council for being referred to a Select Committee, the Education Member had definitely made up his mind to stay the Bill and it was accordingly thrown out. He, however, made an important pronouncement on the occasion, "committing the Government for the first time in the history of education in India to an eventual policy of free and compulsory education, and he wound up with an enthusiastic declaration for the spread of primary education which made a deep impression on the Council." Next came Mr. Montagu's famous speech on the occasion of the Indian budget. The Under-Secretary of State for India reiterated the view expressed by the Hon. Member for Education that free and compulsory education was bound to come in India as it had come in other countries. He, however, did not think the time for it had yet arrived. He outlined what he called an alternative plan for the spread of primary education which the Government of India in the meantime had decided to adopt. That plan contemplated the simultaneous expansion and improvement of primary education. He announced that the programme which the Government of India had set themselves to achieve was to add 91,000 more schools to those already existing and to double the number of scholars. "This was an important announcement," remarked Mr. Gokhale, "but it would be seen that there were two essential gaps in it which greatly detracted from its practical value. No period was mentioned in which that area was to be covered and no definite resources were promised to spread over a series of years to carry out the programme." And now comes the resolution of the Government of India, comprehensive in its outlook and full of laudable intentions, setting forth the principles of Indian Education in all its important branches, and defining in considerable detail the educational policy of the Government. But even this ambitious document has failed to supply "the gaps" in the speech of Mr. Montagu.

Now, there can be no doubt that the Government of India have some definite programme in view which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State. This fact is plain from the language used by Mr. Montagu as well as the Government resolution itself. Under the circumstances, it was a quite legitimate and reasonable demand when Mr. Gokhale urged that the programme should be published and the country should be taken into the confidence of the Government in the matter. Unless it is definitely known in how many years the programme is going to be achieved, and what additional funds are to be allotted to it year after year, few can regard the programme with much satisfaction. According to Mr. Gokhale's calculations, based on "certain hints which were to be found in Mr. Montagu's speech and the resolution," the cost of boys' schools at the rate of £20 per school and probable expenditure on the proposed improvement and expansion, including the charges connected with the training of additional teachers, inspection and so forth, would together come up to about 6 crores. As regards time, no definite calculation is possible. According to Mr. Gokhale, "if the rate of progress for the four years from 1907 to 1911 was, however, to be the basis of calculation, it would be very disappointing." During those four years the number of boys in primary schools had increased at the rate of about 1,30,000 a year and not 2,40,000 as had been wrongly stated by Mr. Sharp in the debate of last year and repeated by Mr. Montagu

in Parliament last July. Now at that rate it would take 33 years for the present number of boys in primary schools to be doubled. The calculation about schools was even worse. The schools had been increasing in the last four years at the rate of about 1,350 a year, which meant over 70 years for 91,000 additional schools to be established." If, therefore, any reliance was to be placed on the programme definite information ought to have been forthcoming on the points summed up by Mr. Gokhale, viz., first, what resources were behind the scheme; secondly, in how many years would the programme be completed; thirdly, in what proportion were any funds that might be available were going to be divided between improvement and expansion; and fourthly, what steps were being taken to increase the supply of trained teachers without which, according to the policy of the Government, further expansion was not desirable.

The Hon. Member for Education, however, could not vouchsafe any definite information on these points. His speech was one pathetic confession of the inability of his Department to provide for ways and means and to measure the path ahead. It was an eloquent and passionate exposition of the vagaries to which the Indian finances were subject. By a merciful dispensation of Providence they had had a succession of good years, but it would be a folly to disregard that fat years were often succeeded in India by lean years. The possibility of famine, with the consequent devastation and misery, always hovered before their eyes. The budget was "a gamble in rain." Only in 1908-09 they had had to face a deficit of 3½ millions sterling. Then again, there was the Nicholson Committee on military expenditure sitting at Simla, and there was the Public Service Commission. And who knew what further demands these Committees and Commissions might eventually formulate on the finances of India? In addition to all this, "we have an obviously ambitious but wholly undeveloped sanitary policy ahead." The demand for railway development, too, was insistent and could not be ignored. "And I should like to say," said the Hon. Member for Education, "that I look upon the railways as one of the greatest educators of the country. They cause a stir of ideas and a protest against illiteracy which is hardly inferior to the provision of schools." (The italics are ours.)

After looking at this formidable array of arguments one feels as if the Government of India have all along been "gambling" recklessly in "committing posterity" ahead to fixed expenditure on the various public services and the army. One never suspected that the twins of the Education Department, sanitation and education, were rivals in disguise and that each in turn would be used to confound and thwart the pretensions of the other. One is grateful to learn that the railways, in their educative value, "are hardly inferior to the provision of schools." It now remains for some new apostle of "efficiency" to rise and suggest the amalgamation of the Education Department with the Railway Board. The annual increase in the rolling stock, the locomotives and the railway mileage would automatically furnish the standard for measuring the educational progress of the country. Frankly, the speech of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler was, as Mr. Gokhale said, greatly disappointing. Unless the charge for the spread of education is put on the same footing as the expenditure on the army or similar services, it is impossible to hope for substantial results. As long as the educational needs of the country are liable to be subordinated to the demands of the Civil Service for increased salaries and pensions, official sympathy with the condition of the Indian masses and enthusiastic forecasts about the educational future of the country cannot solve the problem. If the programme was never meant to be published, then, in the words of Mr. Gokhale, "Mr. Montagu had no right to refer to it publicly in his speech, neither should the Government of India have referred to it in their resolution, for its mention only served to create a somewhat misleading impression."

The Turkish Treasury Bonds.

(Dr. H. H. THE AGAI KHAN, G. C. S. I.)

A few days back, I begged a friend of mine—a very wealthy Mussalman gentleman—to subscribe largely to the Turkish Treasury Bonds and thus participate in the glory of saving the honour of Turkey in the saddest hour of her history. My friend at once stiffened his attitude, and, turning sharply round upon me, with a glow of fire in his eyes, exclaimed: "Do you wish that the children of Indian Moslems should starve and perish of hunger, and that their little savings should be wasted on Turkey?" This query, coming as it did from a wealthy gentleman of high rank and position in the community, who was supposed to be well-informed (I) came upon me with intense surprise. I recognised the ignorance in which even those who are expected to possess a first-rate knowledge of Turkish monetary affairs were sunk as to the real financial position of Turkey. This opened my eyes, and I saw the necessity of some one dispelling the ignorance and explaining to his Muslim brethren how safe and profitable it was, from a purely

financial point of view, to subscribe to the 5 per cent. Turkish loan, that it was a perfectly sound and reliable medium of investment of any money held by Indian Mussalmans. Apart from the patriotic, religious and political aspect of helping Turkey in its hour of sorest need, the advantage of the investment itself is a sufficient inducement to Muhammadans to subscribe to the loan. It requires no stress of imagination to argue its advantages. Again, the fact that the loan is required urgently, and that it will go a great way towards improving the shattered fortunes of Islam, is indisputable. And, as a humble but true lover of Islam, yielding to none in the earnest desire to respond to the call of patriotic work to which we are immediately brought face to face by the present unfortunate plight of Turkey, I feel it my duty to bring before the Mussalmans of India the fact that, if they subscribe two or three millions sterling within a fortnight, it is almost certain that Turkey will be able materially to strengthen her position against Bulgaria and will be able to secure important modifications in the terms of peace and raise a dead wall for the future safety of Constantinople, around which surrounds a halo of imperishable memories venerated by Mussalmans, and at the same time improve her position in Thrace. This then is the position in a nut-shell that, while having the satisfaction of materially helping Turkey and strengthening her position against her implacable foes, and thereby restoring to her the essential vitality and recuperative power needed for the future development of the remnants of her territory and power and arresting its decay, they will be assured not only of the safety of their investment, but of a good return of 5 per cent. Reason and the law of self-preservation, which is the main-spring of all human actions, speak in favour of the proposal for the investment and the argument need not, therefore, be pursued too finely.

One constantly hears it said in non-Mussalman circles that if the Mussalmans of India felt as much as their Islamic speeches and resolutions imply, surely they would not tolerate the Sultan and his Government reduced to the humiliating position of being forced to mortgage even the parade ground and the Public Offices of Constantinople to a Syndicate of Belgian financiers—Belgians who are known as the "leeches" of Persia—for the paltry sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees! Will you allow this sneer and reproach to be justified by refusing to subscribe to the loan? If you fail to do your duty on this emergent occasion the sneer will be justified and it will prove that we are far from realising the real position, that we are apt to be profuse in talk, but to lack in action. This is the time for deeds and not for words: it rests with you to prove that your love for Islam has not abated and that you are not indifferent to the call of religious and patriotic duty. One other point should be clearly brought forward by the leading members of the Mussalman community. Surely, the Moslem race in India is sufficiently religious and spiritually-minded to come forward and to subscribe the much-needed two or three million pounds without requiring "Begging Deputations" of so-called leaders to go round and cajole and flatter and beg for a cause which after all involves the honour of every Mussalman, and the furtherance of which would redound to his credit. The dictates of commonsense and self-interest urge themselves in favour of subscribing to the Turkish loan, and these are evident to any thinking man. But, having some experience and knowledge of the financial position of various States, I claim to speak with an authority on the financial stability of Turkey, and particularly of the real significance of the required loan, which offers, I think, as good an investment as can be found in any civilised State. From a purely financial point of view the aspect is promising; and I would like to impress that fact prominently on my co-religionists. To begin with, five per cent. interest is assured for five years. Secondly, it will be repaid at the end of five years at par. *This in itself is a great point*, for, as a rule, when one invests his money in any Government Bonds, it is impossible to say whether in such a short time as five years the capital value may not have depreciated. A five per cent. investment that one can be assured at the end of five years at par is worth 5½ per cent. investment with the same security, but without the repayment assured in such a short time. If we now turn to the credit of the Turkish Government even at this moment of the darkest period in her history, the Turkish 4 per cent. bonds are quoted at 84 throughout Europe. This is a ample proof—if any proof were wanted—that her credit is fully equal to five per cent. even when there is no sentiment attached to it and when her fortunes have sustained a severe reverse. The total indebtedness of Turkey is 131 millions sterling, and even if we take the gloomiest view that could be imagined, the clouds are not without their silver linings. Even imagining that the worst happened (which will never happen if the Mussalmans of India will have the grace to subscribe to this loan, which should be done quickly—at least in a few weeks) and even if Adrianople were lost with the whole of Thrace and Albania, she will be financially better off by £14,000,000 a year than she was before this war. It is computed by various European financial experts that over £12,000,000 have

been annually drained from her Asiatic provinces and have been spent every year on the up-keep of the administration of her European provinces which have taken a tremendous toll in men besides. So that without taking into consideration any future development and the growth of wealth expected to be realised therefrom, and without a reduction in her Army and Navy, Turkey can with perfect safety borrow 20 million pounds now even if the worst came to the worst. As a matter of fact, I can say from my own personal knowledge that several very big banks and financial houses in France would be only too willing to advance £40 millions to Turkey provided the French Government allowed the loan to be quoted on the Paris Bourse, but owing to political reasons and France's desire to please Russia, there is no chance of Turkey receiving this financial assistance from France till after the conclusion of peace. I am sure that immediately after peace has been concluded, Turkey will easily be able to get 40 million pounds (to be distributed over a period of three or four years) out of the French financial houses. This fact is apparent to all who have studied this intricate question. Besides we should assume that the lessons of the war will not be lost upon Turkey and that she will, after this war, set to put her house in order, that she will not waste her resources over the sentiment of hollow prestige, but use them on developing her Asiatic and Mussalman provinces, which are fraught with great potentialities for the enrichment of the nation. I do not see any warrant for the assumption that Turkey will commit a folly that would bring about her eternal disruption and ruin. On the other hand, we have every reason and right to expect that after the war is over, the millions that were foolishly wasted formerly on keeping Macedonia and Albania, will go towards the development of Mesopotamia, which would enable her to more than recover her former position in the world. That country can support 25 times as many inhabitants as it actually contains. It should be remembered that when railways traverse that territory they will be not merely local lines, but the main routes of traffic for Western Asia. The very rich resources of Mesopotamia in agricultural produce have hitherto been little developed. History has recorded that once the province was in a most flourishing condition and the neighbourhood of Nubia was celebrated as a very paradise. But owing to inattention it has lost its fertility. The province is capable of yielding magnificent crops. The Asiatic dominions are the mainstay of the Ottoman Empire, and it is these that Turkey should develop. Every engineer, every financier, every traveller knows perfectly well that if 20 or 30 millions were properly spent on Mesopotamia there would be another Egypt. Money spent there will not bring 5 per cent. but 30 to 40 per cent. per annum. I am not alone in the opinion that I hold that in subscribing to the loan the Mussalmans of India do not risk the loss of even a penny. On the other hand, they stand to gain. With the fullest sense of responsibility of every word that I am saying I will say that if a poor widow came to me with her orphan child and asked my advice, I would honestly and strongly advise her to put every pie of her small fortune in Turkish Bonds. It may be asked where the Mussalmans of India will find two or three millions. I think the Mussalmans all over the country have money in various banks and in various kinds of securities, and where will they find better investment than transferring their holdings to the 5 per cent. Turkish Bonds? Personally, I would not hesitate to get out of every investment that I possess and that does not bring me more than 5 per cent. and buy the 5 per cent. Turkish Bonds. If we help in raising the loan, the Turkish Government would naturally turn to us in future when they develop their untapped resources in Mesopotamia, and we shall have the opportunity of being able to reap the benefits arising from the development of Mesopotamia. Here we have a splendid opportunity to contribute our share for the preservation of remnants of the Turkish power and prestige and at the same time putting our money in sound securities with no risk and a good return of interest assured. This is the one practical way in which we can help the Turkish Government in their present difficulties. This will be the test of our sincerity and our earnestness to help the Sultan's Government, and by the degree of support that we extend, our sympathy with the Turkish Government will be measured. Such an opportunity will not recur in our lifetime. If we play well our part and do our best the Indian Mussalmans will have the first moral claim upon sharing in the future prosperity of Turkey's Asiatic dominions, which are full of the greatest possibilities of future development. If we can only realise what it means to help in the development of Mesopotamia. It will be for the Mussalmans of India, what the Argentines have been for Europe. If these words of mine bear any practical fruits, I will consider myself very fortunate indeed, and if the dream of the development of Turkey's vast Asiatic territory is realised through the help of Indian Mussalmans, I shall not have lived in vain. Let Moslems realise what an opportunity for profitable trade will be opened to them by the development of Asiatic Turkey. It will be more to them commercially than five East Africas. And if they subscribe now they will get a chance later of subscribing in the Mesopotamia development loan.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Misfortunes of Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I beg your pardon for the audacity of addressing this letter to you. I am a poor, self-supporting Hindu student, but, with all that, I yield to none in my sympathies towards Turkey. Would that, I were able to be of some material service to *Young Turks* at this critical juncture. What a pity it is that, in spite of my strong desires, owing to my straitened circumstances I have not been able to save a decent sum to relieve the sufferings of my fellow-brothers there. But, finding in your columns, that you accept even the small sums with the same openness as you do the larger ones, I dare to remit you Rs. 5-0-0, through the postal Money-Order to-day, as an humble contribution of a poor Hindu student towards the Turkish Relief Fund opened by you.

I assure you that, as I read the accounts of Bulgarian atrocities perpetrated in Macedonia, my blood boils within me. Alas! I cannot but be a mute witness only to all these butcheries in these days of much-talked-of and so-called "civilization." In my opinion, the Turks, of course, will have to bear the direct consequences of the war, but its moral effect will be felt in the whole of the Continent of Asia. The victory of the Turks will strengthen the hands of the workers for the constitutional cause in China and Persia. The future of Asia, as a whole, largely depends upon the success of the abovementioned three countries. The honor of the whole of Asia is at stake.

But God is great. He will surely protect the righteous from the wicked. In His dispensation it is not unusual that out of evil cometh good. If the present calamities and the trying days of Turkey, China and Persia could make us realise the true situation, then I can say with all confidence that there is a bright future in store for all of us. Even now I hope that, under the guidance of Mahinoud Sherket Pasha and Ghazi Enver Bey, the Turks will be able to retrieve their honor and recover the lost ground, if the cunning diplomacy of Europe does not come in. Thus they will fittingly demonstrate that Asiatics, too, given the chance, are quite fit for Constitutional Government.

A HINDU STUDENT.

Separate Electorates.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I read a letter signed by "S" in the *Leader* some days ago and found it a fine specimen of the Hindu political philosophy. It is the old story. Whenever there is an absolute certainty that a Hindu candidate, say for a Council election, is sure to be elected, then it is proclaimed from the house-tops that the Indian people, out of sheer patriotism, should slake their petty differences and elect the most suitable candidate. But whenever there is competition, and the Muhammadan candidate has some chance of getting in, then there are frantic appeals on the platform and in the Press exhorting all good Hindus to rise to the occasion by showing a united front and returning a Hindu. Was it not only the other day that the *Leader* was preaching a crusade and calling upon the Hindu electors of the U. P. Legislative Council to follow the noble example set by the Punjabi Hindus and to squeeze out any Muhammadan candidate who might seek election to the Imperial Legislative Council? But the self-styled Hindu publicists have conveniently short-tempered. Do they not remember that their patriotism and solicitude for their Muhammadan friends and fellow-countrymen led

them to exclude Moslems from the Legislative Councils for years until the Regulations of the enlarged Councils made Muhammadans independent of their good offices? The Municipal Boards still continue to be in the hands of the Hindus simply because the Muhammadans have no fixed seats, and the injustice would continue so long as the Hindus are in a position, by their numbers and influence, to dominate the elections.

We may here point out that the Honorary Secretary of the U. P. Moslem League in his letter did not complain that the Muhammadan representation on the U. P. Council was inadequate. His object was simply to illustrate how impossible it was, in the near future at any rate, to expect a confluence of the interests of the two communities. The Muhammadans now realize the painful situation and politely, though most regretfully, tell their Hindu friends that they have reached the parting of the ways, and that it would save a good deal of heart-burning if there is nothing left to quarrel about and their rights are definitely specified in the Councils, in the University, in Local Boards and, in fact, in every department of administration so that they may be able to work along with their Hindu *confères* with independence and dignity.

If "S" studies the regulations relating to the Council elections he would find that it was merely an accident that on the principle of rotation it happened to be the turn of the Muhammadan landholders of the United Provinces to return a Member to the Imperial Council. The Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad was returned by the general Muhammadan electorate for the only seat reserved for the Muhammadans of the U. P. Provinces in the Imperial Council. As to the mixed electorate of the general members of the U. P. Council, the game was played once more with the old skill of past masters, and the result was that no Muhammadan candidate could secure a single Hindu vote. With these facts staring it in the face, we hope the Government would be pleased to treat the diatribes against separate Muhammadan electorates and seats as so many political curiosities.

We do not make a secret of our great love for our co-religionists all the world over. But we need not take lessons in that peculiar and fashionable loyalty to Government which often enough takes the shape of convening more or less uproarious meetings in which the art of speaking bad English and worse Urdu is sedulously cultivated. The history of the past years points out in an unmistakable manner who has to learn lessons in loyalty, and from whom. The fact is that Moslems will always stand by the British Rule in India, because bitter experience of every-day life teaches them that they can enjoy their ordinary rights of citizenship only so long as there is a strong British Government to hold an even balance between the Hindus and themselves, and any supremacy of Hindu patriots, however slight, is bound to be disastrous to the cause of all good government.

MOSLEM.

British Policy in Persia.

MR. H. F. B. LYNCH has addressed a letter to the *Times* on "British Policy in Persia," in the course of which he says:—

"You will never persuade the British people to consent to the partition of Persia. I trust therefore that you may use your great influence in support of the alternative policy of helping Persia. On December 14, 1911, Sir Edward Grey laid before the House of Commons the outlines of a constructive policy. The Persian Government was to accept the principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement and was to conform itself to its provisions. That was what the Persian Government was to do. On the other hand, Great Britain and Russia were, once for all, to throw over the ex-Shah, Russian troops were gradually to be withdrawn, and the existing Persian Government was to be 'put on its feet and maintained there.' How was this to be effected? Sir Edward Grey indicated that a competent successor to Mr. Shuster in the Persian Finance Department would have to be found without delay, such successor being acceptable to Great Britain and Russia. A loan was then to be made to the Persian Government, sufficient to enable it to restore order. Our Foreign Minister added that Great Britain could not co-operate in any harsh or aggressive policy aimed at the destruction of Persian independence. 'If we co-operate it must be in a constructive policy after the present crisis is over; it must be aimed at putting the Persian house in order in such a way that order may be preserved by the Persian Government in Persia, and that the present occupation, whether by British troops or Russian, may be only temporary.' 'I do believe,' he added, 'that a policy such as I have indicated is the only wise policy for Persia.'

"A year has elapsed since that programme was put forward. The Persian Government accepted the Anglo-Russian Agreement. As regards Mr. Shuster's successor, it has taken the man whom Great Britain and Russia recommended. But the 'constructive programme' which the two Powers were to inaugurate remains a dead letter."

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Feb. 22.

In view of the indecisive nature of the war operations and the intense cold and exhaustion, physical and financial alike, of Turkey and the Allies the idea of effective mediation by the Powers is gaining ground. Turkey is willing to accept mediation, and movement on part of the Allies is now awaited. The Servian delegate yesterday informed Sir Edward Grey and the Ambassadors that Servia associates herself entirely with the Montenegrin demand regarding Scutari. Servia also insists that Djakova and Dibra shall remain outside Albania contrary to the Austrian demand. Hakki Pasha, interviewed by Reuter, said that his Mission in London was merely semi-official. He declared that the Turks wanted territory in Thrace to make Constantinople, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles secure. Adrianople was only one of the points on which they insisted. They asked Europe to intervene because peace resulting from direct negotiations between the belligerents was apparently out of the question. The Turks insisted on the retention of the Aegean Islands.

London, Feb. 24.

A Constantinople telegram states that cannonading continues at Adrianople. A Bulgarian aeroplane piloted by a Russian Lieutenant descended in the Turkish lines and was captured. A strong force of Bulgarians advancing from Kadikus were repulsed after a two hours fight. Simultaneously other forces of the enemy advanced and occupied the hills of Ilbasan, but the Turkish volunteers recaptured the positions in a night attack.

Later in his speech the Marquis San Giuliano, Italian Foreign Minister, said that the formula "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples" was the solution most satisfactory to Italy and Europe, but it could only be attained by a series of compromises conforming to the ethnographic conditions while conciliating the moral and material interests of the Great Powers. The possession of Libya solved for Italy the balance of power in northern Africa, but did not diminish her interest in the balance of power in the Mediterranean. If by force of events remarkable territorial changes should occur in the Mediterranean Italy would not remain an inert spectator, but would exact consideration of her position as a Mediterranean Power. No-one nowadays had a right to call Mediterranean *mare nostrum*. It must remain a free-way for the nations. The present situation in the Mediterranean satisfied the political and economic interests of Italy, which like other Powers desired it to be maintained on that basis. Italy's relations with France and Great Britain as her neighbours in Africa continued to be inspired with the spirit of equity and friendliness governing the existing agreements.

A Sofia message states that the Ministry of Finance has issued a statement declaring that payment of an indemnity by Turkey is an essential condition of the conclusion of peace, but that immediate payment is not demanded.

A Constantinople message states that the Turkish outlook has improved somewhat thanks to the success of the Government in raising half a million pounds from the sale of certain properties in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. This relief has enabled Government to pay the outstanding month's salary to all officers and its more pressing accounts with bankers and other contractors. The military situation has been equally affected by the relief from pecuniary pressure, and the question of supplies is not likely to cause worry for some weeks. It is stated that Government has altered its plan of campaign and is abandoning the contemplated forward offensive and flanking movement. It is confident of its ability to hold out indefinitely at Tchataldja and Bulair.

Reuter learns that Vienna and St. Petersburg are now directly negotiating with regard to the boundaries of Albania, and that it is hoped that the determination of Austria and Russia to avoid hostilities will result in some form of compromise.

Replying to Turkey's last *démarche* asking for the good offices of the Powers the latter have intimated that acceptance of their Collective Note has not yet been received from Turkey. It seems that action by Powers is not to be expected until acceptance is received, Turkey's latest reply being regarded as useless in producing a cessation of hostilities.

Later,

Rumania has accepted the offer of mediation by the Powers. Acceptance by Bulgaria is practically assured.

A Constantinople message states that the Government has prepared to Eyed Idriss a settlement which includes certain formal acknowledgments of the Sultan's authority, an engagement not to enter into *pourparlers* with Foreign Government without the Porte's authorization, to send surplus revenues to Constantinople, and to

allow the training of the inhabitants as militia by Ottoman officers and their despatch if necessary to other provinces.

London, Feb. 25.

Bulgaria has accepted mediation in the difficulty with Rumania.

A Sofia telegram states that heavy snow everywhere at the front will prevent military operations for some days.

London, Feb. 26.

Definite reports from Vienna indicate that it has been provisionally settled that Scutari will be included in new Albania, Austria making in return concessions to Montenegro and Servia in other directions.

Though important points still remain to be settled Russia's concession in regard to Scutari is likely to ensure an early solution of the differences between Austria and Russia.

London, Feb. 27.

A Bukharest telegram states that in handing the representatives of the Powers Rumania's formal acceptance of mediation the Premier added that Rumania would in no case renounce her claim to Silistria. He expressed the hope that the mediation would be conducted through ambassadors in St. Petersburg.

Reuter learns that the King of Montenegro is making a final appeal to the Tsar with reference to Scutari.

Circumstantial reports that Russia and Austria are ready to demobilise are semi-officially described in Vienna as premature. The official journal *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* last evening said that demobilisation is probable but by no means certain, and that the situation is virtually unchanged.

It is admitted in Constantinople that Hakki Pasha's mission to London has been a failure, the Powers refusing to accept the Porte's reply to their Note as a basis for fresh *pourparlers*.

In view of the Bulgarian acceptance of unqualified arbitration by the Powers the latter are desirous of inducing Rumania to renounce her reservations both with regard to Silistria and ultimate acquiescence in the decision of the Powers.

London, Feb. 28.

Reuter learns that although agreement in principle about the delimitation of Albania is in view owing to the spirit of conciliation displayed by the Powers during the negotiations in the past week a continuance of the state of war, and particularly the position in regard to Scutari by the Montenegrins, would seriously affect the present situation.

A Sofia telegram says that Russia has informed Bulgaria that the Porte is disposed to negotiate peace with Bulgaria on the basis of the surrender of Adrianople.

A Constantinople message describes the situation at Bulair and Tchataldja as unchanged. The bombardment of Adrianople continues but less vigorously.

The Constantinople police have discovered a conspiracy against the Government and Committee of Union and Progress, alleged to have been organised by Lutfi Bey, Secretary to Prince Sabahaddin, and nine others including four officers.

Several conspirators have been arrested, and others are in hiding. There is no evidence that Prince Sabahaddin is connected with the plot.

News from Turkish Sources.

THE Ottoman Consul-General, Bombay, sends to the Associated Press the following telegram received by him on the 23rd February from the Foreign Office, Constantinople:—

"On 20th instant cannonading continued at Adrianople. Lieut. Nicolas, Russian aviator, was captured with his apparatus at Bulair. There is no change at Tchataldja. Two attacks were advantageously repulsed at environs of Kadikuey. On the 7th and 8th instant, after battles in which 6,000 Montenegrins and 4,000 Servians were killed, Bardjan was recaptured. Montenegrins will no longer be able to continue war."

The following telegram has been received by him on 24th Feb.: "Sublime Porte, 23rd February.—On 22nd instant bombardment continued at Adrianople; battle with artillery at the east front. At Bulair there is no change. At Tchataldja enemy is fortifying heights at west of Tchiflik Kouy. Our reconnoitring parties are active."

News by the English Mail.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, Feb. 1.

THE Ottoman Agency issues a statement made by the Grand Vizier, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, categorically denying the reports that have appeared to the effect that regrettable incidents had occurred among the troops at Tchataldja. "The army," says the Grand

Vizier, "was never so animated by a spirit of solidarity, union, and devotion to the country as it is now. Its sole anxiety is to do its duty and to devote itself exclusively to the national defence. There is no division in the Tchataldja army, as the enemy will find to their cost." The Grand Vizier further said that the Note presented on Thursday in reply to that of the Powers was very different from that prepared by the previous Government.

He was also convinced that Rumania would reach an agreement with Bulgaria. Political personages in Constantinople had for the last three years acted on the assumption that they could count on Rumania. He had never shared that belief. These personages were wrong, just as Rumania was wrong in leaving the Balkan States a free hand in the settlement with Turkey. He sincerely wished that Rumania would have no cause to regret in the future her attitude towards the present conflict.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* telegraphs:—"The Pera factories are working at high pressure. It is reported that a great military revolt has broken out at the Tchataldja lines, and that forty wagons have arrived here with wounded. After a most careful inquiry I am in a position to assert that the Oriental Railways have not carried a wounded man for a long time, and that the hospitals here have not admitted a single wounded soldier. The Grand Vizier and Izzet Pasha declare upon their honour that the condition at Tchataldja have not undergone any change, and that the discipline of the army is above reproach and may be thoroughly relied upon. Only three officers have gone over from the lines to the Bulgarian camp, including Captain Hadji Ali, who commanded the personal escort of Nazim Pasha."

The same correspondent denies categorically the report of an advance made to the Porte by some bank or banks.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Feb. 3.

The continued arrival of refugees is taxing to the utmost the resources of the various organizations engaged in relief work. Many persons have been driven to take refuge at Salonica owing to the scarcity of food in the interior, others desire to go to Asia Minor, but the majority are fearful of a renewal of the massacres upon the recommencement of hostilities.

The Bulgarians are now running a through passenger service as far as Dedagatch on the Salonica-Constantinople line.

Albanians who have arrived from Dibra report that the opposition to Servian rule continues, and that the insurrectional movement is growing in force. As a result of the recent rising, which provoked the despatch of a punitive expedition, the Servian troops destroyed 86 villages.

(REUTERS' CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, Feb. 5.

In a fresh order issued to the Bulgarian army General Savoff says: "In order to break the enemy's resistance finally the Bulgarians will have to scatter his hastily mustered and untrained hordes, bring him to the ground, and dictate terms of peace to him on the battlefield. The Turks must be driven beyond the sea."

Statement by the Ottoman Delegates.

Batuma's representative has been furnished with the following statement by the Ottoman Peace Delegates:—

Before leaving London we are anxious to let every one know our sentiments of gratitude to the august Sovereign who presides over the destinies of the powerful British Empire, as well as to the authorities and the noble British nation. We shall carry with us the most agreeable recollection of our stay in this capital and of the friendly welcome and the kind hospitality we have received. We infinitely regret that the Peace Conference has ended without a definite result, but we do not doubt that the British public, whose sentiments of equity are universally recognized and justly appreciated, having closely followed the negotiations, will judge who is responsible for their failure.

The first fortnight was spent in our asking the Allies to formulate their demands. The Allies themselves, convinced of the unacceptable nature of these demands, which were presented after some sittings spent in repeated insistence, showed every eagerness to get us to make a counter-proposal. We made three proposals in succession, the last of which involved enormous sacrifices. The Allies, without making a single counter-proposal, abruptly suspended the negotiations despite our desire to continue them and our protests. The Powers thereupon took the question in hand, but, without waiting for their decision, the Allies denounced the armistice. The Allied States

certainly owed a debt of gratitude to the Powers, their real desire to arrive at the conclusion of peace, just as Turkey had given numerous and convincing proofs of her desire for it throughout the Conference.

This war, which Turkey did her best to prevent, was begun on the fallacious pretext of rescuing the Christians in Macedonia. Now the war is being resumed because Bulgaria, after having asked for immense territories inhabited by Mussalmans, insists on the cession of a Mussalman town, the second capital of the Empire. We leave it to the eminently just and logical sense of the British people to draw their own conclusions as to the real aim of the war.

We only add that we are happy to know that British public opinion is beginning to recognize the iniquity of the demands of the Allies and of the harm they are doing by their unyielding attitude, to the cause of peace.

Kiamil's Reply to the Powers' Note.

In the course of several messages to his paper, under date of January 28, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* makes several interesting statements relating to the recent political crisis. He says (on the authority of a personage in the closest touch with Kiamil Pasha) that at the moment when Enver Bey appeared at the Porte the Council of Ministers was engaged in reading the reply to the Powers' Note which had then been prepared. Enver Bey and Talaat Bey at once seized the document, thinking that it had been drawn up in accordance with the decision of the Divan. Yet it was not so at all. The Porte's reply contained a non-acceptance of the demands of the Powers, and would have satisfied the latter very little.

In another passage the correspondent states that "during their eight months of office the Government of Kiamil Pasha sinned frightfully against the Turkish army. Now that they have come to power again the Young Turks will perhaps gain a clear view of the systematic devastations which have led to the disasters at Kirk Kiliseh and Lule Burgas. They may perhaps now come to the same conclusions to which Kiamil's Cabinet came in the matter of terminating the war, though perhaps for different reasons."

With respect to the provisional arrest of Reshid Bey, hitherto the Second Chamberlain of the Sultan, the correspondent mentions the fact that he had been till June last in the service of the Khedive, and adds that "the Young Turks assume that the Khedive took a prominent part in their overthrow last summer."—The *Manchester Guardian*.

Turkey and the Allies.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

ROUGHLY speaking, and although precise figures are not available, we may take it that Izzet Pasha, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army, has 200,000 men at his disposal behind the Tchataldja Lines, and another 50,000 in the Gallipoli peninsula. There are probably 40,000 men left at Adrianople, and there are besides the garrisons of Yambina and Spatari, but all these garrisons are restricted to a defensive rôle unless a Turkish army should appear to relieve them. The question is what course the new Turkish commander is likely to adopt.

We are told that Turkish Army will restrict itself to the defensive, and will not move unless attacked. This is not a position which Izzet Pasha will in all circumstances be able to maintain. If, for example, the Allies concentrate their efforts upon Adrianople and maintain a more or less defensive attitude upon the Tchataldja and Gallipoli fronts, it will soon become impracticable for Turkish soldiers to remain quiescent and to see Adrianople captured almost under their eyes. Izzet's General Order to the Army is as full of spirit as that of General Savoff, and when it is learnt that Adrianople is again attacked, and, is perhaps almost in extremis, offensive operations by the main Turkish Army will become almost imperative.

The command of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Marmara allows Izzet Pasha a certain latitude in his plans, but the feeling in Russia makes any movement across the Black Sea of very dubious wisdom, while the time required for a movement of this kind, the numbers to be carried, and the want of transport on landing all rule this operation out of account. On the other hand, the reunion of the Tchataldja and Gallipoli forces is less impracticable and might in certain circumstances be carried into effect, whether by a simultaneous advance, if successful, or by the transport of part of the Gallipoli forces to the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara. The armistice has, of course, enabled the Turks to improve their position. The Tchataldja Lines are now reported to be stronger than ever and much better armed, while stockpiles has diminished and supplies have been brought up. Many fresh troops have come up, and the successful repulse of the rush and

Unsuccessful Bulgarian attack upon the Lines has done much to reduce heart to the army. Nevertheless, the political quarrels of the corps of officers, the want of money, the lack of good administrative services, and the proved inability of a Turkish army to conduct offensive operations with the vigour and science demanded by modern war all combine to render any lasting military success most improbable, especially in view of the increased numbers of the Allies which are sure to be encountered.

PLANS OF THE ALLIES

The main fault of the Allies in the earlier phase of the campaign was their deployment of insufficient strength in the principal theatre. The whole of the armies of three of the Allies, and an important part of the forces of Bulgaria, were directed upon the secondary theatre of Macedonia, where, indeed, they were very successful, but where they did not secure the peace which they desired. The allied forces directed upon Macedonia were too largely set upon the selfish tasks of pegging out claims, each ally for itself, and in the principal theatre the main Bulgarian armies were left too weak either to capture Adrianople or to dictate terms at the enemy's capital. The Bulgarian armies in Thrace fought with desperate valour and incurred a loss of 70,000 men. Half of the remainder were in hospital with dysentery and cholera, and when a last effort was required to reap the fruits of victory the Bulgarian armies were not in a condition to make it.

These were great faults which are not likely to be repeated. The Montenegrin mountaineers, aided by Serbian artillery, will, of course, continue to rage round gallant Scutari until it falls, and a large part of the Greek Army is still detained by the strenuous resistance of the Turks at Yanna, but the whole of the Bulgarian forces, most of the Serbian troops, and possibly a couple of Greek divisions can be spared to conclude the campaign by a vigorous blow. It is declared by Dr Danell that Bulgaria has now 550,000 men in the field. Serbia has 300,000, including some 45,000 who are assisting round Adrianople, and from these forces adequate numbers should be obtained to carry out any plan which commends itself to the Bulgarian staff.

The alternatives are, first, to attack Gallipoli, clear the Straits, and make way for the Greek Navy to appear before Constantinople; second, to attack Tchataldja, and, lastly, to concentrate upon the capture of Adrianople and to maintain a defensive attitude in the south. Of these courses the last appears most probable. The fall of Adrianople is confidently expected when the attack is resumed, and although we have not been given any decisive reasons why the place should fall, we must assume that the Bulgarian staff knows its business, and has knowledge of some facts which are concealed from us. It is certain that desertions from the fortress have recently been numerous and that the siege train of the Allies has been considerably strengthened during the past few weeks, so that we cannot feel any confidence that the brave defence of the town by Ghazi Shukri Pasha can much longer be continued. The fall of the place will remove the most important obstacle to peace, especially if the Turkish army makes an effort to advance and fails.

The exact position of the Bulgarian armies in front of Tchataldja is not definitely known, but there are reports that they have been withdrawn from the immediate neighbourhood of the Lines and that their headquarters are at Tcherkesskeur. In this case it may be that General Savoff hopes Izzet Pasha out of his lair into the open country, and then expects by a vigorous offensive to drive him back and to capture the Lines at a single stroke. The armistice has been as useful to the Allies as to the Turks. The health of their armies has been restored and their war material and supplies have been renewed. Most of the slightly wounded are back at the front, and the delay has enabled the distribution of the allied forces to be rectified. The season is still not very favourable for offensive operations, but this, on the whole, will tell most against the Turks, and there seems to be no reason, if Bulgaria can pacify Rumania, why the second phase of the campaign should alter in any way but for the worse the fate of the Turkish Army. We must note, however, that any demand by Bulgaria for Greek or Serbian assistance in order to secure what are mainly Bulgarian ends is likely to be followed by claims on the part of Greece and Servia, which may cause the final settlement between the Allies after the war to present difficulties which might otherwise have been avoided.

garians towards the end of October, and that for two months Ghazi Shukri Pasha maintained a spirited and active defence. It seems probable that the Bulgarians, beyond local counter-attacks against this offensive, were content with the rôle of an investing force.

From the technical point of view Adrianople is a formidable fortress. Under Izzet Pasha's scheme of reorganization of the Turkish Army three years ago a great effort was made to bring the existing works at Adrianople up to date. As early as 1908, when Nazim Pasha commanded the then Second Ordnance, the trace of the permanent works was improved, and to the writer's knowledge orders given for a powerful fortress armament. How much of this armament ever reached the Adrianople platforms is not known. The perimeter of the fortress is about 23 miles. There are said to be 20 main permanent works on the Adrianople side of the Maritza River and five on the Karagatch front. As the perimeter of the fortress lies at the junction of the Maritza, Arda, and Tundja rivers, and as in winter these rivers inundate nearly a third of the approach to the fortress, they furnish a natural obstacle to investment.

The Turkish *ordre de bataille* was in such a hopeless confusion during the fevered mobilization that it is hard to say what force was actually in the fortress when it became invested. The garrison, over and above the fortress troops, consisted of three divisions of first-class redifs and two divisions of second class redifs. This would total about 30,000 bayonets. There were, however, other troops within the perimeter. The Turkish Field Army was caught by the Bulgarians in the process of concentration. Certain units from Omar Yaver Pasha's and Ahmed Abouk Pasha's commands are known to be in the fortress.

How long the garrison can withstand an active investment or the series of assaults that will be necessary to reduce it by force is problematical. The Turkish Headquarters Staff in December believed that the fortress was rationed until the end of March. This meant that it could under extreme circumstances hold out against an ordinary investment until, say, the end of May. How far this belief was justified by the facts it is impossible to say. The circumstances that must now most concern the gallant commandant are losses by his active defence, losses by sickness, and the condition of the large civil population of Adrianople proper. In nearly every case in history the defender of a fortress, when communicating his condition to his superiors, understates his powers of resistance and overstates the stresses which his men are suffering. In our own war in South Africa we had a remarkable instance of this in the messages from Sir George White to Sir Redvers Buller concerning the resisting powers of the Ladysmith garrison. Shukri Pasha probably is not exceptional amongst the commanders of beleaguered fortresses. It is therefore unwise definitely to believe the reports that the fortress is *in extremis*.

On the other hand the calculations of the Turkish General Staff have been so erratic that they may have counted upon the garrison without a thought for the large civil population. We have not heard yet that Shukri Pasha has made any effort to rid himself of the *bouches inutiles* within his perimeter. A commander who has shown such resource in active defence would hardly have allowed his garrison to be reduced by starvation without commandeering the food of his 100,000 civilians. The Turk, however, is mentally so curiously constituted that it is quite possible that Shukri Pasha would not have the heart to be really heartless in dealing with his *bouches inutiles*.

It cholera and epidemic dysentery have taken the same toll of the Adrianople garrison as they took from the Turkish Field Army and the Bulgarian Army in Thrace then Shukri Pasha may have difficulty in manning his perimeter. He had, however, ample reserves of arms and ammunition, and has doubtless reinforced his fighting strength from the civil population. In any case, if he has food it is certain that his fortress will not be taken by assault except after a long series of bloody engagements. The trace of the fortress is such that the permanent works, if stoutly defended, can only fall to an enemy possessed of slow and bloody perseverance.

Second Phase of the War.

The second campaign in Thrace is evidently going to be fought behind the veil of a secrecy even greater than that maintained during the first. In the autumn the newspapers and news agencies were encouraged to send war correspondents, although elaborate precautions were taken to prevent their seeing or reporting anything. On the renewal of the war both sides have adopted the more straightforward course of giving notice that no correspondents will be allowed to follow the operations. News is therefore likely

The Investment of Adrianople.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY WITH THE TURKISH ARMY.)

The war is, apparently, to be renewed on Monday evening, and everything seems to indicate that the first effort of the Allies will be to take Adrianople. Very little is known of the real circumstances of the fortress beyond the fact that it was invested by the Bul-

to be very scanty, to be coloured by its official origin, and to deal only with accomplished facts. This morning there is no news worth mentioning.

There is much speculation as to the plans of the Allies. Hitherto it has been generally assumed that they would concentrate their efforts on the capture of Adrianople. But the fact that this intention has been freely expressed by Bulgarians now tends to create scepticism. It is argued that the disunion reported among the Turkish troop holding the Tchataldja Lines may tempt the Bulgarians to make the attack of a point where a victory would enable them to dictate terms in the very capital of the Turkish Empire. The capture of Adrianople, while it would give the Bulgarians possession of the city, the dispute over which caused the failure of the negotiations, would still leave intact the Turkish Army defending the capital. Recent indications, slight as they are, are taken to show that Adrianople is much more strongly fortified and much better provisioned than was believed; and it is possible that General Savoff may have discovered some weak spots in the 20 miles stretch of the Tchataldja Lines.

Another project that has been suggested is that fortification on the north of the Dardanelles Straits might be captured by the Bulgarians. This would enable the Greek Fleet to enter the Marмара and not only menace Constantinople but permit a Bulgarian force to be landed on the Asiatic side and completely isolate the capital from the rest of the Empire.—*The Times*.

The Spirit of the Turkish Army.

An "old Prussian officer," who went through the first stage of the war and returned from Constantinople just before the Young Turkish *coup d'état*, is publishing in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* a series of articles in which he greatly praises the qualities of the Turkish soldier, but severely criticises the higher commanders. Among others, the late Nazim Pasha comes in for his special criticism and this is what he writes in his last article:—

"In my last letter from Constantinople I drew attention to the fact that an exaggerated demand on the part of the Allies might easily bring about a revolution, especially as great dissatisfaction was noticeable in the army on account of the conclusion of the armistice after the victory at Tchataldja. To-day I may speak with greater freedom than was permitted to me at the time. I knew that the overthrow of Nazim was only a question of time. His conduct during the battle of Tchataldja would itself have been sufficient to strengthen the suspicion that it was a matter of comparative indifference to the Commander-in-Chief whether his army gained a victory or not. Even if, though I am not at all sure of this, he was kept informed by telegraph of the course of the battle, it was nevertheless an unheard-of procedure on the part of a Commander-in-Chief to sit all the time in a train ready to start at any moment while his men were fighting with the courage of despair. The conclusion of the armistice, however, after the first victory of the Turkish army was especially Nazim's work, and this circumstance was bound to confirm the suspicions already existing—the more so as Nazim, in spite of the temper of the army of which he must have been cognisant, persisted in retaining the command, and did nothing to combat in the Council of Ministers the demands of the Allies. Had not Nazim been killed he ought, with more justice than some of the unfortunate generals of other campaigns, to have been taken before a court-martial, and there can be scarcely any doubt as to what its verdict would have been."

As for the spirit of the army at Tchataldja he says: "Whoever has caught even a superficial sight of the temper prevailing among the eastern army ought to have known that the reports of a revolt in the lines on account of the death of Nazim were false. From the first time since the outbreak of the war the well-known fanatical Turkish patriotism reigns there, and not only among the officers but also among the men, as revealed even to a layman by the enthusiastic welcome accorded to the incoming reinforcements from Asia. An army in such a temper was certainly not inclined to submit tamely to an additional disgrace, especially in the hour of its victory."

The correspondent is of the opinion that the Lines are not easily to be taken even from the rear, and adds: "Should a second attack on the Tchataldja line fail, I think the Bulgarians will have to be regarded as defeated. Winter is now in full swing in Thrace. The so-called roads have become thereby still more impassable. The supply of foodstuffs and ammunition seems to be almost a matter of impossibility, and a retreat through the devastated country would in such circumstances be one of the most terrible in history."

(PRESS ASSOCIATION FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, Feb. 4.

In the opinion of many competent observers the new chapter of the war which opened yesterday evening may present many surprising developments in the first portion of the operations, only this time it is

believed that the surprises are in store for the Allies. It is pointed out that not merely are the soldiers fresh men, drawn from the highlands of Asia Minor, who are burning with a desire to wipe out the defeats of the Ottoman army in the early part of the war, but that new blood controls the head of affairs. A new spirit animates both officers and men, and enterprise, initiative, and daring like those of Enver Bey will be given a chance to prove their worth. Mahmud Shevket is already showing all those qualities as an organiser which have won him renown. The other day for over four hours he personally superintended the embarkation of some troops and war material, giving advice and encouragement to the men.

For the moment it is not believed that serious operations are likely at Tchataldja. The condition of the southern portion of the zone between the belligerents' lines is said to be that of a boggy morass, which would render the movement of troops impossible. The higher ground of the northern region is more likely to be the point of first contact, but is regarded as improbable that either side will indulge in an attack in force. The message reporting the burning of a village added that the Bulgarians seemed to be retiring, especially on the left wing. According to military critics here, such a movement is highly probable.

The Position at Constantinople.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" TELEGRAM.)

Constantinople, Feb. 4.

THE diplomatic situation and the whole position with regard to the reopening of hostilities are very obscure, and no one seems able to dissipate the uncertainty which prevails. A statement which Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the Grand Vizier, made to me during an interview which I had with him this morning at the War Office seems to show that the disposition in Government and military quarters is to adopt an attitude of "waiting for something to turn up."

"The bombardment of Adrianople," Mahmud Shevket declared, "began last evening at 7-48. Since I assumed office I have done every thing that is possible to avoid the reopening of hostilities. The responsibility for that lamentable event must rest entirely with the Allies. As far as Tchataldja is concerned no gun has as yet been fired by either side across the swamps which separate the two armies. We are determined to wait and see what the enemy is going to do."

"With regard to the question of summoning Parliament," the Grand Vizier went on to say, "we have not yet given that as much as a single thought. The matters we have on hand are of first importance, and Parliament must wait until peace is declared. The government of the country is, as you know, in the hands of Liberals, and the institution of Parliament is perfectly safe."

I am informed that correspondents, who will be excluded from witnessing the operations in the field, may receive every facility at a later date.

The statement that Enver Bey is in hiding in the German Embassy and that he met with a hostile reception near the Dardanelles when on a tour of inspection is devoid of foundation. He is at present busy with the army.

The aged Kiamil Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier, left this afternoon for Egypt on board the Khedival mail steamer *Imailia*. I was received by him very cordially in his cabin. He appeared to be in fairly good health, and smilingly declared that he could offer no views on the situation and that all that could be done was to wait upon events, which would decide whether his proposed visit to England in May would take place or not.

Mahmud Mukhtar, ex-Minister of Marine and commander of one of the corps d'armée during the early part of the war, came over the Bosphorus from Scutari (of Asia) to bid his former chief good-bye. It will be remembered that Mahmud Mukhtar was wounded in a reconnaissance early in December, and as he descended from his motor-car which brought him along the quay I noticed that he was still lame.

Djavid Bey reached Constantinople yesterday from Constantinople. He has had interviews with many prominent holders of Turkish stock with a view to procuring an internal loan, but without great success. The Treasury is utterly empty, and December salaries have not yet been paid, though they are promised daily. The popular subscriptions which have been started have only raised insignificant sums.

A high military authority told me to-day that Adrianople is still in a position to hold out for weeks, and that the commander there, Shikri Pasha, has informed the Government by wireless telegraphy that the town is in no danger of having to surrender.

Shakri Pasha has told the Government to make its military plans without worrying about the Adrianople garrison, as that is still in a position to make short work of attacks upon it.

Kiamil's Use of the Sultan.

A PERSONAGE who is in close touch with Court quarters at Constantinople who had arrived at Constanza gave the local correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* an interesting account of the events preceding the summoning of the Grand Council which throws a sidelight on the startling developments on Thursday. It appears that up till Sunday last the Sultan still shared the optimism of the war party and believed in the possibility of a better turn in affairs. As he placed great hopes on the navy, the latter, though weakened by the elimination of the "Hamidiyeh," was ordered to engage the fleet on Saturday, with result that it was "thoroughly defeated." All the ships received more or less serious damage, and the number of killed and wounded was comparatively great. It was then that the Sultan on receiving the personal report of Kiamil Pasha became convinced of the impossibility of further continuation of the war, and the papers at once received instructions to prepare public opinion for peace and the surrender of Adrianople. Thereupon Kiamil, who had not been able to persuade the cabinet of the necessity of convoking the Council, induced the Sultan to agree and to order this measure, since he himself was reluctant to undertake the heavy responsibility for accepting the Note of the Powers.

The correspondent then adds, on the strength of information derived from another good source, that the interview of the Sultan with the editor of the *Sabah* was also entirely Kiamil's work. It was Kiamil who had conceived the idea of such an interview as a means of influencing the public. The editor prepared the account of the conversation under the eye of Kiamil, and the manuscript was then submitted to the Sultan, who found the sentiments expressed therein "very beautiful." The interview "appeared" on the next day, though the interviewer had, as a matter of fact, never for one moment seen the Sultan. The correspondent observes that this method of using the Sultan's person is giving rise to severe comments among the Turks. —The *Manchester Guardian*.

Relations of the Allies.

THE Nationalist *Pravda*, of Belgrade, seems to be very impatient at the slow progress of the peace negotiations. "Why," it asks, "do we Serbians keep our delegates so long in London and continue to pay them their big salaries? Our task was finished as long ago as December 6. Our position with regard to Turkey is quite plain. We have not a single point at issue with the Turks any longer. Yet from that day to this we still maintain an army of 800,000 men under arms, in spite of the unfavourable weather and the enormous cost. What for? Simply because the Bulgarians want Adrianople and the Greeks want a few islands. But did the Bulgarians or Greeks move a finger to help us in our position on the Adriatic or in Albania? Indeed, M. Pa-Jitch knows very well that on the day when the Bulgarians and Greeks have achieved their objects they will at once disarm and leave us alone to fight out our dispute with Austria-Hungary."

(REUTERS'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Part of the Bulgarian press has lately been publishing articles hostile to Serbia, the Serbian press, and the army. The Serbian Minister in Sofia, therefore, asked for an explanation, and the Bulgarian Government replied that that section of the press which had attacked Serbia was composed of Opposition and Democratic journals, which were generally hostile to the Balkan Federation. The censorship, however, would be enforced to prevent a repetition of similar occurrences.

Danger of Montenegrin Claims.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

WHETHER Scutari shall or shall not be awarded to Montenegro is one of the crucial questions that have to be determined by the Powers. But to divorce Scutari apart from its surrounding plains and mountains can only lead to misery and misunderstanding. Scutari, a large town of some 56,000 inhabitants, must stand or fall with the Scutari vilayet. All its meat, wood, and vegetables, its vine and fruit, and much of its corn comes from the mountains on one side and the plains on the other. The inhabitants of the mountains possess large grazing lands on the plains and pass the winter there with their flocks, returning to the high mountains on St. George's Day. Should the Scutari be so drawn that these people are deprived of their winter pasture they will be ruined in a large number of cases, and a

promising industry—for the demand for meat, hides, and cattle products is a steady one—seriously crippled. The Drin is talked of as "a natural boundary," but much of this grazing ground is beyond the Drin. The only boundaries that can be truly considered "natural" are those that are formed by the everyday needs of the people. The Berlin Treaty caused great suffering by, in many instances, drawing the frontier between a village and its wood supply or its pasture land. It thereby produced the ceaseless little "frontier affairs" that for years cost so much blood.

Montenegro pleads that she needs these fertile plains for her own population. But it must be most emphatically impressed upon her that these lands are already private property and fully worked. Her scheme for the eviction of the population is one that cannot be tolerated. When after the Berlin Conference large tracts of Albanian-inhabited land were given to Montenegro and to Serbia the inhabitants were forced to emigrate in large numbers, and their lands were "bought" from them at merely nominal sums. In the case of Montenegro most of these lands have never yet been developed. Neither has the port of Duleigno, which was most unjustly wrested from the Albanians by a naval demonstration in which most of the Powers took part. A wholly Albanian town, which the Montenegrins had failed to take, was thus terrified by the might of Europe into forming part of Montenegro. But to this day it has resisted all attempts at Slavising. Montenegro has profited little by it, and its Albanian inhabitants not at all.

CRUSHING THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

The refusal of Montenegro to allow schools in their national language to the Albanians has alienated their sympathies, and many Albanians, though continuing to live in Montenegro, have been in the habit of sending their children to the Austrian or Italian schools in Scutari. Other families, when the children have become old enough for school, have removed to Scutari, taking with them all the savings earned in Montenegro. In some of the Albanian districts of Montenegro, where the Albanians were in smaller numbers, and so less able to show a solid front, they were commanded to cease wearing their national costume and to cease speaking Albanian. The Albanians of the Scutari vilayet now say and they mean it—that they have not fought the Turks for two years on the language question in order to learn Servian.

Except for the little Serb village of Vraka, there is not a Serb village in the whole of the Scutari vilayet. As for the few Serb inhabitants of Scutari, they are in most instances people who have fled from Montenegro for political reasons or to escape punishment for crime, or are the descendants of such emigrants.

Montenegro has failed entirely to conquer the Scutari vilayet. She entered it by the help of the Malassori tribes who wished to get rid of the Turks and considered the Montenegrins as their allies. In 1911, when these same tribes revolted, Montenegro not only assisted them, but promised them that they should have Montenegrin support "till Europe had guaranteed their national rights." Sullen and suspicious now, the tribesmen ask, "Where are our national rights?" They hint quite plainly that in case Europe should try to treat them as she did Duleigno they will stand no nonsense, and that Austria will help them.

THE PROVINCE INDIVISIBLE.

The Albanians are a very much more industrious and intelligent people than the Montenegrins, and one thing is quite certain—if Montenegro again be given a large share of Albanian territory it will not make for peace. Should she obtain the whole vilayet she will be outnumbered and outwitted by the Albanians, who by forming an "Irish vote" will be able to upset Montenegrin plans. If, on the other hand, only a portion of the vilayet becomes Montenegrin, such ruin and distress will be caused by the division of Scutari from its food supply, the mountaineers from their grazing grounds and so forth, that peace equally cannot be expected. As for the wretched "port" of San Giovanni di Medua, it is a bay, half silted up, with neither quay nor pier. Landing is possible by small boats in fine weather. No town exists there; only a few scattered cottages, a Custom-house, and some barracks. It could be developed as a port for Scutari, but at present the bulk of Scutari's trade comes up the Boyana river or through Antivari. But should San Giovanni be awarded, apart from Scutari, to either Serbia or Montenegro, Scutari will be deprived of any free exit. The whole vilayet must stand or fall together.

Let Montenegro be satisfied with having accomplished that which was her ostensible object for war—the freeing of her brother Serbs in the Kosovo vilayet. Let her not sully this noble deed by striving by European help to enslave another people. Fertile lands has she now in superabundance for her people. Let her work them. And let her rather cultivate friendship with Albania as a neighbour State than seek to destroy her.

As for Montenegro's historical "claims" and "rights" to Sentari, they are too distant and too brief to be worthy of consideration. The fact that in the Middle Ages some of the Serb kings had suzerainty over the mountain tribes is of small moment nowadays. That the bulk of the people then were Catholic and Albanian-speaking is attested by various witnesses. And in the flood-tide of Servian glory Pristina, Prishtina, and Ipek were capitals. Sentari was never capital of Great Serbia. But if history is to count, it certainly was the capital of Illyria.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

The "Rumanians" of Macedonia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, Jan. 12.

At a moment when, according to M. Take Jonescu and other Rumanian statesmen, the tension between Bulgaria and Rumania is acute, a brief consideration of one of the grounds on which Rumania claims compensation at the expense of Bulgaria may be of interest. I refer to the contention of many Rumanians that their country "will lose 400,000 Rumanians" in consequence of the annexation of Macedonia and parts of Albania by the Slav and Greek, which is described by some Europeans who know Macedonia well as "the great Rumanian myth." The description is, perhaps, unkind, but it is not altogether unfair. To begin with, no State can be said to "lose" subjects over which it has never ruled. Western Europe has been treated of late to a surfeit of historical claims. Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks and Servians can each make a fair case, on purely historical grounds, for the retention or the acquisition of the greater part of the Balkan peninsula. Byzantine emperors, Turkish sultans, Bulgarian and Servian tsars have lorded it over all or most of Macedonia and Albania. An Albanian of genius, John Kastrioti (Skanderbeg), ruled Northern Albania and Epirus for over a generation, but with the exception of Miroca, who held Sillistria for some 25 years, no Rumanian prince or voivode has ruled territories south of the Danube from what is now Rumanian territory.

THE VLACHS OF MACEDONIA.

According to Rumanian publicists, there are now 400,000 "Macedo-Rumanians" in European Turkey. To the writer this estimate seems prodigiously exaggerated. It is true that a large proportion—according to some accounts 50 per cent.—of the Vlachs of Macedonia are nomads who wander with their flocks and herds from Thessaly to the middle valley of the Vardar and from Durazzo to Thrace. A census of wandering shepherds generally gives results that are well below the truth, but the fact that there are not more than 12,000 Vlach houses in the provinces of Salonica, Monastir, and Koshovo, and at most 8,000 in Epirus, would give the settled Vlach population according to ordinary methods of computation a maximum of 100,000 souls. It is therefore improbable that the total Vlach population of European Turkey exceeds 250,000. This population is scattered in little groups over an enormous area. It is only on the slopes of Grammos (Pindus) and its eastern outliers that one finds large Vlach settlements, such as Motzovo, on the Greek frontier in South Epirus, Khusura, between Florina and Koritza, and Krushevo, north of Monastir. In these towns resides the large proportion of traders, professional carriers, and craftsmen whom one finds among the settled Vlachs, a race with abundant commercial aptitudes and quite capable of holding its own in business and commerce.

THE "RUMANIZING" MOVEMENT.

From the fall of the Asend Empire, which certainly contained a very great majority of Slavs, the Vlachs of Macedonia were reckoned as Greeks. They spoke and still speak their Romance dialect, akin to but not identical with Rumanian, in their homes and in their tents, but for centuries the Vlach who went out into the world as a trader, a banker, or a scribe learned Greek as a matter of course. The Hellenic revival of the late 14th and early 15th centuries found no more devoted adherents than the Vlach merchants and bankers established in the Greek world. Kolettis, Orivas, and a host of other "Greek" patriots were Vlachs, and from the War of Independence until to-day men of Vlach origin, from Marko Bukovalas to George Averoff, whose name is borne to-day by the flagship of the Greek fleet, have worked devotedly and unceasingly for the glory and the well-being of Greece and the Greek people. It was not till the middle of the 19th century that the "Rumanizing movement" began. Till that period the Vlachs, while calling themselves *Aromani* (Romans), while maintaining their speech and their customs, and seldom or never intermarrying with Greek or Slav, were politically, as far as they concerned themselves with politics, Greek subjects of the Sultan, attending Greek schools, acknowledging the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch, reading Greek

books, and giving a mainly passive support to Greek propaganda, though, like Canning's knife-grinder, the average Vlach of Macedonia "never dared to meddle" with such matters.

It was Rumanian dislike of the Greek, based on memories of the days of Phanariot exploitation combined with the natural desire of Rumanian statesmen to obtain "interests" south of the Danube, that brought about the "Rumanizing" movement among the Vlachs. A "Macedonian" Committee was founded at Bukarest in 1860; but it was not till 1865 that the movement took a definite shape. In that year Apostol Margariti, a Vlach merchant who had made a considerable fortune in Rumania but passed as a Greek, returned to his native province of Monastir. Dubbed an adventurer by the Greeks, a patriot by the Rumanians, Apostol was undoubtedly a very remarkable organizer and propagandist. Thanks to the support of the Turks, who were delighted to divide in order to rule the "Hellenes" of Macedonia, and of a few wealthy countrymen, he founded several Vlach schools in Epirus and the Monastir region between 1865 and 1875. The Greek clergy took fright, but it was not till the Russo-Turkish War broke out and Rumania joined the Russians that they persuaded the Turks to close the Vlach schools and throw Apostol into prison. But the Porte soon returned to its old policy, thanks to the Thessalian dispute and Rumanian banknotes. The Rumanian kingdom began to devote larger sums to the support of Vlach educational work in Macedonia, and by 1885 over thirty "Macedo-Ruman" schools had been opened. Thenceforward the progress of the movement was in inverse ratio to the friendliness of the relations between Greece and the Porte. Whenever Greek and Turk quarrelled the latter authorized fresh schools. When the terrible period of band warfare—1903 to 1908—devastated Macedonia the excesses of Greek bands brought about a rupture of relation between Greece and Rumania, the formation of Vlach bands, and the recognition by the Sultan in 1906 of the right of the Vlach community to representation on the local administrative councils. Under the Committee régime the Vlachs of the Rumanizing faction sided on the whole with the Turks.

VLACH PASSIVITY.

Such is the history of the "Rumanizing" movement. It was from the first based upon Turkish and Rumanian support. The sole genuine grievance upon which it traded was the Hellenizing policy of the Greek clergy. Had the Phanar yielded on the question of language and permitted the use of "Kutzo-Vlach" in churches and schools where a majority of the community demanded it, neither Turkish friendship nor Rumanian subventions would have prevented an enormous majority of Vlachs from counting themselves as Patriarchists—that is, as Greeks. Even as it is, after more than forty years of propaganda, competent European observers are convinced that not more than a third of them are genuine "Rumanizers," the remainder acquiescing, usually passively, in the political opinions of their numerically superior neighbours—Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians, or Patriarchists.

The War and the Correspondent.

WITH THE VICTORIOUS BULGARIANS. By Lieutenant Hermanegild Wegener, War Correspondent of the *Reichspost*. With 55 Illustrations and Six Maps. (Constable.)

WITH THE CONQUERED TURK. The Story of a Latter-day Adventurer. By Lionel James. (Nelson. 2s. net.)

WITH THE TURKS IN THRACE. By Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Special Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. In collaboration with Seabury Ashmead-Bartlett. (Heinemann. 10s. net.)

Modern wars are now customarily followed by a remarkable outcrop of literary activity, especially on the part of those who have seen comparatively little of them. The Balkan war promises to be no exception to the rule. The value of books upon a war is generally in inverse ratio to the order of their production, and in the case of the present war we cannot expect an authentic history of the whole of the operations for many a long day to come, so studiously have observers been limited in their judgments, and so carefully have they been prevented from forming a judgment based upon adequate and first-hand experience. First impressions of honest men and faithful chroniclers sought by a public increasingly interested in military affairs, and so far as they meet these conditions, the pioneer books above mentioned deserve attention. The first purports to be a more or less veridical history of the campaign up to the armistice. The second and third are mainly records of personal experiences, but contain military information and criticisms which merit attention. Major Lionel James's little volume is a record of things seen at the front and under fire by a man competent to express an opinion on them, and consequently it deserves to be read and considered. Like all this writer's work, it is an intensely human document in which the temperaments of the author makes no effort to suppress itself, but flashes out again and again with beautiful variations of light and

humour and pathos. It would be hard to name any other book which so faithfully describes the immense difficulties which stand between the war correspondent and success, or one which brings out in a more illuminating manner the rivalry which exists between brother correspondents in the actual exercise of their onerous missions, and the good fellowship which, when work is done, unites them all in a common bond. Major James has seen more than a dozen campaigns, and for this reason his reflections on the war carry much weight. He gives, as the reasons for Turkish defeats, inefficient administration and inadequately-trained material.

They fall into the error, which is common in nations where self-confidence is a malady, that, given a small steel-point of efficiently trained troops, it is possible to fill up numbers with the partially trained; that after the first clash of arms, given a martial race, there is time and opportunity to fashion the pig-iron behind the first line into serviceable steel. Never was there a greater fallacy. Never in the history of war has the danger of employing inefficiently trained and inefficiently officered troops been more poignantly demonstrated. The machinery of modern war will plough through the armies thus improvised with the same irresistible case as the share of the steam plough turns its furrows.

Lieutenant Wegener's book is the work of a reserve officer to whom cannot be denied either talent or the gift for clear military exposition and sound criticism. His knowledge of the Bulgarian language and of Balkan problems enables him to tell us much of real interest, and must have gone far to secure for his paper the journalistic success which was for a time the envy of all foreign rivals. It is a fair claim on the part of the author that he set out on his mission better equipped than most of his competitors; and we should be inclined to attribute to his knowledge of Bulgarian a greater share in his somewhat ephemeral success than the supposed aid and protection of high dignitaries of whose help, if it were given, we can find no very definite traces in his book. Whether the author's account of the campaign is sufficiently accurate or not we are not yet in a position to judge. Lieutenant Wegener avoids detail. Some of the Bulgarian victories which figured in the *Reichspost* despatches have quietly disappeared in this more sober narrative, a very large part of which is given up to events antecedent to the war and to a description, with numerous and excellent photographs, of the chief actors on the Bulgarian side. But while we are ready to allow to Lieutenant Wegener every praise for his intelligence and application, we confess that we are left in very serious doubt, which the author does nothing to dispel, whether he saw anything at all of the war except the distant bombardment of Adrianople. This doubt might have been set at rest had the author told us where he was at different dates during the campaign, but this he omits to do, and he makes a particular point of the futility of watching the fighting if a correspondent is to send home general accounts of the operations as a whole. This point is not unworthy of consideration; but the Lieutenant's chief claim upon our attention during the war was the fact, as we thought it to be, that he was constantly present with the headquarters of one or other of the Bulgarian armies in the field, and was personally a witness of many of the operations which he described so vigorously and well. We can find little in his book to lead us to suppose that our assumption was correct, and although the merit of the Lieutenant's book is not thereby necessarily diminished we certainly have no warrant to suppose that the accounts of field operations which are contained in it can be taken as first-hand evidence except in a very limited degree. Several of Lieutenant Wegener's telegrams are quoted by Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, who disposes of them in amusing and sarcastic terms. Very different indeed from the Lieutenant's methods were the ways of the British correspondents, whose anxiety to reach the front at all costs and hazards, and gallant efforts to serve their employers and to be first with the news of a battle, are very fully told by the correspondent of our contemporary. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's account of Lüle Burgas is one of the best that has appeared, and his book is not only an entertaining record of personal experience, but an illuminating record of the military disasters of the Turkish Army.—*The Times' Literary Supplement*.

Press Censors and War Correspondent.

In October I was invited by the Ottoman authorities to join their headquarters in order to assist in the censorship of the Press; and after a brief delay at Constantinople I left for the front with Major James, Bay, various staff officers, and the foreign attachés. The capture of Kirk Kiliseh and the subsequent retreat of the Thracian army from the positions held from Lüle Burgas to Vize naturally involved the withdrawal of the correspondents from their camp at Tchorlu. From that moment the censorship of the Press, which had hitherto worked smoothly and so efficiently, I fear, to please some

of the journalists, was rendered more difficult and, from sheer force of circumstances, in some respects impracticable. My own *matier*, therefore, was reduced to very slight dimensions, nor, in fact, after the great retirement of Abdullah Pasha's forces was any member of the censor's staff very busily employed, except the two officials who were especially charged with the *visé* of all telegrams sent from Constantinople. In face of the facilities afforded by the postal conditions in the Turkish capital, and the three departures per week of the Roumanian steamers for Constantza, all definite control over the despatch of news came to an end. If a telegram was of such a character that its refusal by the censor was certain, it could reach Constantza by boat in twelve hours, and from this port be immediately forwarded to any of the European capitals, including, of course, Sofia, Belgrade, or Athens. The journalists, in fact, enjoyed facilities never before accorded to correspondents, and frequently violated the censor's regulations without the possibility of any effective check on their action. The indulgence accorded them was perhaps regarded as a mere indication of weakness and the fear of giving offence, and was in some cases repaid not only by an utter disregard of regulations duly accepted, but even by unrestrained abuse of the Turks in general and the censor in particular.

It may therefore be of some interest to consider the relations which existed between the army and the journalists during the Thracian campaign, and the still larger question of war-correspondence in the future.

I was accorded every facility for moving about the theatre of war, and owe more than I can well express to the courtesy and the consideration of my Turkish comrades on the staff. They know me well enough to realise that any criticisms passed in these pages are the candid criticisms of a friend who warmly admires their fortitude under unspeakable calamities, and earnestly longs for the day when over a new and stronger Turkey the sun of peace and good government will arise with healing in his wings.

On the other hand, I have no wish to level indiscriminate charges against the whole body of foreign correspondents who visited Turkey during the war. There were some journalists who 'played the game' and treated the Ottoman authorities with courtesy and consideration. Others, however, did not hesitate to conduct themselves in a way which has left a most unpleasant impression on the minds of the Turkish staff, and will, I believe, be taken into serious consideration by any continental government which is met with demands for journalistic facilities at the commencement of a war. We heard a great deal about the 'honour of the Press' and the 'claims of gentlemen,' but I fervently hope that the Turks, who were justly described by Bismarck as '*les vrais gentlemen de Pest*,' will not derive their idea of a foreign 'gentleman' wholly from the conduct and manners of some of their journalist guests.

Almost from the first a spirit of unreasonable dissatisfaction against the regulations of the Press Censorship made its appearance among a considerable section of the war correspondents. These gentlemen had been duly recommended by their respective Embassies to the Ottoman Minister of War, and undertook to obey the regulations of the censor if permitted to join the army. One rule was that the correspondent should not leave the country until the termination of the war. Had the authorities confided less than they did in the honour of the Press, the terms of this pledge would have been more definite and precise. As it was, the undertaking to remain in Turkey not only covered the personal presence of the journalist himself—a pledge frequently ignored—but was obviously inconsistent with the underhand despatch of news from countries other than the Ottoman Empire. The value attached to this item in the written or tacitly acknowledged contract may be judged from this frank avowal in a French newspaper:

Et puis, à Constantinople même, on a toujours la ressource du paquebot roumain. Trois fois par semaine, le mardi, le jeudi et le samedi, de lourdes enveloppes viennent s'abattre dans la grande boîte en fer du bateau de Constantza; ce sont les lettres de tous les correspondants anglais, français, allemands, italiens qui vont faire un tour en mer Noire avant d'être télégraphiées de Constantza ou de Bucarest à tous les journaux d'Europe.

The grievances of the Press correspondents at Tchorlu varied in character. Two of them complained to me in violent language that they had been assigned a field for their encampment where the hardness of the ground made the fixing of tent-poles difficult. Others denounced the refusal of the Turks to permit their occupation of neighbouring houses—a refusal which was well grounded. Apart from other reasons, it was in any case undesirable in the interests of their own safety to have foreigners sleeping alone in detached buildings.

An almost unanimous chorus of angry complaint was directed against the practice of placing sentries round the correspondents' camp. This practice, adopted also by the Bulgarians, was fully justified for two reasons. The Turkish authorities, to be quite frank

were convinced that they could not entirely rely upon the integrity of all the journalists. Some correspondents had declared in Constantinople before they set out for the front that they had made arrangements for sending their 'stuff' abroad by secret methods and private couriers. But the strongest reason for the sentry cordon was the anxiety felt by the officers lest the famished soldiers might be tempted to raid the abundant provisions openly displayed in the correspondents' camp. The underfed troops who arrived from the capital, and the absolutely starving men who were forced back on Tcherik, could witness the substantial meals and even the luxuries enjoyed by these Christian strangers, including a Russian and even an Italian. It is not my business to condemn the luxurious outfit of the war correspondent; this is a matter which primarily concerns himself and his employer; but it is clear that the temptation to seize food is a terribly strong one in the case of exhausted men who have tasted nothing for seventy hours at a stretch and drunk nothing except muddy water in the ruts of the sodden fields. One or two attempts to raid the correspondents' stores were frustrated by Turkish sentries, and it is clear that without the cordon the journalists themselves might have had some disagreeable experiences of the cruel hunger which was to a large extent the *finis et origo* of the Thracian reverses. This evil fate did, I fear, overtake some of them in the chaotic retirement eastwards from Tcherik and Tcherkeskeni, for all manner of belongings disappeared in the general confusion. One correspondent lost for good three horses, costing 25*l.* each; another, whose pangs of hunger I allayed with Nestle's milk and a tin of sardines, bewailed the loss of everything he possessed. He had previously lost four horses and waggons and three servants; yesterday he had bought another waggon for 7*l.*; this had been lost the same evening, and with it all his remaining stores. I suspect that some of the 'lost' servants had not entirely severed their connexion with the missing horses and baggage. At one spot on the road a passer-by purchased from a Greek servant for ten shillings a case of fine old brandy, which a young photographic correspondent, whose normal beverage in the Strand was probably beer, had considered it necessary to bring 'to the front.' Many of the correspondents' difficulties were indeed the direct outcome of their complete ignorance of any language except their own: the majority of them lived at times in a condition of helpless dependence on polyglot guides and dragomans picked up in the hotels and streets of Pera. These men were often unscrupulous, and in tight corners hopelessly inefficient; nevertheless, they demanded and obtained outrageously high wages, in some cases up to twenty shillings or more a day, in addition to an expensive outfit at the start.

Inability to ride and ignorance of the elements of horsemanship caused frequent delays and minor disasters. Very few of the servants could be trusted to keep their saddles if the horse broke into a canter, nor was the horsemanship displayed by some of the correspondents themselves calculated to impress the Turkish army. Surely men who are assigned the work of following military operations might take the trouble to have a few riding lessons. The Turkish officers were too polite to laugh in public at the strange equestrian exhibitions, but one of them remarked to me that he was surprised at what he saw, as he had read that every Englishman understood a horse, a dog, and a gun. On one occasion a correspondent at Hademkeni aroused a neighbour in the dead of night with the news that his 'horse was unwell,' and on further details being demanded, declared that something must be wrong with the animal because, despite all efforts on his master's part, he refused to lie down and go to sleep.

The grievances of the journalists against the cordon of sentries round the Tcherik camp were summarised by one correspondent as follows:

"In grave violation of international law the Turks are detaining here by force men who are not in arms against them. . . . The representatives of the foreign newspapers are appealing to their respective Governments to rescue them from Turkish thralldom and restore them to liberty."

It is difficult to believe that anybody could take this inflated nonsense seriously. The military protection of a number of foreign journalists who invited themselves to the theatre of war and undertook to submit to military discipline is actually held to violate international law! The whole paragraph is quite ridiculous. As to appeals to the Embassies, against this signal instance of Turkish 'thralldom' such applications did not always meet with success. On one occasion a correspondent found his way through a column of reinforcements marching through Pera in order to get to his motor car on the other side of the road. Some soldiers in England, of course, not only an insult to our soldiers but illegitimate and the Turkish infantry, who strongly resented such treatment in their own capital, hustled pretty severely the foreigner who had seen fit to break their ranks. The Ambassador was instantly appealed to, but it is an open secret that the complainant retired from the interview without much consolation for his mental and physical bruises.

A further grievance was that photo requests were not permitted to send undeveloped films out of the camp. What staff in the world would grant the privilege claimed by these discontented? The army in retreat or assailed by cholera or snarls naturally does not wish sensational pictures of its misfortunes and difficulties to be published broadcast in the illustrated journals of Europe in general and the enemy's towns in particular.

Other protests were directed against the supervision of private letters—that is to say, the censor's claim, if he saw fit, to cast his eyes over the contents of such letters. Again, I ask whether any censor in Europe would have waived his right under similar circumstances to *vise* private letters. I listened to loud declamations that the 'honour of the Press' furnished an adequate guarantee that the privilege of sending private letters from the front would not be abused. But in justice to the Ottoman authorities, one can only repeat, however unwillingly, that the alleged guarantee could not be accepted. There were, as I have said, correspondents who honourably observed their pledges, and secured the respect of all who met them in a social or official capacity. On the other hand, a good many journalists appeared to hold that no promises tacitly or expressly made to the Ottoman authorities were binding. One of them declared emphatically that signatures to such agreements in Turkey were not worth the paper they were written on, and when he was asked how he justified so drastic a reversal of an Englishman's ordinary code of honour, he replied that the Turks had broken their pledges by not having 'shown him the war,' as if any staff in the world would dream of committing itself to so vague and preposterous an undertaking! Querulous persons of this type quite forget that war correspondents have no conceivable claim to follow the operations of any belligerent force, that they are simply the guests of the army they accompany, and that wars are not made for the pecuniary benefit of themselves and their employers.

I have already spoken of arrangements secretly made by certain correspondents before their departure for the front for the unauthorised despatch of news, and of the repeated employment of the Constantinian telegraph and the foreign post boxes in Pera for the dissemination of uncensored information. Much of the 'copy' thus sent was saturated with bitter animosity against the nation whose terms of service the writers had accepted, and in some cases correspondents did not scruple to forward information which, from a military point of view, was fraught with grave danger to the whole scheme of defence. One journalist, who on his own showing received every kind of courtesy from the Turkish officers, requited their hospitality by publishing a full and detailed description of the Tchataldja defences, including the number of the troops, the emplacement of the guns, the position of the reserves and so on. On another occasion an account of the defences of the Dardanelles was sent abroad by underhand means, which described the exact movements by night of the Ottoman reinforcements, the number of the troops, the alignment of the trenches, and the position of the ships. In short, the extraordinary laxity of the authorities was abused in order to establish in some cases a species of espionage extremely detrimental to Turkish interests and paid for, not by the Bulgarians, but by the funds of European newspapers. The trail of finance runs indeed over the whole sordid business, for such questionable proceedings on the part of correspondents are, as a rule, based solely on the desire to secure lucrative 'copy,' which is joyfully accepted by foreign editors without any apparent consideration of the means taken to provide it. The result of this 'for money or foul' policy presses heavily on those correspondents who honourably refuse to disregard their pledges. I have known men of this kind suffer cruelly for conscience' sake. While their less scrupulous colleagues were sending home graphic columns by wholly illicit means, they were condemned to comparative silence, the displeasure of their editors and, possibly, the failure to secure future employment.

A good deal of grumbling took place at Tcherik and elsewhere, because telegrams had to be written in French or Turkish, and quaint indeed, at times, was the French of the Tcherik camp. F. H. Bey and his colleagues had frequently to correct, and sometimes recast, such portions of these French effusions as they could accept for transmission. Even in the case of despatches written by Frenchmen, alterations were occasionally made in the diction. When, for instance, a telegram stated that the Austrian Embassy 'avait eu un malheureux cardiaque,' through rushing him on board a steamer in a moment of panic, the censor remarked that it was not his business to correct the grammar, but the syntax. As it was clearly ill-advised to permit the details of the fight to be telegraphed broadcast during the progress of the Lule-Burgaz-Via battle, telegrams were made from private telegrams. One telegram of 250 words was refused for transmission to the press. . . . Details of the battle were sent by the army.

After the retirement from Tcherik and Tcherkeskeni the war correspondents had the best of their lives, and their minds were

at November they ranged at will over the district between Stambul and Hademkoui. On horseback, in motor cars, and in steam launches, the journalists set off merrily after morning to visit the lines between Derkös and Büyük Tehekmedje. But this liberty was used so extensively as a cloak of mischievous activity in various directions, that the authorities were compelled at last to make a firmer stand, and correspondents who left Stambul or Pera for the front without proper authorisation did so at considerable risk. If they were noticed near the trenches, soldiers with fixed bayonets marched them off to the rear, and in some instances bullets were fired into the ground in their proximity to scare them away and at the same time provide them with 'copy' about being under fire.

The general tone of the messages despatched by foreign correspondents was often bitterly hostile to the Turks. Amid the ever-deepening gloom of national disaster in October the columns of Continental journals contained lurid pictures of the unspeakable miseries of the Turkish retreat, grotesque prophecies of coming massacre and pillage, exposures of Turkey's military weakness, and jubilation at the prospect of a Bulgarian occupation of the capital. I have heard a journalist, in the hearing of Turkish officers and civilians, declare at the top of his voice that the Turks were 'd—d liars and scoundrels,' and that he intended to 'give them hell' in a letter home. One of the reasons alleged for these frenzied threats was that the Turks, through some trivial neglect or other, had been the indirect cause of the temporary disappearance of two correspondents since the retirement from Tchörli. As a matter of fact, the two correspondents in question were subsequently stated to have been 'captured by the Bulgarians,' but, whatever the circumstances of the capture might have been, the Ottoman authorities could in no way be held responsible for it, as I think would be readily acknowledged by the two gentlemen concerned.

I could not help contrasting the dignified silence of the Turkish bystanders on the occasion of this outburst with the sort of treatment which would have been meted out to a foreign journalist who in a dining saloon of any other European capital, at a time of national anguish and tribulation, indulged in such wild and unreasonable abuse of the nation whose hospitality he was enjoying. It was the same all along the line. Under a constant stream of bitter criticism and frequent misrepresentation, the Turkish officials and officers never forgot their good manners. I will go further, and say that their courtesy at times passed the limits of commonsense and became absolutely quixotic. A journalist arrives by the help of some Turkish officers at Abdullah Pasha's headquarters, and has the amazing audacity to wake the Commander-in-Chief at 4 A.M. because his car has broken down and he is hungry and cold. The general, roused from his much-needed sleep, apologises to this unknown stranger for the scanty state of his stores, but rouses his sleeping servants in order to furnish the self-invited guest with tea, biscuits, and warm blankets. I should like to see the foreign journalist who would think of waking Lord Kitchener at 4 A.M. in the morning because he is feeling hungry! And how ghastly the return which was sometimes made for such unexampled courtesy!

Photographers in the employment of illustrated journals or cinematograph companies who tried to photograph the forts and trenches of Tchataldja were on several occasions arrested, marched off to an officer's tent, and then—entertained to coffee and cigars! Unknown journalists attached to provincial newspapers, did not hesitate to call on the Grand Vizier, who rarely refused to accord them an interview. The representative of a paper which has throughout maintained a strongly anti-Turkish attitude finds his motor car very naturally break down on the twenty-five miles run to Tchataldja—why not have ridden there on a horse at one-tenth the cost?—and is sent a warm breakfast by a Turkish general. A hungry journalist during the retirement from Tchörli finds himself without any baggage—but where was his haversack and his waterbottle?—near a group of eight Turkish officers who have managed to secure a big cabbage, wherewith to break a long fast of many hours. The officers insist on dividing this wretched fare into two portions—the journalist is harded one half with apologies; the eight Turks share the other half among themselves. In short, it was sometimes difficult to restrain one's smiles in the face of courtesy and camaraderie which had passed beyond the limits of cold Western commonsense.

The question may naturally be asked—Why did not the military authorities punish correspondents who were obviously guilty of misconduct? I can find no answer beyond this same unwillingness to do a stranger an ill turn, coupled, perhaps, with a certain spirit of official *laissez faire* which was sometimes too much in evidence. That the Ottoman authorities would have been fully justified in at least arresting and summarily expelling a number of the correspondents cannot be denied, and such a course of action would have been fully endorsed by the members of every European nation. Some of the correspondents strongly resented the behaviour of their colleagues. One of them declared that had the Turks

shot half-a-dozen of their number the victims would have had no just grounds for complaint, and it was by no means unusual to hear some of the more experienced journalists declare that if ever they commanded an army in the field not a single correspondent would be allowed to come within a hundred miles of it!

The war correspondents with the Turkish forces had, in short, slender grounds for their grievances against the censor's staff. There was practically no restriction on the number accepted by the Ministry of War; and, after a slight hesitation, an Italian journalist, whose presence in a Turkish camp might have caused some natural irritation, was admitted and treated with the utmost courtesy by Nazim Pasha's staff. The ranks of the journalists were even reinforced by the genial personality of a war correspondent representing 'The Pink 'Un'—(To be Continued.)

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Amount received from 21st February to 28th February, 1913, less Rs. 108-4-3, spent on rebate of Heli Sikkas by Mr. A. S. Kazim of Hyderabad Deccan	Rs. 6,290 5 0
Amount previously acknowledged plus Rs. 6,332-4-5 on account of mistake in the grand total of the amount announced in the "Comrade" of the 15th February	Rs. 2,27,521 13 6
Total	Rs. 3,06,112 6 6

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12-13

Principal.

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rule 20, of Act V of 1908.)

Suit No 41 of 1913

IN THE COURT OF ADDITIONAL MUNSHIFF, FYZABAD.

MIRRI LAL ... PLAINTIFF,

MEEN alias AMER & Co. ... DEFENDANT.

To—

(1) Meen, alias Amer, son of Iman Din, and (2) Musammam Bahbar, wife of Meen, Tobacco-seller, presently residing in Calcutta, Post Office Bartalla, Barn Sahib Ka-Hat, Calcutta.

Whereas the abovenamed plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for recovery of Rs. 95-12-3, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 28th (Twenty-eighth) day of February 1913, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim, and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 21st day of February 1913.

M. I.

Munsarim.

NOTICE.

- (1) Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.
- (2) If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

(3) —A* accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—If written statements are required, say—You are (or such a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the...
*Fill in "copy of the plaint" or "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be, *Vide* Order V, rule 8, Code of Civil Procedure.
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I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) B. M.

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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by - Mo'amed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Ministers of the six Powers concerned in the Chinese loan have arranged on the subject of adviserships which there is reason to believe the Chinese will also accept.

Mr. Larsen, the Swedish Missionary, reported to be the greatest living authority on Mongolia, has been appointed Adviser to the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs.

Tibet.

News has been at last received from Tibet regarding the entry of the Dalai Lama into Lhasa. January 28th was fixed as an auspicious day, and all the local Tibetan officers, prominent citizens, Gurkha residents and heads of various monasteries assembled at Lumbung, near the Drepung monastery, to receive him. His Holiness, riding in Mongolian dress, with twelve attendants, was saluted on arrival by the troops and the people. He then donned the full Lama dress and received the officials and the people in a tent and bestowed his blessing on all the visitors. At noon he entered a palanquin and was carried in procession to the Potala. Unfortunately, a strong wind suddenly sprang up and the weather was so inclement that the people waiting along the route were unable to obtain a view of him. His Holiness has since been in his residence in Lhasa and is presumably conducting the affairs of the Government from the Potala as his headquarters.

The Balance of Power.

It is semi-officially explained in Berlin that the German increase in armaments is due to the shifting of the balance of power through the overthrow of Turkey and the rising of a formidable Slav Power in eastern Europe, the existence of which tends to engage the special interest of Austria while Italy is occupied with her newly-acquired possessions in Libya.

A Paris telegram states that the Supreme Military Council has decided in favour of three years' service with the abolition of all exemptions. The French Chamber with the approval of Government has adopted a Socialist amendment to a Budget imposing a tax of five pence a ton on coal from mines whose profits amount to a franc a ton. The tax will produce fourteen million francs, which the Finance Minister declared was most moderate in view of the great duties now falling on taxpayers.

New Delhi.

At a meeting of the Executive Council held on the 7th inst., the Government of India considered the reports of the town planners, and of the Military and Medical Committees appointed for the purpose, and decided to adhere to their decision in favour of the southern site as the seat of the New Capital at Delhi.

The Public Service Commission.

Evidence by H. H. the Aga Khan.

Sitting at the Bombay Secretariat the Public Service Commission on Monday, the 3rd instant, examined four more witnesses, the first and most important of whom was the Aga Khan, who occupied the witness chair for two hours. There was a full attendance of Com-

The Week.

Persia.

An engineer named Green and a railway surveyor have been robbed and stripped while en route to Jark. They have returned to Bender Abbas. Badshah tribesmen have looted five hundred camels near Bender Abbas.

Four hundred and fifty gendarmes have started for Marse.

China.

After prolonged negotiations, it has been already arranged to begin immediately the construction of the Hukin-Hukuang railway which was suspended owing to the revolution. British, French, German and American Banks are concerned in the original contract signed in 1911, which provided for a loan of six million sterling for the construction of 1,600 miles between Hunan, Hupoh and Szechuan. The railways are a most important undertaking and have been constructed for by China and will ensure employment for many thousands of workmen. It is understood that preference will be given to soldiers whom the Government wishes to disband.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen left Tokio on the 3rd. His speeches indicate that the real object of his visit was to foster Sino-Japanese commercial and political relations. He has offered important concessions to business and manufacturers.

ministers with the exception of Mr. Justice Abder Rahim, of Madras, whom domestic troubles prevented from being present, and the Commission again sat well into the late afternoon, finding it impossible once more to adhere to the time table.

The Aga Khan's evidence, which was completed before the fifteen interval, was the feature of the day's proceedings.

His Highness the Aga Khan accepted the present system of recruitment by open competition for the Indian Civil Service as being generally satisfactory, and thought the principle of open competition should always be maintained. The system of recruitment he would adopt to the exigencies of modern times so as to give a wider scope for satisfying the legitimate aspirations of Indians and the fullest development of their talents. The Aga Khan also said he was in favour of a simultaneous examination in England and India. I would, he observed, give full effect to the House of Commons's resolution of June 1893: "That all competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for the appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in nature, all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit." I would strongly advocate the holding of examinations in India, not only for the Indian Civil Services but for other competitive services as well, such as the Medical, the Forest and the Police. It is unfair that examinations for Indian Civil Services should be held only in England. When the principle of competitive examination for Civil appointments in India was introduced sixty years ago, there were no educational institutions in India and therefore it was natural to leave the holding of simultaneous examination in India out of consideration. But the contact of the East with the West has profoundly changed the aspect of Indian education and during the last half century there has been remarkable educational progress in India. By creating a Special Department of Education, the Government of India have shown their earnest desire to give a vigorous and systematic impetus to education. The establishment of various useful Faculties in recent years, will open up careers to Indian students outside the Government Service and the legal profession and I, for one, have no hesitation in saying that the Indian Civil Service will in no way be swamped by Indians. Nor will its morale deteriorate in any way. The brightest sons of India—Telang, Ranade, Gokhale and others—were the product of English education in India. As I have said, the simultaneous examination in England and India should be identical in regard to the standard of test, the examination papers, marks, etc. If the Indian Civil Service examination is held in India, it will open the doors to promising and talented students, who, owing to their limited means and the disabilities entailed upon them in consequence of their stay in a foreign land for their studies, and the risks involved in failure, are unable to proceed to England to compete for the Service. It will do away with any feeling of discontent that may exist at the idea that the Indian Civil Service has been kept as a preserve for Englishmen and that the children of the soil are shut out from their proper and legitimate share in controlling the administration of the country.

A MYTHICAL DANGER.

There is no fear of the Service being overrun by Indian, added the Aga Khan. At present in the Bombay Presidency out of 140 posts held by the I.C.S. there are only nine held by Indians, including two Statutory Civilian. This works out at something like 6 per cent. of the Civil posts in the Presidency being held by Indians. Again, in the whole of India, of 1,291 I.C.S., only 56 are Indians and the remaining 1,235 are Europeans. This is a very meagre proportion and if the simultaneous examination is held in India, I do not think that more than 15 or 20 per cent. at the most of Indians would be recruited by means of the system of competitive examination. I am convinced that the so-called danger of the Service being swamped by Indians is imaginary. The fear that the Service will be overcrowded by Indians is based on the fallacious idea that Indians have the full gift of passing examinations by means of cramming.

The Aga Khan further declared that he would place the classical languages of India on the same footing as the classical languages of Europe in regard to the allotment of marks. Persian he would include and treat on an equal level with French and German and he would also include a knowledge of the rudiments of Indian administration and Indian history, particularly history of recent years. "I do not think," he added, answering question 19, "that the Indian element in the Service would ever be alarmingly great. I would certainly be sorry to see the British character of the administrative disappear but to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Indians for a larger share in the administration I would throw open to them, when they are found fit and eligible, such appointments as are generally held by Englishmen. They should be promoted to the Commissionership, to the responsible posts in the Secretariats, or even to Lieutenant-Governorship if they are fit and senior."

His Highness further expressed the view that a college started in some suitable centre like Bombay, or Calcutta, would be likely to be more useful for all the Indian Services. He thought young

officers should not be first of all sent to districts where they were apt to form initial opinions of India and Indians based on faulty deductions drawn from observing the lower classes of society with whom alone in such districts they were brought into contact.

BRITISH CHARACTER ESSENTIAL.

The Aga Khan was examined by the members of the Commission at considerable length. Replying first of all to questions by the Chairman, His Highness emphasized the necessity of the British character in the administration being maintained.

The Chairman: You would be sorry if the European element became a negligible quantity?—Yes. I should be very sorry if it became only a half or even only two-thirds.

Holding that view what is your objection to placing a guarantee in your proposal, even though the contingency of a large proportion of Indians entering the service is as remote as you suggest?—It is so remote that I really think the contingency is unnecessary. "Let sleeping dogs lie." It is useless to stir things up. There is no danger and if there was such a guarantee then I should certainly have a guarantee put in.

Do you think the advance of education in India has reached a stage to justify the expectation that some Indian candidates might attain success in the immediate years to come in the simultaneous examinations?—On the whole—Yes.

His Highness was next questioned on the possible introduction of crammers, and on this point the Chairman asked: Do you think they would be an advantage to India?—I do not think they would do any harm. It would be one way of getting knowledge.

Not a very satisfactory way?—Well I have never been to one and don't know much about it.

But you are familiar, probably, with the effect of crammers on the educational position of a young man. Would you run the danger of increasing to a very large degree the number of what I might call artificially educated young men?—I don't think it is very probable.

Don't you think that a large number of young men would seek a career in the I.C.S., because of the possibilities to be attained by cramming?—If that happens then you may put in a minimum and change the character of entrance.

You would be prepared to deal with the danger of a large number coming in?—Yes, if it arises—at the very first sign.

Do you think that would be an appropriate moment for dealing with the danger?—I think it is better to wait because the possibility is so remote. And I think it is generally admitted that the spirit of service must be British. I admit that most heartily, and if the danger arose there must be this reservation.

"Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof?"—Exactly. If the proportion rose to more than 20 per cent. I should certainly be one of the first to ask for a restriction.

His Highness was next examined on the changes he recommended in the syllabus and said he did not agree that the present one of admission was too high. "It is of no use bringing boys out," he observed. He did not object to the transfer of men from one province to another: he thought it would be rather a good thing.

POSITION OF MUHAMMADANS.

The Aga Khan did not consider that Muhammadans would suffer by the introduction of simultaneous examinations, and he remarked that he advocated that Muhammadans should be put into the Provincial Service in greater numbers because the Indian Civil Service did not guarantee any limit, while in the Provincial Services there was a moral understanding that a certain number of Muhammadans should be admitted. Another reason was that more was required from a man in the I.C.S. than from a man in the Provincial Service; and a third was that a man in the Provincial Service had to deal more with the smaller questions.

Asked if he expected that in a few years Muhammadans would stand a fair chance with other creeds in competitive examinations the Aga Khan said, "No worse than now." Giving his reasons why there should be an increase of salaries in the Provincial Services, he pointed out that prices had risen very much of late. The rise in prices had been the greatest in the towns, and all who lived in the towns should have an increase in salaries.

Sir Murray Haumick then put a number of questions to His Highness. He was informed by the Aga Khan that Muhammadans of late had been realising more and more the importance of education. Asked his opinion on the desirability of giving scholarships to selected Indian boys who would be sent to public schools in England and trained for the I.C.S., he said he could not approve of any such proposal. It was the business of the State to give scholarships to pay for which the ryots would be taxed. His Highness also suggested that the probationary period should be one year in England and one year in India.

Sir Valentine Chirol followed with a number of questions and elicited that the sending Home of boys at an early age to be educated had not been sufficiently satisfactory. H. H. knew of instances in which the results had been unsatisfactory, and he knew of not one case in which the results had been entirely satisfactory.

Englishmen, the Aga Khan thought, must preponderate in the Service, and if any limit had to be placed at present on the number of Indians admitted to Service he suggested that the proportion should be ten per cent. This proportion he suggested might be revised every decade or so, but there was no probability at present of this proportion being reached.

Sir Valentine Chirol inquired if it was not better to make some contingency rather than leave matters to chance, but the Aga Khan thought during the next few years danger was not only improbable, but it was possible. After all, he added, the Commission had come out to study the whole problem, and this was only a small part of that problem. The moment they saw many Indians coming into the Service there might be a Government resolution saying that at a certain date there should be a certain percentage.

Sir Valentine Chirol: You would be prepared that the Government of India should make this limitation by resolution rather than that the Government of India should do so backed by the recommendations of such a Commission as this?—I think this Commission can give the Government of India power to pass such a resolution if necessary.

MUHAMMADAN SATISFACTION.

Questioned as to the attitude of the Muhammadan community regarding the matter, the Aga Khan said the community was likely to contribute more in proportion to the examinations than the other communities.

Sir Valentine: Is your community in any way dissatisfied with the present system of education?—No, they are very loyal.

Are they satisfied with the agencies through which that administration is carried on?—They think that the Service is a very good one, but they think it might have a few more Indians in it.

Replying to further questions, the Aga Khan said most of the Indians who had the British spirit were brought up by the best Englishmen in India. The British spirit could be got just as well in this way as by going to Europe, but he strongly advocated a visit to Europe in later years, when they could form conclusions, in order that they might see English life. He thought the fact that a man had spent some years in the Provincial Service was a better guarantee of his fitness than the fact that he had passed an open competition. In the former event he had been tried and tested; in the latter event he was more or less a dark horse.

Discussing the merits of a knowledge of Persian, the Aga Khan said German and French were most excellent for Indians but he thought, especially to Hindus, that a knowledge of Persian was of great value.

Mr Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Madge also asked a number of questions. The former enquired if the system of scholarships was introduced it would largely alter the character of the Indian section of the I.C.S. As a supposition the Aga Khan did not think it would.

Mr. MacDonald asked several questions regarding the study of Persian. He asked: I suppose you only advocate that the Indian candidate should take Persian?—I wish that the English candidate would. It would be a very good thing, but I think on the whole that the Englishman would be more likely to take French or German.

At the same time you think English candidates should have a little knowledge of Eastern culture?—It is greatly needed.

Do you think it is far better to select subjects for open competition from a somewhat less specialised series of subjects and then give a much longer time for probation after this open competition has been passed in order that during that period he may acquire Eastern culture?—That would be one way. The other would be to give to the English candidates additional marks for Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian if they take it up.

And therefore perhaps we should be better advised if we leave the study of Persian and all that it stands for until the probation period rather than before the open competition?—I think it is a very good thing for the European.

Then you will have to reduce the age at which the examination is held?—Yes, and increase the probation.

And if my mind is running on these lines you have not very much objection to it?—No; I approve of it.

And in the probation period you would bring in Indian economies and history?—Yes; and the best literature of the country.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY.

The problem we have to face is how, so far as the Indian is concerned, to select by competition and by subsequent training Indians who will understand English methods but who will remain to India still as Indians?—Yes; that is the problem of the country.

In answer to a question by Mr. Sly, His Highness said that the Indian League came into existence in 1906. The

various committees of the League were now considering the question in regard to the Public Services in India and they were in favour of the simultaneous examination.

You suggest that the number of Indian Civilians should in the next ten years be increased to ten per cent instead of the 6 per cent. at present:—Yes; and it should be gradually increased to 20 per cent, during the generation.

As a matter of fact when you make this recommendation, do you take into consideration the fact that at the present time there is a certain proportion of Indians, who hold what are called "listed posts." At present the superior listed posts are about eight per cent, but if you take also the inferior posts, the percentage is still larger?—My recommendation is irrespective of the "listed posts."

Can you give a maximum of percentages for the joint posts of civilians and listed officers?—I have not thought that out; but I would increase the percentage of listed posts also.

In reply to question No 15 you say that Indians should be appointed to the offices of Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors. What do you refer to when you make that suggestions? Do you know that at present there is no bar to the course you propose? Do you suggest any change?—No; I don't propose any change. I only emphasise the rights of Indians to those superior posts.

In reply to the Hon Mr. Gokhale, the Aga Khan said that the views he held about the simultaneous examination were shared by almost all the leading Muhammadans with whom he had conversed on the subject. He did not believe in the "theoretical danger" that the Indians would swamp the Indian Civil Service, if the simultaneous examination were allowed. The "theoretical danger" existed even now for if the Indians wanted to go in larger numbers for the examination in England, there was nothing to prevent them from so doing if they had the means to do so. It was for that reason that he was not in favour of fixing a minimum number of Englishmen in the Civil Service. He recommended the same standard of examination both for Englishmen and Indians for the simple reason that all the candidates should possess the same standard of efficiency. He thought that Mr. Nairajan's scheme was the best alternative for the simultaneous examination.

BRITISH CHARACTER NOT IN DANGER.

In reply to Mr. Chaudh. His Highness said that there was no danger of the British character in the administration being lost, by the admission of a larger proportion of Indians into the service. This was a question in which both the Hindu and the Muhammadan community was interested, and they both desired a larger proportion of Indians to be admitted into the Service. He did not favour the idea of communal representation in the Civil Service, though he did so in regard to the Provincial Service.

Cross examined by Sir Theodore Morrison, the Aga Khan said that he recommended the study of Persian on the ground of its educative value. He did not recommend it because Indians were interested in that language, but because it contained a wealth of literature of historical value. Asked as to whether another scheme that might be devised for the admission of Indians to higher posts would favour with him, the Aga Khan said that if it had the same end in view and if it removed the handicap that was placed on Indians being examined in England only for the Civil Service in India, he would agree to it; but the simultaneous examination has the simple and practical way out of the difficulty. Simultaneously with the admission of Indians to higher appointments, he would like to see the proportion of Indian civilians increased, but he would not sacrifice the one for the other.

Replying to Earl Ronaldshay, the Aga Khan said that he was in favour of the "open door" for all. Asked as to whether there were many Indians who could be considered capable for the offices of Lieutenant-Governor, the Aga Khan said that if they took ability plus the social position he was afraid there would not be many Indians found who would be fit and eligible for the office. He would bitterly resent any system, which favoured one class at the expense of another such as the introduction of a scholarship system. The State was not a charitable organization. There should be the open door for all, and there should not be selection or favouritism at the expense of the ryots shewn to the sons of those, who had money and influence.

Asked by Sir Valentine Chirol as to whether he had modified his views that the influence and the aspiration of the smaller Indian classes were in danger of being lost, since the presentation of the Muhammadan deputation to Lord Minto in 1906, the Aga Khan said that that applied to political rights and to representation in the Council and the Provincial Service and not to representation in the Civil Service. At that time the question of the Civil Service was not discussed.

TETE À TETE



This week we have received no letter from Dr. Ansari, but the Manager of the Mission—whom many of our readers may perhaps know as the fascinating late Manager of the *Comrade*—who has been left in Constantinople writes

The All-India Medical Mission.

to us a long chatty letter from which we gather the following information. As Dr. Ansari had cabled to us early in February—information which was misunderstood owing to vagueness of language—the Mission was divided into two units, and Dr. Ansari had requested Basim Omar Pasha, Vice-President of the Ottoman Red Crescent, that he should inform him where the units were to work. In the second week of February, Dr. Ansari received a wire from the Pasha and was called from Omarli, where his field-hospital was located, to Constantinople. On going there he was informed that the War Office had accepted the services of a section of his Mission, as also of a section of the Ottoman Red Crescent Mission, and that his section should get ready and await orders. It was indeed a great compliment paid to Dr. Ansari's Mission that it was selected in preference to the Egyptian, the British, the German and several other Missions that had applied for such service. As Dr. Ansari stated in his last letter, this section of his Mission was attached to Enver Bey's army the destination of which was kept secret. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui now writes that the goal of the expedition was revealed, on 17th February, and that it is Gallipoli; and, as our former Manager puts it in his own inimitable manner, "Enver means to dismiss the Bulgarians as he has done Krivodol." The equipment of the Mission was divided into two parts, half being left at Omarli and the other half being sent to Constantinople. On account of this division some more equipment had to be ordered, and there will now be 150 beds instead of 100, 75 in the Omarli hospital and 75 in Gallipoli. Of course, the Gallipoli section is in charge of Dr. Ansari, who has with him Dr. Rahman and the Egyptian Doctor Foad, who is given to the Mission by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society and will act as interpreter also. Mr. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, formerly Football Captain at Aligarh, will be the Manager of the section, and Mr. Abdul Aziz Ansari will be store-keeper. Mr. Noor ul Hassan is the Pharmaciour. In addition to these Messrs. Chinghluddin, Tawangur Hussain, Tafazzul Hussain, Qazi Bashiruddin Ahmed and Manzoor Ali are the other members of the section. It has also two interpreters attached to it. The section at Omarli consists of Dr. Naim Ansari, who is in charge of the section, Dr. Raza Khan and Dr. Mahmudullah. Mr. Shauib Qureshi is the Manager of this section, and Mr. Abdur Rahman of Peshawar is the store-keeper. Mr. Abdul Wahed Khan is the Pharmaciour, but as he is on leave in Constantinople, having been invalided there with pneumonia and pharynx, Mr. Hamed Rasool is officiating for him. The other members of this section are Messrs. Ghulam Ahmed Khan, Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf Ansari and Ismail Hussain Shirazee. This section has also two interpreters attached to it. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui himself is to remain in Constantinople where they have hired two rooms in order to store things not needed at present and where Mr. Abdur Rahman is to stay permanently. How he likes this work is best described in his own words: "I have to supply food to Omarli and Gallipoli now and it was thought very necessary. I wanted to go to Gallipoli, but the Director's despatch 'no' sealed my fate, and unhappily I am once more the same old Babu, and will not be able to serve the Turkish soldiers—the purpose for which I came." Well, we presume a permanent stay at Constantinople will not spoil the excellent uniform in which our former Manager has been photographed in Turkey, copies of which have been sent to us and a number of particular friends. He looks more fascinating than ever, and this should be at least some slight consolation to him in his splendid isolation. But banter apart, many a greater man than Mr. Abdur Rahman has had to sacrifice personal inclinations

to the orders of his superiors, and we feel sure that Dr. Ansari has chosen the best man for the most indispensable although comparatively uninteresting work. We are also confident that whatever work Mr. Abdur Rahman has to do he will do with all his might. He will be going to Gallipoli for a day to establish connection and learn particulars about the best mode of sending provisions to the Gallipoli section. As he says, he is now a regular Quarter-Master-General. It is very interesting to know that the All-India Medical Mission has already proved its capacity for work and expedition, because the Mission was only informed at 2-30 that it must be on board the ship with its 350 packing cases by 5-30. "Imagine my horror and panic," writes Mr. Abdur Rahman. "It was raining and snowing and was as bitterly cold as you can imagine. But, thank God, we succeeded in taking our things on board. From Messrs. La Fontaine Bros. godown (They have been very kind to us and kept our things without any charge. They are an English firm.) we took the things to the wharf and from there by boats to the steamer. When Dr. Ansari embarked it was raining terribly and it was dark also. I am sorry I could take no photographs. They were all huddled together on a barge, and were being towed by a launch. That was the last I saw of them. I wanted to go on board, but Khaliq who had gone to bring a cart-load of food stuffs from the Hilal-i-Ahmar Anbar (Red Crescent Stores) had not come, and I had to go in search of him. I did not find him and, therefore, I hope he reached on board safely. The boat itself is rather an interesting one. It was once an English boat and is still called the *Cambridge*. It was taken from the Greeks and will now be utilised to take provisions to Gallipoli and to bring the wounded from there. It is given to the Hilal-i-Ahmar now. The saloons are good, but the ship does show signs of having received some shots. The section at Omarli is working. There are about 25 patients out of which 10 are surgical cases. The operations have been successful and the wounds are healing rapidly. The arrangements are to fill the hospitals at the base first and always leave room in the field-hospitals for emergencies. So, as long as patients can be brought to Stamboul they will be brought here. But we are going to get heavy work soon. I am sure there is going to be a decisive battle soon. May the Turks win!" As regards the war the Manager writes that the Committee of Union and Progress have appointed a Sub-Committee to supply us with authentic and completely reliable news. It seems that the news of the battle of Uzunkiuft was not authentic, but as Mr. Abdur Rahman writes, "it was not absolutely false. The number of the Bulgars killed was exaggerated by the Turkish Press." As regards the Bonds, he writes that Dr. Ansari had had several interviews with Talaat Bey who is the real worker behind the scenes. The Manager promises to ask Sheikh Abdul Aziz Chawish and let us know definitely what has been done about the Bonds. He was told that applications for these Bonds had been received by wire from Egypt. We regret to learn that the tents supplied to the Mission through the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, who had placed the orders with Maw, Son & Sons, were exceedingly bad and Dr. Ansari has decided to order nothing more from London. We have, therefore, decided to request Mr. Ameer Ali to return the balance of the funds we had deposited with him, as it would in every way be more satisfactory to purchase further equipment from Constantinople itself. We are sure that Mr. Ameer Ali did what one in his position was expected to do, and that the fault of supplying such defective tents lies entirely at the doors of the firm selected. Mr. Abdur Rahman encloses three Turkish Treasury receipts, one for £128-16-8 contributed to our Relief Fund by the shoe merchants of Delhi, and two instalments of £1,000 each for which we had ourselves purchased the drafts in December. We shall be glad to give inspection of these receipts to anyone who may care to see them. The Ottoman Red Crescent Society had also sent us an account of the work done by it which we publish gladly in these columns.

We have received through the India Office the following letter from

A Letter from Salonica.

Mr. Harry H. Lamb, H. M. B. Consul-General at Salonica, which we are sure will give the Indian Mussalmans some idea of the immense need for systematic relief work in that region:—"I have learned from the India Office, through the Foreign Office, that you have kindly contributed £100 for the Relief of Mussalmán refugees in this district, and that you are prepared to contribute a further sum of £500 for the prevention of death from starvation and exposure, on condition that it is made clear to the recipients of the relief that the money is being contributed by Mussalmán readers of the *Comrade* newspaper, and that you are furnished with a statement of the numbers relieved and the methods of relief employed. On behalf of the 'International Committee for the Relief of the Refugees' of which I am a member, I beg to thank you most heartily for your generous contribution and offer. The circumstances under which this committee was started were as follows:

Immediately after the first Turkish reverses in October last, the Moslem population of the regions bordering on Serbia and Bulgaria were seized with panic, abandoned their villages and fled south. This flight continued with the advance of the enemy until, on the entry of the Greek forces into Salonica, there were probably 45,000 collected in the town, many of whom remained absolutely without shelter, every available spare building being occupied. The town further had to provide accommodation for about forty thousand Greek troops, an equal number of Bulgarians and 25,000 Turkish prisoners of war. Several small committees were immediately formed for the supply of bread to the most destitute amongst the refugees, but it was speedily felt that something more was needed. The overcrowding and the insanitary conditions in which a large proportion of these unfortunate people were compelled to live resulted in an outbreak of disease, which constituted a serious source of danger not only for the refugees themselves but also for the town of Salonica. The International Committee was then formed, under authority from the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in occupation, to consider and advise the general sanitary and economic aspects of the situation. One of the earliest decisions of this Committee was that, in order to relieve the congestion and diminish the danger of epidemics, measures should be taken to assist the return to their homes of all such refugees as could easily and safely be repatriated and to establish a Refugee Camp outside the town for those who remained without proper lodging. The spread of small-pox shortly afterwards necessitated the establishment of a second camp of isolation in a different direction for segregation of those who had been in danger of infection. It is principally with these camps, and especially the former, as being the larger and more permanent, that the International Committee is now occupied. The Camp now contains about 6,000 refugees, in addition to whom there are 250 Turkish prisoners of war specially allotted for the maintenance and guard of the Camp. The supplying of bread and the strictly necessary amount of fuel to these people costs about £100 per diem, and as the Camp is perpetually increasing so also is the expenditure. The Greek Government has promised a grant at the rate of thirty centimes per head per day, which covers about half the expenditure. For the rest we are dependant on subscriptions, which so far have come in in just sufficient amount to enable us to carry on. We must, however, look forward to being obliged to maintain the camp for another two or three months and it is obviously very uncertain whether subscriptions will continue to come in at the same rate. As regards the repatriation of the refugees, it has so far only been found possible to send back a relatively small number to the districts occupied by the Greek forces, to places in the immediate vicinity of Salonica or on the railway lines. Between 2,000 and 3,000 have been sent to Smyrna, in addition to which the Egyptian Red Crescent recently shipped away to the same place about 260 convalescent soldiers and some families of Turkish officers and officials. The number of refugees in the city does not, however, appear to diminish in proportion to the numbers sent away. Fresh arrivals from the interior or persons hitherto accommodated in private houses and, therefore, not figuring upon any lists continually appear to fill up the places vacated, and I fear that this process is destined to continue and that we shall be faced with a Refugee problem for a year or more to come. With regard to your particular offer, it will, I think, be perfectly possible to satisfy your conditions, but you will see that, if your contribution is to be spent exclusively on food (for clothing is very little required, blankets have been generously provided and cash gifts are never made) it may be rather difficult to specify exactly which day's or which section's supply is the result of your readers' subscription. I have, therefore, thought that the matter might be facilitated if you would allow me to read into your conditions "prevention of death from disease" and specialise your contribution for the maintenance of the Camp Hospital, which we are just installing, and other medical expenses. I am commencing by expending in this way the £100 already at my disposal and, if you agree to my suggestion, will make it understood that the relief of the sick in camp is the special affair of the readers of the *Comrade*, taking upon myself the payment of the two Doctors and the chemist whom we maintain at the camp, and all expenses connected with the nursing of the sick, the burial of the dead and so on. At present there are already about 90 sick (including cases of small-pox, dysentery, pneumonia, measles, diphtheria, etc.) and unfortunately a mortality ranging from 5 to 10 per diem, the deaths being mostly amongst very young children. I shall be very glad to answer any possible questions, if the matter should continue to interest you."

As you pleased some of our Urdu contemporaries to publish without the least authority that can be found in their columns rumours of the capture of Soba by Enver Bey with the result that they have increased their own sales and our work. We have received no less than a couple of hundred reply prepaid telegrams, asking us to confirm

the news published by our eminently shrewd contemporaries, and we have been forced, sometimes at some expense to ourselves on account of a larger number of words in the replies than paid for by the senders of the telegrams, to inform them that we have no news to give, and that we cannot undertake the duty of sending news to them by private wires. We are sure that these gentlemen mean well and, in fact, pay us the compliment of believing us to be the repositories and the distributors of authentic news. But like the majority of our countrymen, they are extremely thoughtless and would soon kill us with their kindness. As the Persian poet has it,

اے روشنی طبع تو برمن بلاشدی

(Oh, the brilliance of my intellect, thou hast become a dire calamity!) We would ask them to consider two questions. In the first place, why need we publish a weekly paper and a daily Urdu bulletin if we are prepared to act as a private news-agency for every one who chooses to send us a telegram or letter, or besiege our office with a request for news from Turkey. Even though our journalistic efforts are not commercial undertakings, surely we cannot afford to lose large sums by forestalling our publications with information privately communicated to every questioner. Why need the newspaper be bought if a telegram or an inquiry in person can elicit all the information that is wanted. Of course, it costs the sender of the telegram at least 12 annas, whereas the *Hamdard* daily bulletin can be bought for a tithe of that amount; but the *Hamdard* bulletin when sold brings a grain or two of corn to the mill, whereas the telegram brings us nothing and costs us time and much trouble to our people who are sent to despatch the reply. We are not a news agency, but a newspaper, but even news-agencies like Reuters and others do not supply news without charging something more than the telegraphic charges. Are we the only people who are expected to gain nothing and lose everything, in order to do our duty by the Moslem community? The second question to which we would invite the attention of our telegraphic questioners is whether they have ever considered how much time and attention we are devoting every day to the many undetected lies we have in hand without saddling ourselves with the additional duty of contradicting silly rumours published by newspapers whose one consideration is to make money out of popular excitement and curiosity. We do not grumble that such newspapers have a ready sale, but we are certainly entitled to refuse to accept the additional duty imposed upon us without the least consideration for our time, attention and expense. Many of the answers which we have recently sent to such telegrams have been somewhat caustic, and we are really sorry for having had to reply to them in this manner. But, in order to discourage such inquiries, the only other course open to us was to send no reply and waste the six annas for the reply which had already been paid by our questioners. We hope they will take to heart what we have said in reply to them and all that we write here, and we publicly state here that in future no such telegrams will be answered.

We FEEL honoured by the receipt of an autograph letter from Mr. Chauncy Arnold which we take leave to publish in these columns. He writes from Rangoon just on the eve of setting out on a sea-trip to recuperate his health, and we

The Appeal of Mr. Arnold.

pray to the Almighty that he will be his old self once more. "I write to thank you for your sympathy and efforts to have justice done in the McCormick case. I was released, as you are aware, by the spontaneous action of His Excellency the Viceroy, and until I was assured that the unsought remission would not militate against my right to appeal to the Privy Council I declined to leave jail. But during the ten days elapsing between the Governor-General's order and my release telegrams of a reassuring character were received by us from London, and my lawyers were advised that I could not resist the remission but would expose myself to being treated as a trespasser in the gaol after the 18th instant: so I submitted to a so-called clemency most distasteful to me. The news of the admission of the appeal, and the stern remark of the Lord Chancellor, has been received here with profound relief and the thousands of people, Burmese, Indians and Chinese in the Province, who have been closely watching the case are eagerly looking forward to justice being at last done. My personal fate is of no account in this case. The principle involved is that which is the very basis of the justification for British dominance in the East—absolute justice in the King-Emperor's Courts. A deplorable impression would result if the Privy Council had declined to admit an appeal of such a kind. My imprisonment was a very wearying experience and has left me in a condition of nervous exhaustion. I had hoped to take up my daily editorial work and correspondence forthwith. But after a few days I have found this impracticable and am leaving to-morrow for a sea-trip and a stay

"on the southern coast where I hope to recuperate thoroughly." Mr. Arnold has set a noble example to others in his profession which, we hope, will inspire them with courage and readiness to shrink from no sacrifice in the cause of duty. But this is not all. He has set a no less noble example to the British in India which should inspire them with a sense of duty to the Empire which, whether it may or may not have been won with the sword of Bellona, can only be maintained with the sword of Justice. That Empire is a precious possession to all within it, whether they be Indians or British, and its continuance demands from both the observance of the laws that ensure peace and progress. We have not been, nor shall ever be, remiss in our duty in condemning law-breaking, but whether an Indian Terrorist breaks that law or a British Planter or Civilian, the sword of Justice has to be kept equally sharp for both. H. E. the Viceroy, on the advice of his official advisers, has done what the Executive could do. The Judiciary of the Empire has yet to decide finally the question of Mr. Channing Arnold's innocence or guilt, and it would be a standing reproach to us if we left Mr. Arnold unassisted in proving his innocence in the highest tribunal of justice in the Empire. The number of our subscribers to-day is nearly 3,000, and if on an average each of those sent us even the insignificant sum of a rupee for the expenses of the appeal, we would feel that what we wrote about the McCormick and the Arnold cases has not been lost on three thousand men, whose love of justice and sense of duty to their Empire are second to none in the world. Readers of newspapers do not often demand from journalists the courage of heroes and the convictions of martyrs. But newspapers and journalists are mostly what the newspaper-reading public make them, and we should like to know more clearly than we do at present what standard of courage and convictions the readers of the *Comrade* wish to set for journalists in the British Empire. The Arnold Appeal is an excellent touchstone, and we are emphatically of opinion that none of our readers has a right to condemn any one connected with the McCormick and the Arnold cases who is not prepared to make even such an insignificant sacrifice as we have suggested.

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on the 25th February, the Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim asked if the Government would be pleased to state (a) the total expenditure from State revenues, (b) the total number of students, and (c) the

Moslem Education and Grants-in-Aid.

number of Moslem students with reference to (1) Government Arts colleges, (2) non-Moslem grant-in-aid Arts colleges, and (3) each of the Moslem grant-in-aid Arts colleges. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler could furnish the necessary information only as regards Government Arts colleges. The total expenditure in these institutions from State revenues was Rs. 11,64,697 in 1910-11, the total number of students was 6,178 and the number of Moslem students 2,803. As regards non-Moslem and Moslem grant-in-aid colleges, he could not give "reliable information, the great majority of such colleges being undenominational and open to Hindus, Muhammadans and members of other communities alike." The Hon. Member for Education seems to attach a peculiarly exclusive significance to the word "denominational," and so college, in his opinion, can be regarded as a Moslem college unless its *alumni* are exclusively and entirely Moslem. The Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, we feel persuaded, could have never imagined that a common and generally well-understood expression would be subjected to a love of academic precision. By "a Moslem college," for instance, one usually understands an institution under exclusive Moslem control and management, though it may be open for admission to students of any denomination in the country. We trust the Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoy will respond to the fine sense of terminological exactitude displayed by the Hon. Member for Education and frame his question accordingly. The chief consideration is to get information on the important point of proportionate State expenditure, per student, on every grant-in-aid Arts college in the country, be it denominational or undenominational. Indeed, the information asked for is to some extent of the kind that the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler was pleased to give regarding the M. A. O. College, Aligarh. "It was reported in 1909," said the Hon. Member for Education, "that the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, would be in receipt of grants aggregating Rs. 26,400 a year when the Professor of Arabic reached his maximum salary." Now it may be stated that the annual expenditure of the college at Aligarh, which has about 800 students on its rolls, is about Rs. 1,85,000, exclusive of Rs. 35,000 spent on the school attached to it. The expenditure per student works out to about Rs. 309. According to the information furnished by the Education Member, the expenditure per student in Government Arts colleges comes up to about Rs. 189. It will be readily seen that the Aligarh College is proportionately spending much more on education than Government colleges, while the aid it receives from State revenues is not very considerable. There is a certain class of educational experts who measure efficiency

by the scale of expenditure, though for our part we would very much like to know the cause of the greater costliness of education provided at Aligarh, especially in view of the fact that colleges maintained by the State are held out as models of efficiency to which all aided and unaided institutions are expected to conform. We wonder why the provision of an annual income at first of Rs. 600, and later, as a concession, of Rs. 500 per student was insisted on as an irreducible minimum for the Moslem University, especially when we remember that Government colleges only spent about Rs. 189 per student and not Rs. 485 as was incorrectly stated at the time. It is absolutely necessary to secure definite information as to the amount that is being spent on Moslem education from State revenues in any shape and form and determine its relative proportion in regard to the total expenditure on education in India. It would then be realised, we are fully persuaded, that the Mussalmans themselves are proportionately spending much more on their education, and that the expenditure on their education from public funds is not at all commensurate with the contribution that they make to the revenues of the State. Apart from the fact that the grant-in-aid to the Aligarh College is not adequate, we wish to make a few observations on a question of principle. As far as we can see grants-in-aid are based on the principle of allowing the fullest scope for the development of private enterprise in education. They are paid out of public revenues and involve the only obligation that they would be tightly and usefully spent. A feeling has, however, been allowed to get abroad that grants-in-aid are looked upon by Government as conferring on it a right to interfere in the internal management of the institutions that receive them. Such an interpretation of the principle would be altogether misleading and unjustifiable. Grants-in-aid are meant to foster education, to encourage private enterprise and not to strangle it. The Aligarh College receives grant-in-aid and the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is *ex-officio* its patron, who enjoys certain well defined advisory powers according to the Rules. These two facts, however, do not stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect. Sir James Meeson in the course of his speech at the Central Hindu College, Benares, while defining his position to the Aligarh College, said: "The Aligarh College, in consonance with the wishes of its distinguished founder, has always had a close association with the Government. It receives grants from the public revenues, and the Lieutenant-Governor is *ex-officio* its patron. From its start the Hindu College has neither asked nor received direct assistance from the Government." We are sure His Honour simply wanted to emphasise the fact that, according to the wishes of the founder, the Aligarh College has always had a close association with the Government, and not that such association was a direct consequence of its receiving the grant-in-aid. If it were true that grant-in-aid can only be purchased by losing some measure of independence in internal management there would be a strong temptation to Mussalmans to do without it in all their efforts for the organisation and development of communal education. This would be most unfortunate, and we would be distressed to find that the chances for its growth are multiplying.

Much as we would like to earn the praise of the *Pioneer* which has at last found something to praise in the non official members of the Council, we regret we would prefer to know why a Bill such as the Conspiracy Bill must be published, presented and passed all in the course of some three weeks, and presumably without the benefit of the High Courts' opinion. Ever since British rule was established in India Conspiracy *per se*, except within well defined limits, has not been an offence. Was the divergence from the Criminal Law of England merely accidental? Even if so, could not a little more time have been given for a consideration of the Bill? To our mind the omission in the Penal Code appears to have been deliberate. Before we legislate, let us examine the merits of the proposed law not only as on paper but as likely to be administered in our courts. And we ask whether the same machinery for dispensing justice with the help of qualified judges and independent and educated juries exists in India as in England. Mere intention to do an illegal act or a legal act in an illegal manner, without any overt act in furtherance of that intention, should be made an offence only where truly English safeguards exist. We shall deal with the subject a little later also.

The Conspiracy Bill.

SHAIKH ABDUL AZIZ SHAWISH, our special correspondent, Latest News has sent us the following cablegram, dated Stamboul, 9th March, 6-40 a. m.:

About Peace.
"Interviewed Grand Vizier personally. Cabinet never cedes Adrianople, islands or Gallipoli. Negotiations coincide with reply to Powers' Note. Slight modifications possible. Mussalman interests in Rumeli and Macedonia safeguarded. Other statements false." After this we are sure none of us need put any credence in the gossip that Renter has been wiring from day to day except as far as to believe that Bulgaria is most anxious for peace.

The Comrade.

The Financial Statement.

A MEETING of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 1st March to receive the Financial Statement from the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. The Statement is a record of another year of prosperity in the finances of India, as is evident from the large surplus that the Finance Member was able to announce. He claimed it as his good fortune that for a third time he was in a position to bear witness to the material well-being of this country. A year ago he framed his estimates on the assumption of a year of normal seasons and trade. "In looking back now over a period, the happenings of which it was then my duty to forecast, I shall have to describe a large improvement on our original estimates. The year that is drawing to a close has proved to be one of prosperity and plenty, the results of which have easily outrun anticipations consistent with the principle of caution which I have suggested as necessary in our financial prognostications." This principle of caution is based on the possibility of relapses "to which, by reason of its climatic conditions, India has always been subject." Whether these relapses are of such magnitude, frequency and suddenness as to justify rigidly conservative forecasts we will discuss later. There can be no doubt that the estimates framed on "the principle of caution" have often placed huge surpluses at the disposal of the Finance Member. It is worthy of note that the main agricultural features of the current year have not been abnormally favourable. According to Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson himself, for India as a whole the rainfall was little below normal, and the wheat crop of 1912, though in respect of area and outturn was greatly better than the normal, was inferior to the crop of 1911. The trade returns during the current year show a considerable expansion and, according to the Finance Member, they furnish a more definite and statistical test of the year's prosperity. The value of India's seaborne commerce in merchandise during the first nine months of the year amounted to about 296 crores as against 264 crores in the preceding year. "On every side," remarked Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, "there are plain indications of a continuance of the progress and prosperity of this country. The effect of the conditions I have outlined is written large across our figures." He is, however, careful to note that the range of prices has been high, though he says that "I do not know that it is higher than in the preceding year, or consequently that the comparison I have drawn is misleading as an indication of the volume of trade."

The Budget for the current year was prepared for a revenue, Imperial and Provincial together, of £79½ millions, but according to the revised estimate it is anticipated that the figure will rise to £87 millions, an improvement of £7½ millions, of which £5 millions will be secured from Opium and Railways. It is estimated that the aggregate expenditure will exceed only by £171,000 that provided in the Budget. Large grants have, however, been distributed to provinces out of the Imperial revenues. After allowing for these grants, there remains a surplus of £3,362,000 as against a surplus anticipated in the Budget of £1,478,000. Apart from the Opium windfall of £1,463,000, the improvement in ordinary revenue has been £6,191,000, comprising increases under Railways, Customs, Mint, Post-Office and Telegraphs, Exchange and Irrigation. The great bulk of the improvement shown on a comparison with the Budget has been contributed by the railways. "In making my estimate under this head," said the Finance Member, "I was cautious, and it would ill-befit, in my judgment, a Finance Minister in this country to be otherwise; but I think the most irresponsible critic would have hesitated to predict that the development of traffic would prove so enormous as to constitute a crisis in railway management." The gross railway earnings have been almost £4½ millions above the estimate. The Finance Minister thinks he was justified in his caution as he could not obviously base his calculations on an expansion of railway traffic that has been incalculably enormous. The caution may have been justified. But as this caution represents the declared principle that lies at the root of the financial policy of the Government, it is permissible to examine its general propriety and wisdom.

It may be conceded, for the sake of argument, that the Indian finances are liable to sudden and great vicissitudes on account of the peculiar agricultural conditions as well as the general undeveloped state of the country. But even, in spite of these vicissitudes, the significant fact remains that there has been a steady and marked expansion in the Indian revenues year after year. This expansion has, of course, been due to the normal growth of trade and the general development of the country. With the growth of revenues the annual expenditure has, for various reasons, grown apace. Excessive prudence under these circumstances

is rarely a virtue and may easily become an obstacle in the way of general progress and development. Beneficent measures for the well-being of the people need not wait till the financial experts have pronounced that the Indian finances have reached an ideal stage of stability. As long as estimates of revenues are framed under the shadow of abnormal periods of depression and expenditure is allotted on the assumption that the conditions would remain normal and favourable, the financial policy will lack the necessary elements of constructive statesmanship. To budget for as little a surplus as possible with the full certainty that the surplus would be enormous under normal conditions, may be admirable from the point of view of the financier whose sole business is to keep an equilibrium between receipts and disbursements, but it is hardly an ideal worth the efforts of a statesman aspiring to create a vigorous nation with powerful intellectual and moral equipment. As long as surpluses are more "fortunate" than anticipated, more in the nature of windfalls than the result of careful calculation and forethought, they will be applied neither to measures of public utility involving recurring expenditure nor to the alleviation of the taxpayer's burdens. The element of uncertainty that keeps the Finance Ministers of India from adopting wider outlook and bolder principles is itself a product of a nervous and timid policy. The Indian financial situation owes its instability mainly to the inadequate control that the masses of the people are able to exercise on the general conditions of their existence. Any measures that would raise their level of intelligence and capacity will correspondingly increase their powers to defeat chance and render their future position and prospects calculable. A Finance Minister of India who has the statesmanlike grasp of the situation, and is gifted with a long vision, will not hesitate to budget large and adequate sums for the moral and intellectual progress of the people as permanent and recurring charges on the revenues of the State. Thus, he will not only rescue the finances of India from the eternal dread of vicissitudes, but initiate a truly constructive financial policy and win the undying gratitude of the people. The Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has, throughout his career, enjoyed the confidence of the Indian public and has never failed to express his sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of the people. His clear recognition of the claims of education and sanitation are a sufficient testimony that he is fully alive to the real needs of the country. But we are constrained to admit that, while dealing with the popular demands with sympathy and now and then with a measure of liberality, he has not been able to free himself from the notion that huge surpluses are an end in themselves. He has kept the finances of India in good order, but he has not laid the foundations of a constructive policy that would hasten the moral and intellectual progress of the country. "The great attention which has been paid in recent years to the needs of sanitation and education," observed Sir G. Fleetwood Wilson in the course of his statement, "has led to a systematic review of requirements and preparation of projects generally. So long as there is uncertainty as to the amount that will be available from year to year, progress must be fitful and uneconomical." The words we have italicised are pregnant with wisdom. We trust they will afford his colleague, the Hon. Member for Education, some food for reflection. We wish, too, that they had been of more practical use to him while framing his budget.

Much the greater portion of the improvement in the Indian revenues has accrued in the Imperial account. The Government of India do not propose, however, to retain all that has come to them; they would be generous and intend to make the provinces partners in their good fortunes. In disposing of his surplus the Finance Member has had to do much anxious thinking. "I have a large sum of money to dispose of," says the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, "we are unlikely to have again, for some time, a margin anything like so large as in the present year, and it is all the more necessary to be careful in the distribution of what is in our hands." It has been decided that the bulk of the money will go in grants to secure a steady progress in education and sanitation, "an object which has the support of both official and non-official opinion." The surplus is to be distributed by giving 2½ crores for non-recurring expenditure on education, 1½ crores for urban sanitation, 30 lakhs to Burma for communications, 20 lakhs to Assam for development and one crore in aid of general provincial resources.

As regards the Budget for 1913-14, the Finance Member estimates for a probable aggregate revenue of £82,322,000 and an aggregate expenditure of £83,850,000. It is estimated that the Imperial revenue account will be £3,612,000 worse under Opium, £594,000 worse under Railways, and £143,000 worse under other heads, while alienations of revenue would be £3,347,000 less. It may be noted here that the net expenditure on the military service during the year is anticipated to be £19,635,400 as against an estimate of £19,094,500. The estimate for 1913-14 is £19,646,800. The total capital outlay for the next year is estimated at £14,800,000. The other debits include the discharge of debt on account of railway

debentures, the repayment of another £½ million India bonds and the deficit, which is estimated at £2,889,000, in the provincial account. Altogether about £10½ millions have to be found, and this the Government of India propose to do mainly by utilising their balances. They also propose to raise a loan of three crores in India.

The Finance Member dealt at some length with the question of opium, exchange, currency and gold coinage. In regard to the gold coinage Sir G. Fleetwood Wilson said that the view taken by the Government of India was a very simple one, and it did not involve any departure from their currency policy. All they proposed was that if anyone who had gold wished to have it coined, he should be able to do so. After putting in an eloquent and closely-reasoned plea for the establishment of a gold mint in India, the Hon. the Finance Member said: "The Council will appreciate that all I have said in regard to exchange, currency, and the coining of gold is subject to a reservation. I refer, of course, to the statement made in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister. Mr. Asquith has stated that in the opinion of the Home Government the time has come for an enquiry into (*inter alia*) questions of currency and finance relating to India by an expert body and preferably by a Royal Commission."

After referring to the significance of the Financial Statement, the forerunner of the Budget, having been presented, for the first time, in Delhi and to the glorious future awaiting the people of India, the Hon. Sir G. Fleetwood Wilson concluded with the following words:—"This is my last Budget and practically this day ends my career in India. I shall sever my connection with India with profound sorrow; but I rejoice exceedingly that I shall leave her loyal and prosperous." While differing from him in our views as regards the fundamental policy of the Statement we must congratulate Sir Gny on being able to produce another prosperity Budget. His administration of Indian Finance has been on the whole sympathetic; and his sad note of farewell will remind the Indian people that the official connection with India of one of their true friends is drawing to a close.

Ottoman Treasury Bonds.

WE consider it desirable to summarise the information which we have hitherto received about the Ottoman Treasury Bonds, and we trust this will be useful not only to our readers who intend to purchase these Bonds, but also to the various banks with whom arrangements have been made for the purchase of these Bonds.

1. The Ottoman Government is issuing Bonds to the extent of five million pounds sterling for purposes of national defence, in accordance with an Imperial *oukt* of 19th January.
2. These Bonds are of different denominations, 10s., £1, £6, £25, £50 and £100 sterling, but it would be preferable if to prevent confusion, and to make them easily transferable, the banks would purchase on behalf of depositors Bonds of the lowest denomination only, *i.e.* those of 10s. or Rs 7-8-0.
3. These Bonds will be sent from Constantinople by the Ottoman Ministry of Finance against payment to any purchaser, whether he remits money direct or through a broker or a bank. As there is a likelihood of some delay in sending these Bonds to India, intending purchasers are requested by the Ottoman Government to accept the receipts of the banks where they deposit the money for the purchase of these Bonds in lieu of the Bonds themselves, and to authorise the banks to remit *daily by telegram* the amounts deposited to the Ministry of Finance without delay, and exchange the banks' receipts with the Bonds when the latter arrive in India. We understand that the French Bank—Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris—of Bombay has agreed to print a number of such receipts for Rs 7-8-0 each, which it is prepared to sell direct and through responsible agents pending the receipt of the Bonds in India. We invite other banks to do the same in order to facilitate the receipt of deposits for the purchase of these Bonds, and prevent all possible delay. Intending purchasers are requested to induce their banks to undertake this at an early date. We have no time at our disposal to press the many banks to do so.
4. The Bonds bear a bonus of 5 per cent. per annum accruing from 30th November, 1913.
5. The Bonds will be redeemed *ex par* within five years by annual instalments of a million sterling, the first lot being redeemed on the 30th November, 1918. This redemption of the Bonds will be made by the Ottoman Treasury and through the banks of foreign countries, the names of which would be published by the Ottoman Government.
6. At the time of redemption no deduction will be made from the amount of the Bonds for any taxes of the Ottoman Government.
7. The Ottoman Government reserves to itself the right to redeem these Bonds at any time before the expiry of the

period of five years by payment of the principal sum and the bonus accrued to that date.

8. These Bonds are guaranteed by the Ottoman Government by a special land tax.
9. Ten coupons will be attached to these Bonds, five for payment of bonus and five for the repayment of the principal sum. Those who do not wish to accept the bonus may not present the coupons to the Ottoman Treasury or foreign banks for payment of the bonus; and those who do not wish the principal sum to be repaid to them may not present the coupons for the repayment of the principal sum.
10. The coupons for the payment of bonus will be acceptable throughout the Ottoman territory in payment of taxes like current coin.
11. The Bonds will be Bearer Bonds, and will be transferable from one holder to another without any registration of transfer by the Ottoman authorities, and payment of interest and the repayment of the principal sum will be made in return for the coupons to any one who presents them.
12. The following banks and their branches have undertaken to receive deposits for the purchase of these Bonds for an inclusive charge of 2 annas per cent. with a minimum of 2 annas for each transaction—
The Alliance Bank of Simla, Delhi.
Benares Bank, Ltd., Benares.
Karachi Bank, Ltd., Karachi.
Standard Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
People's Bank of India, Ltd., Lahore.
Punjab Bank, Ltd., Lahore.
Delhi & London Bank, Ltd., Amritsar.
Bank of Upper India, Ltd., Meerat.
Madras Bank, Madras.
Poona Bank, Poona.
The United Provinces Co-Operative Bank, Ltd., Allahabad.
The People's Industrial Bank, Ltd., Bahrach.
The Bharat National Bank, Ltd., Aligarh.
14. The Bank of Bengal and the Bank of Bombay, and their branches, have agreed to purchase these Bonds for an inclusive charge of two annas per cent, but with a minimum of Re 1 for each transaction.
15. The French Bank of Bombay—Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris—has accepted the purchase of these Bonds without any commission at all.
16. We take no responsibility for any bank, but having ascertained from various banks whether they would be prepared to do this business publish the list of such banks, with their conditions, as have shown their readiness to undertake this work. Every intending purchaser is not only at liberty, but is requested to make whatever arrangements he likes with any bank that he may find it preferable to deal with.

We trust the above information will be considered ample enough both for our readers and for the banks with which they may wish to deal, and we hope such of the banks noted above as have not yet sent the necessary authority or information to their branches will do so without further delay, and so would request them to advertise freely, especially in the vernacular papers, the fact that they are willing to do this business and the conditions on which they are prepared to do so. The majority of banks would probably wish the depositors to send a specimen of their signature for purposes of reference; but we trust they will make it clearly understood that they will hand over the Bonds when received in India to anyone who would produce their own receipt for the amount deposited with them, and that they would follow the example of the French Bank and sell at their own Head Office and Branches, and through responsible agents, their receipts for Rs 7-8-0 each, which would be exchanged with the Bonds by the receipt-holders when the Bonds arrive in India. We would once more urge intending purchasers to press this request on the banks with which they wish to deal, so that the work of sending money to Turkey may proceed without any further delay. The Banks should be urged to remit *daily by telegram* to the Ottoman Finance Ministry the total of each day's deposits. We also appeal to those who regard the Turks as their brethren to purchase a number of receipts themselves with a view to sell to others in their towns and districts so that their poorer and more ignorant brethren may not be deprived of the chance of lending money to the Turkish Government on account of any shyness in dealing with banks the business of which they do not yet understand. Once more we appeal for pushing this work as we feel sure that if a million, or even half a million, is sent from India within the month of March, the Bulgarians, who are an agricultural people and must revert to their homes to sow their fields if Bulgaria is to be saved from starvation and famine, cannot remain in the battlefield after the month of March. If at a critical moment like this the least avoidable delay takes place the sin of every evil consequence will be on those who could have avoided the delay and yet failed to do so.



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUR.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

When the Council met again on the 25th February an event of world-importance occurred. Let it be thundered out from the mouths of a hundred and one guns and chattered through the muzzles of a hundred thousand rifles. Waft it over to the four corners of the Empire, ye breezes of heaven. Hum it all over the world, ye wires that enmesh it in your wide-flung net. Carry it, ye æthereal waves of Cheat-tonised Marconi to the furthest limits of the earth. Fling it, ye watery waves of the Marconi of Quetta, to the shores of five Continents, and roar it out, ye electro-magnetic throats of the Supermen of the Equator into the electro-magnetic ears of the Supermen of the two Poles. Suren, the hero of College Square, Suren, the darling of Beadon Square, Suren who had long been longed for, Suren who had sulked in his tent even when the Lord of Belvedere, boon companion of other days, had volunteered to make things smooth and brush aside technicalities barring the entrance to H. E.'s Council, Suren, the despair of Mahta and the envy of Moti Lal, Suren, the megaphone of mid-Victorian oratory, Suren, the gramophone of Burke and Bright, Suren, the one and only crowned King of Bengal, had consented to grace the Council Chamber with his presence and had turned his footsteps from the capital of his realm to the seat of H. E.'s Government. As he stood there near the seat he was to take that day, a gaping crowd of non-officials gathered round him, and not to be outdone in adulation of the conquering hero. Bootla Sahib, the debonnaire leader of the new Civilian School of Sympathy and Oudh Policy, walked up to him to welcome him home. The cordial sincerity of the meeting made angels weep in despair. Where, O, where but in burning Tophet could he had the warmth and glow of such a reception for the blessed when they trooped into heaven to him and hug the Cherubim and the Seraphim like long-lost brothers? While Bootla Sahib welcomed the Hero of Bengal to Delhi and the Council, the ghost of young Hamlet whispered in the gallery: "The appearance of welcome is fashion and ceremony." When Sir Guy had taken the chair, Suren, anxious to swear his allegiance at the first provocation, got up to proceed to the table of St. Vincent, although it was the turn of the Mild Hindu to go to the confessional. When the Mild Hindu had done the deed, Suren marched up with a swinging and a steady step—as Nund Omar was said to have gone to the gallows—and, without flinching in the least, boldly and courageously, and in a clear voice, took the oath of allegiance. He swore like the best of loyalists and set the ghost of Hamlet at thinking.

Is it not strange that Bengal's free-born son
But in a fiction, in a dream of feeling,
Could force his soul so to his own conceit
That from her working all his visage changed,
Earth in his eyes, submission in his aspect,
The meekest voice, with deep emotion touched,

Expressing folded hands and bended knees
And loyal neck in mute acquiescence bowed,
Fidelity's own true counterfeit and picture,
Voicing all this, and his whole function suiting
With forms to his conceit; and all for nothing.
For England!

What's England to him or what he to England
That he should swear like this? What would he do,
Had he the motive and the cue for faith
That Free-Lance has? Oh, he would flood the Council
With stream of oily words of loyalty,
And cleave official ears with fulsome speech,
Turn green the loyal and turn pale the free,
Convince C. I. D. and amaze, indeed,
Its faculty of million ears, no eyes

Having thus sworn his loyalty in final settlement of the morning's account of Civilian Sympathy, Suren, the appointed of Calcutta, took his seat on the throne of Delhi.

After him came Arbuthnot, *Pince Nez* in hand, walking leisurely as one that had studied

To throw away the dearest thing he ow'd,
As 'twere a careless trifle

He was followed by Robertson, and he by Khush-hal the landlord who took the oath twice in a month.

The swear words having been exhausted, at question time Fazoolbhai came in the garb of Peeping Tom to spy the nakedness of the arguments of S of S. which have cried halt to the Moslem University; but Bootla Sahib all prudery and reluctant to publish the correspondence or make any statement about a matter which is and may always remain under discussion.

Sandow III moved that the Extradition Bill be taken into consideration. He was neither amazed nor moved when Bombay Cassandra prophesied evil, for he had supped full of dire prophecies of all sorts. Announced some concessions to clamour and then pronounced that further than that Government were not prepared to go. Bombay fears were baseless, and the good citizens of Bombay did not even know so long that their lives were at the joint mercies of Rajahs and Politicians.

Fazoolbhai was the picture of contentment when he rose to speak on the motion. Having succeeded not a little as success goes in Select Committees he echoed the sentiments of the feeble mendicant: "So de uska bhalu, jo na de uska bhi bhalu." (May he fare well who gives, and may he also fare well who does not.) Government had been obviously convinced of the necessity of checks, and that was a great point gained. But this not a new conviction. Where Native States concerned, Government had long been convinced of the necessity of checks.

This a more positive degree of contentment. The superlative degree was reached when Free-Lance rose to deliver his pronouncement. It was a delight to see the gallant Tiwana Lancer taking the hurdles of "enunciate"—which was done successfully at last after several attempts—and of "equitabaly" and "expedious" which

were cleared, as is evident, with nasty kicks. But the best sight of all was to see this self-styled "Gentleman" going out "to meet the wishes of the rest of the committee as far as possible." The rest of the committee creaked under a heavy load of gratefulness to Free-Lance for having "finally decided that it was not necessary for me to record a minute of dissent." But the gallant Tiwana still stuck to his guns and convinced Council that Government had been too anxious to placate Bombay's prophets of dire calamities. Political Agents were Daniels come to judgment and what they did not know about law and procedure was not worth knowing; nay, they were more competent judges than many magistrates in British India. Poor magistrates of British India! Wonder whether those contemplated were any shade except coal black. Bills should have been passed as introduced. In the exercise of his clemency gallant Tiwana allowed the amendments to be retained. So far the typed speech read out in the most approved form of the Third Standard; but the Free-Lance who can be always trusted to entertain the Council with a few extra turns not on the programme, launched into an impromptu description of the worries and tungs and train expense and multifarious other charges of sending witnesses to Bombay. They have got to "sow their crops *et cetera*," and giving evidence "awfully awkward." Council wondered what crop the *et cetera* were, and had the Hon. Member for Agriculture been examined not the least doubt that he would have been ploughed hopelessly.

The Public Services Commissioners in the gallery among the gods to witness the prowess of little tin gods and mere men below had seen excellent exhibition of Indian oratory and sure to be convinced that so long as India can produce its Tiwanas Indians were only fit for the posts of Lieutenant-Governors. But unfortunately for India Government had nominated the Bombay Duck as an expert on Moslem Endowments and he rose to ruin the character of India for loyalty and compliance. He made short work of "my friend the Hon. Mr. Tiwana."

The Oorya spoke with half an hour's interval between every sentence. He spoke for twenty minutes, and at the end thereof nobody knew whether Hon. Member was for or against the motion. Having had vast experience of Politics he volunteered the remark that Politicals were mostly Civilian, and that there was no reason to assume that a Political was innocent of all law. If truth be told, he is very seldom guilty of it.

The Undesirable Alien very cross for being called upon to do anything more than to read the contents of his office boxes and files, and stolidly vote for Government. But as the matter related to Native States, and particularly as Politicals mostly of the same sort as the Undesirable Alien, found it necessary to get up and make his maiden speech. He first approved heartily the support of Orissa and then illustrated the Balance of Power which he maintained in the Native States. Where there was a bad judiciary, a Political fit for the Woolsock was posted; and where there was a good judiciary the one qualification for the Political was contempt for law instead of familiarity. He informed the Council that under the old rule Politicals were to find out if there was a *prima facie* case, by "judicial enquiry or otherwise." What a pity no one had hitherto known of the existence of the lovely phrases "or otherwise." Even now Council began to know how "or otherwise" was done. Was it the Bearer of the Ayah that was consulted on these memorable occasions, or was it simply an extra dance or a picketicking meet that decided "or otherwise"? Alas and alack for the unloveliness of things, for these lovely words will now no more decorate the rules of political procedure.

Sandow III "made a snitable reply," after which he rose again to move for the passage of the Bill. But the Bombay Duck came to the surface once more and blocked the legislative Suez with another speech. He explained once more the law on the subject, complaining that even without the amendment the old law was better. So he was inclined to take advantage of Rule 28 to move an amendment if no member opposed his doing so. Thus a somewhat knotty point of procedure. There had been a good deal of moving to and fro and turning over of the regulations between Sir Guy and St. Vincent and the Bombay Duck. But when the latter discussed his right to move an amendment, Sir Guy, careful of the dignity of the Chair, mildly rebuked Hon. Member for encroaching on his right to give a ruling on the procedure. Hon. Member had the right to move an amendment, but other Hon. Members had an equal right to bar his progress if they so willed. Before the Bombay Duck thought of exercising his right, and even before Sir Guy sat down after explaining the procedure, up rose the gallant Tiwana. Everybody wondered whether Free-Lance was going to lay down the law for Sir Guy and the Council. But Free-Lance after other games. He stood for a minute without uttering a word, then smiled benignly towards Sir Guy and the Government benches, and merely said: "Sir, I am a member of this Council, and, Sir, I oppose the amendment." The

Bombay Duck, not having moved, went on in his own quiet way, but this time for the Master of Ceremonies, St. Vincent. Now on a point of order and early said: "The Bombay Duck has moved an amendment. The Free-Lance had objected to it. What more is there?" Sir Guy thought the Bombay Duck had not till then exercised his right of moving an amendment, and Bombay Duck confirmed this. So the matter ended by Sandow III rejecting his appeal. But although the Bombay Duck did not exercise the right given to him by law, and his appeal dismissed without further ado by Government, one person had all the same scored a point. That was the Free-Lance. His ledger of loyalty must surely be overflowing now.

When the Extradition Bill was safely through, the Dowager moved for the consideration of the Select Committee's report on the Official Trustee Bill, and as the motion was unopposed it was carried. Thereafter the Dowager, confident of an equally easy success, moved that the Bill as amended be passed. The motion was put to the House and carried. But just as the Dowager was rising to move that the Select Committee's report on the Administrator-General Bill be taken into consideration, Sitaji meekly informed Sir Guy that he had an amendment to move. Sir Guy, courteous to every man in India, would have been only too glad to have shown a great deal of chivalry towards one of Sitaji's sex. But the rules of procedure were too rigid for the code of chivalry, and Sir Guy was reluctantly compelled to catalogue Sitaji among the other of the two classes of virgins. "Too late, too late, ye cannot enter now." So the Dowager allowed to proceed, and pointed out the strong family resemblance between the first and the second Bill that he had charge of. Nothing unlikely, for was not the Dowager the mother of both, and matriarchy stands firm on the solid rock of a settled and indisputable fact. Sitaji was not going to be slow this time and had lighted the candle in very good time. If the Bombay Duck who could not have given notice of the amendment to the Extradition Bill was compelled to take advantage of Rule 28, notice or no notice, Sitaji could take shelter under the same protecting wing of the Council procedure. So he got up without the least delay to propose the amendment that Junkies and merchants should also be eligible for Administrator-Generals. Who could fling in his face the horrid inelastic rules of the Council now to defraud him of his amendment? Thus it was that the blow struck at him almost threw him off his feet completely for it was least expected. The Dowager, like his class, always unmerciful and severe to foolish virgins who were a little too previous, taunted Sitaji with the sweetly uttered remark: "You were a little too late a little while ago, but this time you have been a little too soon, my dear." Poor Sitaji as much disappointed as the ignorant ryot who waits at the railway station for long long hours for a passenger train only to miss it through ignorance, and to make up for it rushes into the next—only to find that she goes the wrong way. However, when the Dowager moved that the Bill as amended be passed, Sitaji, with greater courage of conviction than displayed by the Bombay Duck who only played with Rule 28, proposed his amendment in proper time at last. But, although the Dowager had no gallant Tiwana to come to his rescue like Sandow III, he did not like to take shelter behind technicalities and object to the amendment. So, with a deferential plea for greater regard for procedure settled for the proper conduct of debate, showed cause why the Bill should not be amended any further, and the Bill as amended by the Select Committee was passed.

After some more legislative business, Mild Hindu, looking milder still after his recent illness in his favourite land of the valley of the Lower Ganges, rose to move the resolution for the publication of the papers relating to the Government's primary education programme which had been announced with a flourish of trumpets by the latest Payet M. P. in the House of Commons, and belloyed out in a full-throated resolution by Bootlair Sahib. With customary tact, the Mild Hindu praised the resolution with several reservations. If the policy enunciated by Government was carried out in a strictly educational way, and no political bias was imported by Bootlair Sahib and his colleagues, there was hope of success. But the Mild Hindu seemed to forget that his Port Education the chief import was politics. He showed how often every 30 years the educational policy of Government was laid down, and thus raised Bootlair Sahib to the plane of Macaulay and the President of the Education Commission of 1883. For the benefit of a new Council gave a history of his efforts for primary education in the reformed Council since 1910. At first a modest resolution moved when there was no Bootlair Sahib, and Education rubbed shoulders with Police and Jails. Then a full-blown Bill when Bootlair Sahib had taken education out of the hands of the Police and the Jail authorities. But, although he had been in no hurry to slay, Bootlair Sahib had given the Bill its quietus all the same. He was opposed to compulsion, but the latest six weeks' expert had pointed on his behalf the vision of glory that was to be if instead of compulsion Government was permitted to work on a voluntary basis. However, the barometer of the millennium had failed to state how soon the millennium would be.

coloured in. There was a programme, but it had several intervals, and the Mild Hindu wanted to turn the gas on the Kala Juggahs to know how the intervening time was to be passed. He was in no love with official correspondence. In his time he had waded through piles and piles, and at the end thereof he could venture to say it was often not very interesting reading, and it was not always instructive reading. But he was willing to wade through the mire of official correspondence in order to get sight of the goal which the Under Secretary thought would be reached after "a very considerable time" and which Bootlair Sahib's resolution located "in no distant future." No table of time and distances enabled him to judge what all this meant. This was an ancient land and to some Mathurals 50 or 60 years was not too much, whereas to the reformer-while-you-wait even 10 years was too much. He once more questioned the figures of the Sharp 'Un which the Under Secretary had repeated in spite of his protests. To him it appeared that at this snail's pace it may take anything from 30 to 75 years to reach the "no distant future." For so long he did not wish to wait, and pressed for a committal instead of mere promises. Wanted Education to rival the Army which marched on steadily, whether there was famine or no famine, opium revenue or no opium revenue, and at times broke into the double. This stern demand was mixed in the subtle manner of the Mild Hindu with the statement that he meant no offence and that Bootlair Sahib knew he meant no offence. Bootlair Sahib may go as Bootlair Sahib had come, but the bubbling brook of Indian agitation went on for ever. There must be a programme, and that programme must be produced. If not produced you may have some loopholes. There may be a Dragon in the path, the Dragon of another Department—and here Sir Guy smiled as if scenting the guilt of his successor—or it may be the Dragon of Higher Authority. Publish this programme, dear Bootlair Sahib, so that it may strengthen you in your moments of weakness. Mild Hindu believed in the weapon of compulsion, Bootlair Sahib in the armoury of voluntary effort. The Mild Hindu did not share Bootlair Sahib's beliefs, but he did wish more power to Bootlair Sahib's Samsonian elbow and all the Kokon and Tatchos and Hor ones in the world to the Samsonian locks, especially in the aforementioned moments of weakness.

Bootlair Sahib waited for a time expecting further onslaught from other neighbours, but when none rose to speak he got up himself. But just after he had commenced, the Dowager pointed in the direction of Suren, and Bootlair Sahib instantly sat down. Suren initiated for the nonce the manners of Oudh Policy according to which Lucknow grandees prefer to miss a dozen trains rather than be guilty of stepping into one before their fellow passengers. He bowed towards Bootlair Sahib, and with courtly grace said: "After you, Sir." But if the Srijit wished to be after Government, Bootlair Sahib was even more anxious for Government being after the Srijit. So Bengal gave way, and Suren rose to deliver himself of his maiden effort in the Reformed Council. Mark Twain took great pride in describing the Coliseum in five pages without once quoting Byron's line: "Butchered to make Roman holiday." The Hon. Mr. Gupta in the gallery calculating how long the organ of Beadon Square could avoid "the Temple of Learning," but he had not long to calculate. In the very second sentence the Temple of Learning rose before his accustomed gaze. Said the obliging orator of Bengal, "the sacred Temple of Learning has no room for Politics." Did he not think even for a moment of his platitudes of College Square? He established a new form of co-operative credit by linking up popular co-operation with Government's credit with people, and in his mid-Victorian style quoted Henry Sumner Maine about legislature doing the work of reclamation by filling the gulf between positive law and positive morality. After this he lunched into a eulogy of the Mild Hindu's late lamented Bill in favour of which there was a vast mass of public opinion—not the Swadeshi manufacture of Bengal, but the genuine opinion of the whole of India. He was rushing on oiled castles at a furious pace when Sir Guy, reluctant but firm, drew his attention to the point in debate, which was not the *corpus vile* of Mild Hindu's Bill but the living issue of the publication of papers. This noted in much the same way as a sharp stone on the Delhi roads coming in contact with the tyres of a six cylinder Kalla-Bayon, or a tiny air-pump as inflated balloon. The wind-puffed orator began to grow larger, and at last descended from the ætherial regions to the earth below. Suren sat down in less than a second or two.

Omey Chaitis disinfected himself against a contact with the Mild Hindu, but showed the same curiosity for the educational programme. Rangbiranga did not wish to embarrass the Government, but laid down the dictum that every creature, while publication will prevent uncharitable criticism. The Government were on the war path. "King Vicegerent of God on earth," "a few billions," and a few other such novelties were displayed, and then came a stream of metaphor which carried him into the region of the clouds. "The flies on its wings and carries on its wings even Government."

After this unexpected flood of satire from all sides when Suren had burst the dam, Bootlair Sahib rose to reply. He thanked the Mild Hindu for the comparison with Macaulay and Hunter and then claimed the Mild Hindu as an ally. But he hastened to explain that the ally was a rather troublesome, and he might say a prodding and goading ally, in short, an ally of a certain well-known type so much beloved of the Politicals in these days. But it was of no importance to know whether Bootlair Sahib looked upon the Mild Hindu as an ally, 'twould be more to the point to know if the Mild Hindu looked upon Bootlair Sahib as an ally. It did not look like it when Bootlair Sahib, wrapping himself in the cloak of financial prudence, began to talk of fat years being succeeded in India by lean years and other general observations. How was it possible to be prudent in finance and still commit Government to a fixed expenditure on Education when in the fine phrase of Sir Guy the Budget was "a gamble in rain"? Hon. Members have short memories sometimes; but only in 1908-'09, the Budget anticipated a surplus and Government had to face a deficit of 9½ millions sterling. When a bad famine devastates the land, all the energies of Government have then to be devoted to the rescuing of human life and to the mitigation of human suffering. Did not Government devote all its energies to the rescuing of human suffering by spending in 1908-'09, the year of this unexpected deficit, £19,602,988 on its very human and lively and long-suffering Army, against £19,248,354 in the preceding year? Really and truly, Hon. Members have short memories in matters of finance sometimes—especially in matters of Army finance! Just at present it was specially imprudent to commit posterity. Was not the Nicholson Committee appointed to effect economies in the Army, and may it not, therefore, propose an increase? Again, had not India long complained of excessive expenditure on the Civil Service and recommended more extensive employment of Indians as an important factor in economy of expenditure? What more natural than that the Lord above who sat listening—whose presence in Delhi was—ahem!—welcome to Government—may shower some more shekels on the I. C. S.? Did not the gourmand when he suffered from fever repeat the well-known dictum of doctors, "Feed the fever and starve the cold," and when he suffered from the cold, did he not take shelter behind the equally well-known philosophy of the physicians, "Starve the fever and feed the cold?" And does not all this prove without a shadow of doubt that you can never provide more money for Education, for Sanitation is starved, and that you must not let Sanitation eat a crumb, for Education is famishing? And, again, what about Railways? Look at the Railway Sleeper there, contemplating the world with the dreamy eyes of the philosopher. Is he not any day as good as the best of pedagogues? All that is spent on railways is in reality spent on education, and the Sharp 'Un was arranging a table showing how many Schools, Colleges and Universities an open mile of railways equalled. If all this does not convince the Mild Hindu, let him question if he dare the fact of facts that in the last two years 71 lakhs allotted to Education have not been spent. You see, it hasn't the jaws of No-More-Kay's Department, and can't chew even what it is allowed to bite. What else can be done, then, but to throw away the dross to the Army, and load Education with the unalloyed gold of Sympathy? As for the argument of sweet Suren, how very unkind that such a common procedure—aye, Sir, it is common, as Hamlet said—as the refusal to publish the Imperial arcana should leave the Government open to the suspicion of want of confidence. Did Government publish the despatch of the 25th August, 1911, or the reply of the 1st November? These exhibitions are not good form, you know.

The Mild Hindu when he rose to reply was a picture of disappointment. Oh, why had he deposited his bunch of radishes on the grave of the Resolution of the 21st February, 1913? Couldn't he have it back again? But he would have his revenge. Bootlair Sahib had every right to commit posterity or to refuse to do so, but the Civilians were not on the bench but in the dock in the inquiry of Mild Hindu's Commission. Bootlair Sahib had no right to forestall the Commission's verdict. As for the Railway Sleeper, he may be another drowsing pedagogue, but he was paid out of the credit and not the cash, and Hon. Members had sometimes very short memories in finance. While Mild Hindu was still speaking sternly, St. Vincent foretold the weather without tapping the barometer, and took up the Division Lists. The result was not altogether satisfactory to the Mild Hindu, but it cheered his heart to see the gallant Tiwana dropping his lance to rest idly by his side when his constituents on the opposite side were sure that he would enchain it and go for the Mild Hindu for all he was worth. Really Moslem loyalty is as much a part of ancient mythology as Prosperous British India and the Benign Railway Guard.



The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Mar. 1.

The prospects of peace are regarded as more favourable than at any time since the armistice at Teletaldja. Tewfik Pasha called at the Foreign Office yesterday and was followed some time later by Hakkı Pasha. Diplomatic circles regard these visits as portending a more acceptable reply by Turkey to the Note of the Powers. No importance is attached to telegrams from Sofia stating that Turkey is endeavouring to treat directly with Bulgaria, because the Powers insist on negotiations being conducted with the Allies generally.

It is announced in Athens that a strong force of Turks was defeated after a six hours' battle to the northward of Janina, leaving 112 dead. One hundred and eighty prisoners were taken. The Greek losses were insignificant.

London, Mar. 3.

A Rome message says that the Turkish Ambassador has informed Marquis San Giuliano that Turkey places herself in the hands of the Powers with a view to the conclusion of peace.

Reports from other capitals indicate that similar action is expected. It is understood that the Powers will now seek to ascertain if the Allies are willing to accept the mediation of Europe.

The semi-official *Norddeutscher Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin), commenting on the recent speech of Marquis San Giuliano, says that it is clear that Italy is satisfied with the restored balance of power in the Mediterranean, but is determined that no important territorial changes shall occur without her co-operation. There is perfect agreement between Italy and her Allies on this question, continues the paper. Agreement is based on precise definition of the interests of Austria-Hungary and Italy in the maintenance of the balance of power in the Adriatic.

Djavid Bey with the Chief of the Cabinet, the Minister of Finance and Halidziz, ex-secretary to the Sultan, has started from Constantinople for western Europe. Djavid Bey, interviewed by Reuter, said that the party was visiting European capitals in a semi-official character to prepare the ground for certain financial operations and would make Paris its headquarters.

A Constantinople telegram says that in connection with the reported plot to overthrow the Government at the head of which was Lutuf Bey, secretary to Prince Sabueddin, an official *communiqué* says that the plan was to lead the mob to the palace and demand the dismissal of the Cabinet, the arrest of Ministers and their supporters and the appointment of a Cabinet to conclude peace on terms which would ensure the non-interference of the Powers for thirty years.

A Constantinople telegram states that the foreigners at Adrianople have not left. All are reported to be well.

London, Mar. 4.

A Sofia telegram states that the Minister of Finance has issued a memorandum pointing out that if the Allies as conquerors accept part of the liabilities of Turkey they do so in order not to prejudice the rights of others. The Memorandum declares that unless the Allies obtain an indemnity the fruits of their labours will be sacrificed and they will be financially burdened in favour of the vanquished.

The belief is growing in Vienna and Berlin that demobilisation on the part of Austria and Russia is imminent.

It is semi-officially stated in Sofia that the reply of the Allies to the Powers' offer of mediation will depend on Turkey's acceptance of the principle of the territorial demands of the Allies and the consent of Turkey to the payment of a war indemnity.

It is stated in Rome that the Allies' terms as a condition of the acceptance of the mediation include the surrender of Adrianople, Scutari and Janina, the fixing of the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier from Rodosto to Midia, the cession of Gallipoli and the Aegean Islands occupied by Greece, the payment of an indemnity, and the annexation of Crete to Greece.

A Trieste telegram states that the Albanians have risen against the Serbian occupation and that there has been fighting for five days. The Serbian garrisons at Tiray and Kroja have been expelled, and are fleeing to the coast. Communication with Scutari has been restored.

The Allies intend consulting one another before accepting mediation by the Powers, but they are likely to insist on the preliminary acceptance of their terms in principle. When all the parties have assented to mediation the Powers will probably prepare a draft treaty for acceptance by the belligerents.

London, Mar. 5.

In an interview the Grand Vizier denied that peace was imminent. Turkey had accepted the mediation of the Powers, but was not negotiating with Bulgaria direct. Turkey would refuse to pay a war indemnity.

An Athens telegram states that a Greek naval division bombarded Santa Quaranta, the port for Janina, annihilating the Turkish artillery. Troops were then landed.

London, Mar. 6.

The Powers have now approached all the Allies asking whether they are willing to accept mediation and have received the uniform reply that each must first consult the other Allies.

A telegram from Cotinje indicates that the proposal is regarded with distrust, and the opinion is even held that the Allies would rather treat with Turkey fearing that their interests would be prejudiced in the eagerness of certain Powers to assert their own claims in the Balkans.

Despatches from Constantinople indicate that the Government is reconciled to the surrender of Adrianople, but is resolute in resisting an indemnity. Government does not wish to negotiate directly.

It is reported in Athens that after the brilliant Greek victory at Janina the Turkish commander offered to surrender to the Crown Prince.

A Belgrade telegram describes the report from Vienna that the Albanians have risen against the Serbians as baseless.

An Athens message says that General Aontzo and three squadrons of cavalry entered Janina to-day. There is a great display of Greek flags in the environs of the city.

The Ransolian and Bagdad Railway Companies are advancing the Turkish Government three hundred thousand pounds on account of payments becoming due some time hence.

London, Mar. 7.

The capture of Janina is of great political as well as military significance as it has always been regarded as impregnable. It gives the Greeks the key to the Epirus and cannot fail to have considerable influence on the ultimate settlement between Greece and Bulgaria.

An Athens message states that the victory at Janina followed on two days' fighting in which the Greeks adopted a new plan. They withdrew their left wing and opened a terrific bombardment of thirty thousand shells against Bizani, silencing the enemy.

Meanwhile troops had rapidly advanced again on the left. The bombardment continued vigorously until Wednesday morning when the infantry stormed Bizani with indescribable suddenness and gallantry, routing the Turks. The Greeks then pressed on to Janina taking prisoners and guns, the Turkish panic being complete.

The Greek Chamber devoted the whole of yesterday to jubilation over the victory at Janina which is the first fortified town taken by the Allies during the war.

The Crown Prince's telegrams, which were read, stated that the whole of the Turkish garrison in Epirus, numbering 80,000, was included in the surrender.

Deputies afterwards walked to the Cathedral where the Te Deum was sung. The streets were thronged and in the evening were illuminated.

A message from Salonika to the *Times* states that relations between the Bulgarians and the Greeks are becoming very strained, and that a regular battle occurred recently between troops, a number being injured. The message adds that the situation in Salonika district is fast becoming impossible.

The Meeting of Ambassadors.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Feb. 7.

THE *New Free Press* dates from London an ostensibly diplomatic account of the work hitherto done at the meeting of Ambassadors. Four main questions, it says, are before the meeting—the delimitation of Albania, the Aegean Islands, the financial arrangements, and the future of Salonika. With regard to Albania the original intention of taking the absolute majority of the population as a basis for the delimitation has been aban-

done, and the principle of a three-fourths majority proposed—that is to say, that only those towns and villages shall be recognised as Albanian in which three-fourths of the inhabitants are Albanians. Though Austria-Hungary has not yet accepted this principle an agreement will probably be attained.

When the frontiers of Albania have been fixed the meeting will have to consider what Adriatic harbour shall be set apart as an outlet for Serbian trade. The Ambassadors will define the guarantees of free transit to be given to Serbia. This point is likely to be reached in a fortnight or three weeks. Direct Austro-Serbian negotiations will then begin and Austria-Hungary will put forward her demand for guarantees from Serbia that Austro-Hungarian trade shall reach Salonica undisturbed. These guarantees will be analogous to those granted to Serbia by the Powers and will be settled directly between Austria-Hungary and Serbia.

With regard to the Aegean Islands* the principle contemplated is that the four strategic islands, Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros, and Tenedos, shall remain Turkish, whereas Thasos will become Bulgarian. Lesbos, Chios and Samos will be autonomous under the suzerainty of the Sultan. All other islands will become Greek.

On the subject of the Turkish debt an international commission will probably be convoked at Paris. The Ambassadors will revise also the decisions of this commission. The question of the Orient Railway is still in process of examination. It is likely to be settled by expropriation. The question of the Turkish Customs is complicated and will require to be treated partly by the international commission in Paris, and partly by direct arrangement between the Great Powers and the Balkan States.

The Ambassadors will not approach the subject of Salonica until the Balkan Allies begin to partition their booty. If Bulgaria and Greece are unable to agree in regard to the future of the city, the Ambassadors will take up the matter, and Salonica, with a sufficient *Hinterland*, will probably be internationalized.

Second Phase of the Campaign.

(By the "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THE absence from the theatre of operations of independent British eye-witnesses reduces us to the familiar process of conjecture, and we have to make the best we can of official and semi-official news, part of which is certainly intended to mislead.

From the general point of view it is fairly clear that Bulgaria is making her main effort against Adrianople, covering the siege by two groups of forces, one of which faces the Tchataldja lines while the other has the mission of imprisoning Fakhri Pasha's troops in the Gallipoli peninsula. Bulgaria has utilized the period of the armistice to place the whole of her strength in the principal theatre, but has not apparently accepted any aid from her allies, over and above what Serbia already has given, towards the conclusion of the war. This aid has certainly been offered, and Greece on two occasions is believed to have been ready to send 50,000 men to Thrace. The refusal of this aid, presuming it to be a fact, shows us once more the limitations which beset the operations of allied States. Greece and Montenegro continue to devote all their strength to the attainment of secondary ends in the secondary theatre, and Bulgaria takes upon herself the burden of concluding the war with such assistance as she receives from the 45,000 Serbians who hold the eastern section of the lines which encircle Adrianople.

ADRIANOPLE.

The Drina and Morava divisions of the Serbian Army are believed to be holding this line from the Arda on the south nearly to the Tundja on the north. At this point the 11th Bulgarian Division, consisting of two brigades, takes up the line, which is continued southward, by one brigade of the 9th Division and by three brigades of the 10th Division. The strength of the besieging army is probably between 90,000 and 100,000 men, but the number of heavy guns is said not to exceed 120. The Turkish garrison consists of the 10th and 11th Nizam Divisions, the 4th and 14th Rifle regiments of Nizams, and three Redif divisions, making a total of 40,000 to 45,000 men after deducting the losses incurred during the war. In the possession of the Turks are 250 heavy guns, but whether the supply of ammunition is holding out is a doubtful point, and various reports are current concerning the amount of supplies within the town. Except that the bombardment of the town and forts continues, there is no trustworthy account of the character of the operations, nor even definite mention of the front of attack where the Bulgarians hope to secure a decision. Statements that the place would fall in a few days have been made every day for weeks past, but we still await definite information that the close attack has begun, or progress that the fall of the fortress is impending.

THE LINES OF BULAIR.

During the first phase of the war the 2nd and 7th Divisions of the Bulgarian Army were detached in the secondary theatre, and played their part in pegging out claims at Salonica and elsewhere. As a consequence the main armies were left too weak in the principal theatre, and the war, which might have been terminated by a vigorous and decisive operation, has to be recommenced. These two divisions have been concentrated in front of the Bulair lines during the armistice and have been formed into a Fourth Army under General Kovacheff, lately commanding the 2nd Division. This army has been engaged since hostilities were renewed in driving back into the Gallipoli peninsula those parts of the Turkish forces which had ventured outside the lines, and it is probable that Kovacheff's troops are now in occupation of Kavak and the high ground to the south of it, in which position they appear to have resisted very successfully on Saturday last an attempted sortie from the Bulair lines. A Turkish force, probably the Tenth Corps, left Constantinople and Ismid in 20 transports last Friday evening, but arrived too late on the scene of action. Troops were landed at Sharkeni, but were attacked and repulsed.

Whether any serious attack on the Gallipoli peninsula is intended is not a question that can at present be answered. Such an attack is practicable if Kovacheff is aided by the Greek Navy and by a body of troops brought by sea, to land under cover of the Greek ships on the northern shores of the peninsula. On the other hand, the Turks have command of the Sea of Marmara, and could not only make an advance by the Fourth Army along the narrow peninsula a costly business, but could detach troops from the main Turkish Army to attack the Bulgarians in flank and rear. It is possible that the Kovacheff has fulfilled his immediate mission by the success already gained, and that his chief anxiety now will be to prevent interference with his plans by a Turkish force which might be thrown ashore with the object of attacking him in rear. The defeat of such a landed force is, however, primarily the concern of General Savoff, who has probably so distributed his main armies that a force may be rapidly detached to checkmate any operation of the kind.

THE TCHATALDJA FRONT.

The First and Third Bulgarian Armies now facing the Tchataldja lines include the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 10th, and part of the 9th Divisions, making a total of seven divisions with not less than 18 brigades, representing an available strength of between 180,000 and 200,000 men. There is no sign that any attack on the Turkish lines is intended. Tchataldja town has been burnt and the Bulgarian troops have been withdrawn from immediate contact with the Turkish Army. They have probably selected and entrenched a series of positions to assist them in resisting a Turkish attack, but their main object, as already indicated in these columns, is to attack the Turkish Army if it ventures to dishearten the enemy and bring him to a yielding mood. Without much risk and heavy loss an attack upon the lines cannot be begun until the fall of Adrianople sets free the siege train of the Allies.

THE TURKISH PLANS.

The initiative, though in a limited sense, is thus left to the Turk. On Friday last Izzet Pasha appears to have despatched three columns from the lines to reconnoitre the enemy, and the prompt repulse of these columns will have opened his eyes to the meaning of the Bulgarian retreat. If the Turks pretend to reverse the verdict of the war they must take heart of grace, place every rifle in line, and risk a general action. A reasonable preliminary operation would be to aim a blow at the Fourth Bulgarian Army, which is somewhat exposed. This has apparently been tried and has failed. We have, in fact, no assurance that the Turkish staff is capable of conducting an operation of this kind with the requisite celerity and science, and as the Bulgarian armies hover over the Turkish troops and watch all their movements, the element of surprise cannot be counted upon. The Turkish forces in the south are as strong numerically as the enemy in their front, and success is not in principle beyond hope; but there is nothing to show that Turkish leading organization, or spirit will allow Izzet Pasha to take advantage of the openings which the relative situation of the contending armies for the moment presents to him.

Disposition of the Turkish Fleet.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Feb. 6.

It is difficult to obtain exact information with regard to the movements of the Turkish fleet, but it seems certain that the battleship *Mennudiyeh* shelled the Bulgarian positions opposite Tchataldja with her 9.2-in. guns last night, apparently from off Derkös. The battleship *Assari-i-Tugrik* with two destroyers is lying off Kadı Keni. The cruiser *Medjidiyeh* is said to be in the

Black Sea. The battleship *Hamidiye* was last reported from Jeddah, which port she visited partly for political reasons, partly for the purpose of coaling. Her commander has informed the local authorities that he intends shortly to return to the Aegean. The battleship *Torgut Reis* is said to be observing the Bulgarians at Rodosto.

Although the weather has been fine for the last two days, the saturated condition of the ground between Tchataldja and the Bulgarian positions must prevent any advance on either side for some days to come. The Bulgarians seem to have fallen back out of range of the Turkish artillery, after burning two villages which might have served as cover for a Turkish advance. Meanwhile the whole of the force concentrated at Ismid, Mudania, and other points on the Sea of Marmara has embarked and left for an unknown destination. This force will henceforth be known as the Tenth Army Corps, being composed of part of the troops belonging to the original army corps bearing that number. Hurshid Pasha is believed to have taken command of this force, with Enver Bey, who is currently reported to have taken a vow of death or victory, as his Chief-of-Staff. A small force of Kurdish irregulars is reported to have landed yesterday near Midia with the supposed object of raiding the Bulgarian communications. No attack has yet been made on Rodosto.

Ottoman Finances.

FINANCIAL activity in Turkey has entered a new stage since last week's issue of *The Near East*, but it cannot be claimed that it throws any light on what is to be the ultimate outcome of *pourparlers*, denials, rumours, conversations and the like.

Foremost, of course, is Hakki Pasha's errand to London. Count Leon Ostrorog, in a wire from Constantinople published by the *Daily Telegraph*, states that "in certain diplomatic quarters Hakki Pasha's mission is associated with the belief in an imminent *rapprochement* between England and Germany relative to the settlement of the Eastern crisis." The same writer adds—and apparently from an inspired source—that the journey has another object. "It will be remembered," he writes, "that towards the end of Turkey's Note to the Powers, the Porte, in exchange for its last concessions, asked the Great Powers for certain economic facilities, and also for the discussion of the capitulations, with a view to their progressive abrogation. If one adds to these matters the question of the Baghdad Railway, one will have a highly probable programme of the questions about which Hakki Pasha will engage in conversation."

Not less important than Hakki Pasha's journey is France's refusal to participate in an advance (which has consequently been postponed) of £1500,000 to the Ottoman Government for the payment of Government officials. London and Berlin agreed to the advance, and instructions were accordingly wired out to the representatives of British and German finance in Constantinople, but the French representatives received instructions of a negative character, the plea being that such an operation would be a breach of the neutrality proclaimed by the French Government. Why should it be in the case of France and not in the case of England and Germany? it will be asked. It was also suggested that perhaps France's real motive was a desire to see in the first place the definitive conclusion of an agreement with regard to the prolongation of the Tobacco Régie, but "the French financial authorities reply with a categorical denial." What, then, is France's motive? In the City the middle is being eagerly discussed, and it is generally admitted that it would be interesting to know why France really objected to the advance. For, after all, with England and Germany participating, the advance was more in the nature of a banking operation, pure and simple, than of a loan in the ordinary sense of the word. It was remarked, in this connection, that at least one Balkan State recently visited Paris in the guise of borrower—*The Near East*.

The Turkish Debt.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Feb. 11.

UNDER the presidency of M. Goltz, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a Commission, composed of the Councillors of Embassy representing the Great Powers, together with representatives of the French Ministry of Finance, has been discussing the question of the amount of the Turkish Debt which will be transferred to the Balkan States when they are finally installed in the territory conquered from Turkey in Europe. These preliminary deliberations having been completed, the French Government has invited the other five Great Powers to unite their Ambassadors in a financial conference in Paris, over which the French Foreign Minister, M. Jonnart, would preside. It appears to be contemplated that the amount of the Turkish Debt which would be transferred to the Balkan Allies would be

between £16,000,000 and £18,000,000 sterling. It is evident that the Powers cannot yet discuss the distribution of this transferred financial burden among the different Balkan States as it is not yet known what extent of territory, hitherto Turkish, will be annexed by each of them. It is certain that each State, in addition to its share of the Turkish Imperial Debt, will also have to undertake the burden of those obligations which are connected with the various enterprises in their new territories and with the guarantees for the interest on capital sunk in railways which pass through these territories.

Moslem Feeling in India.

[TO THE EDITOR OF "THE OUTLOOK."]

SIR,—As a citizen of that mighty Empire which has the unique distinction of claiming the allegiance of four hundred million Orientals, of whom fully one quarter are Mussalmans, and as a British-Indian Muslim who has the proud privilege of looking upon the Empire not as a purely alien institution destined to perish with the decline of British prestige, but as a political structure in whose stability Mussalmans are as much interested as Englishmen, I feel it is time that I should describe to the great British public the extent to which the feelings of Moslem India are being exercised as a result of the merciless campaign of extermination against Muslim lands that commenced with the descent of Italy upon the Tripolitan coast and has culminated in the sanguinary horrors of Balkania. My object in these lines is to remind the people of Great Britain of their obligations towards the seventy millions of Mussalmans whose devoted attachment to the person and throne of the British monarch, and whose admitted claim to be regarded as an important factor in determining the course of British Imperialism should entitle them to a voice in the councils of the Empire. The Mussalmans of India feel that as a part of that great whole which is called the British Empire they have a right to be heard on problems affecting the destinies of their brethren-in-faith abroad.

An Indian Muslim looks upon the British Government as a divine dispensation, and as such it inspires him with a feeling bordering on reverence. He also regards it as a tolerably fair substitute for a Muslim Government, and as such he expects it to discharge the functions which in his mind are associated with Muslim rule. To reconcile himself to the notion of perpetual British supremacy which has come to be regarded by him almost in the nature of things, all that he requires is this, that the British Government should cultivate friendly relations with the surviving independent Muslim State, which in his case—such is the constitution of Muslim mind—supply the void created by the absence of a free and unfettered Muslim sovereignty in India.

Such is the attitude of the average Indian Muslim towards British rule, and unless British statesmen are so shortsighted as to reverse the traditional policy of England and, regardless of the cherished susceptibilities of a hundred million loyal Muslims, embark on a course of open and reckless hostility against Islam, the attitude is sure to be indefinitely prolonged. An Anglo-Turkish *entente* would create for the Mussalmans of India a political environment of ideal bliss. Even the neutrality of England shorn of its benevolence would still ensure the traditional loyalty of Muslims whose good sense in making allowance for the exigencies of Imperialism will feel that in dissociating herself from those who are bent upon the destruction of Islam, England is at any rate respecting the sentiments of her millions of Muslim subjects. For an England whom they regarded, if not as an active at least as a passive ally of Muslim States, the Mussalmans of India would continue to shed their life-blood. But the moment they felt that England, whom they regarded as the friend of Islam, was openly fraternising with the avowed enemies of their Faith a disillusion is bound to follow.

With infinite sorrow I am constrained to confess that as a result of the sanguinary events of the last two years, which have spread misery and desolation from the valleys of Morocco right up to the steppes of northern Persia, the Mussalmans of India are just now in the throes of such a disillusion. The unfortunate conviction is dawning upon the minds of millions of British Indian Muslims, that England, who with her unlimited resources could have easily prevented this vandalistic scramble for Muslim territory, which is a disgrace to Christian civilisation and the law of nations, began with conniving at the misdeeds of the Italian Corsair and ended with openly espousing the cause of the Balkan bandits. The frightful toll levied upon Muslim blood by the so-called champions of the Cross and the disgusting horrors perpetrated in the name of Christianity might have been neutralised by a single frown on the brow of Britain, and the Mussalmans of India are struggling against the sickening sensation that "the Policeman of the World" permitted the butchery to go on under his very nose.

As a publicist having control of a Hindustani vernacular daily with the largest circulation in India, I am in touch

with Muslim feeling in England's great Dependency, and accordingly I am in a position to declare with some authority that the policy of the present British Cabinet, in so far as it affects ultra-Indian Muslim interests, is giving rise to grave discontent. People here in England are not perhaps aware of what is going on in India as a direct consequence of England's strange participation in what, according to the *Saturday Review*, may be called "the immolation of Turkey." The great living heart of Islam in India has been stirred to its innermost depths as it has never been stirred before. As day after day news reaches India of the massacre of Muslims, irrespective of age and sex, with the silent approval, so it would appear, of a united Christendom, the mind of the Indian Muslim grows distraught and distracted. They are seized with an intense loathing of the atrocious cynicism which helps in raising hordes of their innocent co-religionists. In a paroxysm of anguish they appeal to their Government, in the name of humanity, to put a stop to all this wanton bloodshed. But their appeals go unheeded. They are told that the Government are unable to do anything as their hands are forced by the International Law of Neutrality. This very nearly drives them to the verge of desperation, and but for the tact and sympathy of Lord Hardinge, whose statesmanship, by permitting them to raise subscriptions for the aid of the sufferers from this twentieth-century crusade against Islam, has created a safety-valve for the desperate mood of Muslims, there is no knowing to what grave developments India might have been exposed. As it is, meetings are being held all over the country loudly protesting against the fanaticism of Europe, sympathising with Muslims in distress, and calling upon England to sever her connection with the tormentors of Turkey. The demonstration of sympathy has been universal, and its manifestations are so genuine, so multiform, and so practical as to furnish the far-sighted British Imperialist food for serious reflection. All sections of the Muslim community have rallied to the call of Islam in this dark hour, and loosened their purse strings with unstinted liberality although it is the poorer class which has chiefly replenished the Red Crescent coffers. It does one's heart good to see a poor widow, a helpless orphan, an indigent beggar, giving away their little all, in the pious hope that perchance their humble contributions will go just a little way towards alleviating the sufferings of those whom a kindred faith has made to them as dear as kinsmen. The conduct of a penniless Muslimah of the wild northern frontier who, for lack of ready money, subscribed her nine-months old babe to the Peshawar Red Crescent Fund and had the satisfaction of seeing it put up to auction for £60, gives an index to the feeling of Muslim India over the anti-Islamic campaign of Europe in the Near East. Branches of Red Crescent for raising funds in aid of the Turkish sufferers from war have been established all over the country, and within the last two months nearly £200,000 have been collected. Two medical missions have been equipped and sent out from India, and it was a member of one of these missions who is reported by the Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* to have harangued a street meeting on the day of the great *coup d'état* and assured them that India was heart and soul with Turkey. Thousands of Muslims have been anxious to proceed to Turkey as volunteers, and only their imperfect knowledge of the Law of Neutrality has hitherto prevented them from leaving the shores of India and joining their Turkish brethren in the defence of Islam.

All this must be quite new to the British public, as the English Press, which alone could have enlightened the people of this country as regards happenings in India, has on the whole been strangely indifferent to the situation. It is a mistake to suppose, as the leading papers in this country seem to have supposed, that the Turkish question is a purely Ottoman question which can be solved by sympathising or oppressing Ottomanism. The question has a wider aspect. It is the question of Islam, and as such it is bound to react upon India, which has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world. Great Britain is, therefore, directly interested in its equitable solution, and politicians or publicists who advocate the dismemberment of Turkey ignore the stupendous stakes Great Britain has in India. The anti-Turkish and, on the whole, anti-Islamic policy of Sir Edward Grey has already done much harm. Discontent is fast spreading among Indian Muslims, and the latest move of the British Foreign Office in the matter of violating its plighted neutrality by subscribing to the Collective Note of Europe, which is openly partial to the allies and stoutly hostile to Turkey, has only made matters worse. There is no such thing as international morality. Of that the Muslims are certain. Europe is adept in the art of making its own words. It has torn its treaties at will. It has violated its plighted troth whenever it has suited its convenience to do so. But then we have been accustomed to regard England physically and morally as something distinct from Europe. Not only her insular position but her unique love of justice and fair play has justified our belief in her exalted idiosyncrasies. Sir Edward

Grey, by jumping from neutrality to partiality, has given a rude shock to the implicit faith which Muslim India had for half a century reposed in the unchallenged probity of England.

But just as England is not Europe, so Sir Edward Grey, or the party he represents, is not England. On behalf of Muslim India, I appeal to the people of England in the name of the glorious traditions which have made the name of this small island, all the world over, synonymous with all that is good and just, to vindicate this fair name by rallying to the standard of justice and fair play. England, if she means to remain a World Power, must set inflexible justice above every other consideration. It was moral ascendancy that made her great, and by virtue of the same attribute she will retain her greatness. This greatness just at present is jeopardised by a line of diplomatic conduct, which for fear of indulging in a harsher term I will simply describe as un-English.

John Bull, as we Indian Muslims understand the brawny old gentleman, has always been a protector of the weak, an emancipator of the oppressed, a redresser of wrongs, an impartial judge, and above all a stern and inflexible holder of the ring during a combat. But of late he seems to have fallen into questionable company. His "splendid isolation" kept him unsophisticated and therefore Nature's Western masterpiece. Now he has taken to alliances and *ententes* and the foul environment is beginning to tell upon him. "A fair field and no favour" which used to be the guiding principle of his conduct is now being expunged from his moral code. His quondam friend and ally the Osmanli is in the grip of four assailants, but instead of holding the ring to which he was pledged by his oft-repeated protestations of neutrality, he makes common cause with a number of hooligans who show their cowardice by taking up cudgels on behalf of four sturdy allies against the weak solitary adversary. Will John Bull make one supreme effort to annul the unholy alliances that he has contracted and become his pure self again?—I am, Sir, Yours &c.

ZAFAR ALI KHAN,

Editor of the "Zamindar" Lahore (India).

The Atrocities and the House of Commons.

MR. WALTER GUINNESS (Bury St. Edmunds Opp.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the 18th Feb. whether he had any official information showing that after the occupation of Prierend the Serbian troops set houses on fire and shot men, women, and children as they ran out, and that the massacre was estimated by various refugees to have amounted to between 500 and 900, whether he had any official information showing that when the Serbian troops occupied Lyuma they tied women and children together, saturated them with petroleum, and set them on fire, besides stripping many men and stabbing them to death with bayonets, and that the total number who thus perished was estimated as between 500 and 600, whether he had received any report from the Consul-General at Salonica as to the statement that the Greeks tied together 75 Turkish prisoners of war and drowned them in the River Vardar, whether he had any official information showing that the Greeks massacred many Albanians at Prishtina and executed many of the most prominent Albanians and Kutzo Vlach inhabitants of Karafena after so-called trial by Court-martial; whether his attention had been drawn to the report of the Comité de Publication des Atrocités des Collisés Balkaniques, which gave particulars of a massacre at Serres in which at the lowest estimate, 1,700 Turks perished; and whether his attention had been drawn to the report of the Comité de Publication des Atrocités des Collisés Balkaniques, which stated that, during the first 48 hours of the occupation of Strumitza, by the Bulgarian troops, 84 Moslems were massacred, including two old men and five children, that after the departure of Colonel Mitoff, the Bulgarian Lieutenant Volcheff, the Serbian Commandant Ivan Gribitz, the Komitadj Chief Tshacof, and four others, were constituted as a tribunal, and condemned and executed 521 persons during 23 days, in most cases by bayonet stabs or after some horrible mutilation; whether he had any Consular reports confirming these statements; and whether he had any information as to the punishment of those responsible for such atrocities.

SIR E. GREY—I would propose to take the six questions standing on the hon. member's name together. As regards the first four, concerning events alleged to have occurred at Prierend, Lyuma, on the Vardar, and at Prishtina and Karafena, I have received no information from any official source bearing out the statements made. As regards the last two, relating to outrages alleged to have been perpetrated at Serres and Strumitza, the report of the committee referred to has not come under my

notice. I have, however, received Consular reports containing statement substantially the same, though naturally not based on personal knowledge. The hon. gentleman is already aware from replies returned to him on the 16th, 21st, and 28th of the action which I took on these reports I shall take similar steps in the case of any further reports of the same kind which may reach me when there seems to be foundation for them, but in this connexion I would recall attention to the remarks I made in replying to the hon. gentleman on the 28th ultimo.

MR. GUINNESS—Could not the right hon. gentleman reassure our Moslem fellow-subjects in any case by expressing the horror which he feels at the well-authenticated cases which have reached him and by expressing his hope to the allied Governments that they will take steps to prevent repetitions?

SIR E. GREY—Of course statements of this kind which appear, from whatever quarter they come, must be most painful and distressing reading. As far as I am concerned I must repeat again the hon. member never seems to attach the weight that ought to be attached to the action we have taken. (Hear, hear) Whenever a report has reached me from a Consul, even though not based on personal knowledge or first-hand information, and there appears to be foundation for it, I have brought it to the notice of the Bulgarian or Serbian or Greek Government, whichever might be concerned, and I have expressed the expectation that they would take steps to put a stop to anything of this kind or to prevent it happening. The replies have been roughly that the Bulgarian and Serbian Governments stated that any outrages of this kind would be punished and that the outrages which had occurred, so far as their information went, had been committed by irregular bands.

The Atrocities in Macedonia.

The following reply was received from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the representation submitted by the London Moslem League on the subject of the Massacres of Macedonia:—

FOREIGN OFFICE,

Feb 17, 1913.

Sir,—I am directed by Secretary Sir Edward Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, complaining that no adequate action has been taken in the matter of the atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated on Moslems by the forces of the Allied Balkan States during the present war and asking that His Majesty's Government will take steps to secure an independent international enquiry into the question with a view to demand reparation for the sufferers.

You are already aware, from the letter of the 14th ultimo from this Office, of the action taken by Sir E. Grey to bring the reports in question to the notice of the Governments concerned, and I am to inform you that similar steps will be taken whenever information of such a character is received.

I am to refer you in this connexion to answers returned to questions asked in Parliament on the 28th ultimo and the 13th instant.

I am to inform you that the Commander-in-Chief of the Bulgarian forces has issued stringent instructions that the severest measures are to be taken to investigate all such acts as are reported in the occupied territory, to punish those guilty of them and to prevent their recurrence, while the Serbian Government have stated that any cases of the kind which have occurred have always been treated with the utmost rigour of the military law.

I am to add that an enquiry such as you mention is not practicable in present circumstances.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble servant,
(Sd.) **EVAN A. CROWE.**

"The Will of Allah."

By "ONADOKER."

KERPILO is in a turmoil. Down the steep streets and across the bridge over the swirling Vardar troops are marching towards the station. War has been declared, and the Osmanlis are to pour over the Serbian frontier and teach a lesson to their Christian neighbours that will silence them for good.

About two miles north of the town, at no great distance from the railway line, there stands an old Turkish chiftlik. The owner, Hassan Aga, sits in the courtyard puffing slowly at his nargileh, his

eyes intent upon vacancy. Petrof, the Serb farm hand, is leading in the bullock waggon, while in a sunny corner the old *Dede* (grandfather) squats cross-legged in a half-doze, leaning against a pillar. Hens and chickens fidget around, pecking at small odds and ends, and a large cur starts up and barks angrily as Mehmed, Hassan's second boy, cants in over the cobbled entrance.

"I saw Kiazim leave," says the boy. "The regiment will be to-night at Uskub."

"Allah selamet versoun (May Allah keep him in safety)," replies Hassan Aga, withdrawing for an instant the amber moulta-piece of his water-pipe.

The scene has relapsed into a patient, breathing silence, when the clatter of small feet in patterns breaks its stillness, and little Serdeh and Leshah with their twin brothers, Kiamil and Hussein, run in, calling:

"Ana, Ana, we stood close by the line when the *vapoor* rushed past, and Kiazim waved to us from the window."

Their mother, the Hanna Effendi, comes from the house and sends all four off, with Melek, the negress "Kodja Kari," to get some milk and bread and call the goats in. Anon comes up a rayah tenant of the farm with a small portion of his rent, and towards evening the whole family, including the daughters Bushah and Samiah and the Duyuk Valideh (grandmother), come out to see the horse that Hassan Aga has just purchased.

One by one they disappear into the rooms and outhouses that flank three sides of the courtyard; the watchdog roams in the big deserted yard, till a distant bark arouses him, to which he answers with a hurping, rasping call. The sounds die off, and peaceful darkness settles down over the chiftlik.

Two weeks have passed, and the autumn sunset looks sinister, but Hassan Aga stares at it placidly, while from time to time the low, deep gurgle of his bubble-mble gives out that pleasant sound of comfort that the "teriyaki" of the hookah understand. Mehmed appears driving the goats before him, and as Petrof is strangely late in coming from the town, Hassan Aga calls his son to go and see if he is yet in sight.

"I can't see Petrof, but there are soldiers hurrying down the Uskub road going towards Kerpiro. . . . One is turning off here. He is coming across the big field, but he's got no rifle, and he's running. . . . No, it can't be, but it looks like Kiazim. . . . Who can it be? . . . Why, yes, it is brother Kiazim, sure enough! Kiazim, Kiazim, is that you? Why are you stumbling? What! are you wounded? Quick, I'll come and help you."

As Mehmed reaches him, Kiazim stumbles, and sinks down fainting. His hair is matted in a huge clot of blood, and a deathly pallor overlies his cheeks. Everyone is around him, when at last he speaks: "We have been beaten at Kumanova, and Uskub is taken. The Serbs are following at our heels, and *komitaji* are everywhere; they have wiped out whole villages. Escape now, at once, before it is too late; in half an hour these butchery may be on you! Fly to Salonica, where is safety. Oh while there's still time. And God save you from those awful bands!"

The Turk hears his dying son's words—the message of ruin and exile—and his face assumes a look of passive resignation. He replies almost without emotion:

"My son, this is the will of Allah. *Olayak shu olour*. What is to happen happens. Let us set forth at once."

From the town beyond, the voice of the muezzin calling to the evening prayer floats up as Hassan Aga leads forth his family from their home. His ancestors have dwelt on this land for nigh six hundred years.

In the lumbering bullock waggon are those too old or too young to walk, and, faintly moaning, Kiazim lies in their midst. The others trudge along while Mehmed and the Aga ride ahead. They carry some eighty pounds in gold, and in the waggon are *yorghans* coverlets and clothes in plenty. Entering Kerpiro at nightfall, they find the streets full of loaded waggons, *arabas* the *talikes*; everywhere bustle, confusion, darkness, and growing panic. The Christian portion of the population scarcely hides its joy at the discomfiture of its erstwhile masters.

Before daybreak Kiazim breathes his last, and, dumb and despairing, they set their faces southward. After some three hours' journey the bright sunshine begins to warm their stricken hearts. Then suddenly a band of armed men appears hurrying north-westwards. Their leader, a Serb *komitaji*, calls out, "Bring us your two horses quickly, and you may pass unharmed."

Hassan Aga complies without demur, and on the party toils. That night is spent in a peasant's hut, and though next day they have to sleep beneath the sky, they feel that they have at last outdistanced all the bands.

But on the morrow rain is falling, and the roads are well nigh impassable. The waggon stops fast time and again, and only towards evening is the big bridge reached. They find it broken and at the ford a sea of pasty mud. The bullocks wade, squealing, splashing in, but the waggon is imbedded to the axles! Darkness falls, and another night in the open with a driving storm and four of the fugitives in high fever! At last the morning light breaks, but to bring what? This time a Bulgar band comes right upon them. The ruffians, twenty strong, cover the wretched family with their loaded rifles and summon them with oaths and threats to hand over all they have. Fearing the worst, Hassan sullenly pays out his store of gold. Delighted with their easy hand, the *kumtays* decide that more is to be had. The veils of the two young Turkish maidens are roughly torn aside, the girls themselves dragged screaming from the waggon. Brother and father try to wrench them free, and are felled quickly to the ground.

When the two men recover consciousness some hours later they find around them a troop of Bulgar regulars. The officer, seeing the fugitives have been stripped of all they had, gives them a little food and money and sets them on their journey. The waggon is perforce abandoned, and they now all trudge afoot. At Gradiska another kindly Bulgar befriends them for the night, and in his dreams Hassan is once more smoking the cheerful bubble-bubble while his Serb hand, Petrol, drives home the cattle in the glowing sunset. But a moan arouses him, the *Dede*, in a delirium of fever, is crying out, "Save the young girls, save them." Sleep flies and the black present hovers desolate.

How trace the weary pilgrimage to Salonica, to the great Turkish capital where safety and shelter will, they think, be found. Each day the dragging, plodding, limping, tramp along bleak ways, exhaustion, starvation, death, threatening and pitiless. Awful tales from Avret Hissar oblige the wanderers to make a further detour among the hills to escape the clutches of the *kumtays*. At last the patient little band descry the minarets of Salonica standing out on the horizon. But two of the small family have closed their eyes for ever. The fever-stricken *Dede* and the frail Leilah have ceased their struggling flight.

At dusk one evening Hassan draws near the town and sees the first patrols. They are Greek outposts in possession? All emotion has long been killed within him: his heart is dulled so utterly he can only stumble onwards in a deadened stupor.

Before midnight the exiles are all lodged inside a mosque, and a relief society is ministering to their physical distress. A European worker, pitying their awful plight, gleams something of their story, and offers words of comfort and of hope. Hassan's sublime reply falls on ears that cannot understand. "Allah istek - God has willed it so!" - *The Near East*.

The Mosques of Adrianople.

P. M. MATTHEWS, in the course of a letter to *The Near East*, says:—

The most popular story regarding the building of this magnificent mosque and its architect, Sinan, said to have been a Bulgarian, and how he was threatened with death, and how he escaped, is the following:—

The architect Sinan built the mosque of the same name in Constantinople. One day he received the Sultan's (Sultan Selim II., 1566-1574) orders to go to Adrianople and there build another mosque of the same size and grandeur, but it must contain a thousand windows. The architect was allowed unlimited credit. When the architect reported that the mosque was completed, the Sultan demanded whether his order regarding the number of windows had been obeyed. The architect confessed that he had placed in the building only 999 windows: on this he was ordered to be executed. On his way to execution he succeeded in obtaining a last audience of the Sultan. He begged of the Sultan to appoint a commission of architects, in which might be included even men known to be at enmity with him, declaring that he would die content should this commission report that it had been possible to add another window to the 999. The commission reported in favour of the architect. The Sultan, however, asked the architect why he had not carried out his orders and placed in the mosque the full number of windows he had desired. "Sire," the architect answered, "I fully understood the significance of your command, and by limiting the number of the windows to 999 I have secured your wish. Your desire was that the number of windows in (Turkish) should strike the popular mind with its immensity. Now the number of 999 will produce

that effect far more than a 1,000 (bin). Nine hundred and ninety-nine is more impressive than a thousand (bin)." The architect's opinion as to which of the two mosques, the Constantinople one or the one of Adrianople, was the finer, and received the answer "Both are of equal grandeur, but the one in Constantinople is more appropriate for the purpose of prayer. In the Adrianople one there is too much light." This fact strikes the visitor.

The oldest mosque in the place and the most sacred for prayer is the Eski Jami (the Old Mosque): next to this one in sacredness comes the Youtch Sherifi Mosque (the three minarets) or the Bourmala Mosque, because of the spiral construction of its main minaret (bourma, screw). There is not much of special sacredness about the Sultan Selim Mosque. The Eski Jami was built before the Turks took to copying the one-domed St. Sofia of Constantinople, and it is roofed with a number of domes of the same size. The Youtch Sherifi Mosque is undoubtedly a converted church, the imam going up the minaret to call the Faithful to prayers invariably carries a sword. The is done only in mosques which had been churches.

Adrianople is crowded with mosques and cemeteries attached, there are at the least sixty, the greater part more or less in ruin, and no trace left of the revenues attached for their maintenance.

In Adrianople, as in all the chief centres of Byzantine rule, there was a church, St. Sofia. I possess a photograph of its ruins taken twenty-five years ago, part of the roof and a tower was still standing. Ten years ago, when I visited the spot, these ruins were still standing in a square surrounded by Christian houses, with no public way to them. I had to pass through a private house and a back door to get to the square. The square was the children's playground and the common yard for drying clothes. A great fire has since occurred which destroyed the whole quarter, and I learn that the ruins have disappeared. Whether this church, St. Sofia, was ever converted into a mosque I failed to ascertain.

Press Censors and War Correspondents.

(Continued from our last.)

And what of the position of war correspondents with the Bulgarians? No insulting diatribes against the Bulgarian authorities were ever despatched from Sofia, nevertheless the journalists were treated with a severity compared with which the lax control of the Turks was simply child's play.

The correspondents' camp at Pehleli was within easy distance of the fighting on the Turkish left, and one or two correspondents contrived to ride as far as the actual firing line, one of them equipped with a cinematograph camera. The gradual retreat towards Tehtaldja furnished the journalists with enough picturesque 'copy' for weeks, and even after their withdrawal to San Stefano they were within fifteen miles of Bivuk Tehekmedje. I have already described the go-as-you-please freedom of the journalists from, say, the 16th November to the 20th of November, during the critical period of the Tehtaldja fighting.

The Bulgarians, on the other hand, never permitted the correspondents to get within fifty miles of the actual fighting. Their staff regarded the acceptance of the pass as acceptance of the censor's rules, and in the case of any violation of these rules punishment followed swiftly. Three of the journalists on one occasion were placed under strict arrest for simply going as far as the railway station at Stara Zagora without permission. On another occasion we are told that thirty correspondents were sent back for various breaches of the censor's regulations. This severity was, however, accepted by the correspondents at Sofia, Mustapha Pasha and Stara Zagora in a very different spirit from that which animated some of their colleagues who enjoyed the indulgence and liberty of the Turkish *répue*. "If a censorship is necessary—as of course it is," writes Mr. Philip Dussy, of the *Westminster Gazette*, "it could not be possibly more stringent or less objectionable than I have found it here in Sofia."

During the progress of the Russo-Japanese war several correspondents who were found to have violated their pledges by sending uncensored news over the Chinese frontier for telegraphic despatch were instantly expelled from the country. On the other hand, Reuters' correspondents, who honourably observed the censor's rules and 'played the game' throughout, was allowed to be present as an exclusive eye-witness at many striking operations of the campaign, and was thus enabled to transmit news of signal interest and value.

Several interesting results may follow from the general experiences of the press censorship during the Balkan campaign of 1912. One of these is that the days of the war correspondent, properly so-called, are probably numbered. It has become quite evident that no modern army can tolerate in its neighbourhood the presence of a crowd of journalists who are at best an abominable nuisance and at worst a real danger. The amazing liberty enjoyed by the correspondents in Turkey during the month of November is simply the exception which proves the rule. No effective restraint could be imposed on individuals who treated their written engagements as waste-paper and were enabled by the conditions of the postal and steamboat services to evade the censor's regulations—nothing could be done, that is, except the forcible detention under arrest or the summary execution of the offenders, and this course of action was distasteful to the Ottoman authorities, and more especially at a time when their hands were full of large concerns in every direction.

The owners and editors of newspapers have been seriously asking themselves for some years whether the modern game of war correspondence is really worth the candle. The only news from Turkey of sufficient interest or piquancy to produce a special edition or satisfy the eager expectancy of the public was probably now sent by illicit means, and it is evident that no other country except Turkey would tolerate the continued sojourn in its midst of press men who were guilty of such behaviour. Think of the jargon paragraphs wired home from the Bulgarian side by 'war correspondent' sixty miles from the war! One of the most experienced of them wired from Sofia with reference to the invisible siege of Adrianople that the houses must have been damaged by the bombardment, but that some of the inhabitants will probably seek refuge in underground cellars.

The preposterous telegrams about the 'crumpling up of the Tehataldja defences' and the 'fall of Adrianople,' and the description of a battle several days before it took place—all this serves, no doubt, to sell newspapers, but there is, after all, a limit to war news based apparently on second sight and complete freedom from the fetters of time and space. Even in the Turkish capital, under conditions of practically complete freedom, some of the news collected by the correspondents for home consumption was remarkable enough. When I returned Tehataldja, about the 22nd of November, I found that one of the best-known journalists had 'obtained information' that the Bulgarians had captured all the Turkish forts except seven! On the 15th of November the following statements were made in telegrams received from Sofia and Constantinople that the Turkish centre at Tehataldja had been broken, that Nazim Pasha had surrendered, that Hademkoni was occupied by the Bulgarians, that Adrianople had fallen. On the 6th of November we were informed that 'Derkon had been occupied and the water supply of Constantinople cut off! Large sums of money were spent on hairless descriptions of how the correspondent's account broke down—this was the *crumple repetition* of many messages. Is it really worth while to spend hundreds of pounds—a correspondent told me that he had already expended six hundred pounds on the campaign—in order to provide such journalistic rubbish as this? An editor once remarked to me, 'We don't want to spend money broadcast in order to hear that our correspondent fell his pyramids in one village, or couldn't get a drink in the next.' In the campaigns of the future it seems probable that the military authorities will permit one or two accredited representatives of the great agencies like Reuters to accompany their staff and be duly sponsored with suitable information. Soldiers are almost universally opposed to any admission of correspondents to the theatre of war, and the general conduct of the journalists on the Turkish side has certainly furnished a strong argument in support of Lord Wolsey's conviction that correspondents are 'the curse of modern warfare.'

I have written these lines because I believe that the press censors of the Turkish army have been unjustly criticised in the columns of certain English and Continental newspapers. But there is also a much larger question involved. The Turks have never adequately realised the immense importance of the press and its influence in shaping public opinion.

Let me give an example of this. In the first week of November a series of alarmist paragraphs were telegraphed via Roumania to the effect that the Christian inhabitants of Stamboul and Pera were menaced with massacre and outrage at the hands of incensed Moslems. Lurid pictures had been drawn of widespread terror; we were told that 'men's hearts were turning to water,' that '25,000 Kurds were marching on the city,' and so on. This sensational 'copy' ran riot through the Euro-

pean press, and even journals with high traditions were led to accept news which was based on little else than *a priori* scare-mongering. So utterly disgusted were many of the regular residents in Pera that a number of well-known Englishmen, including Sir Adam Block, Mr. Graves, Sir Richard Crawford, and Sir Henry Woods, despatched a strongly worded protest against this mischievous abuse of journalism. Here, then, once more Turkey suffered at the hands of a reckless journalism, without any effective means of influencing a press which continued to urge upon the Powers the despatch of warships and transports at considerable expense to the taxpayers at home. These highly coloured pictures of death and destruction were composed by gentlemen sitting in the saloons of the Pera Palace Hotel, who could walk from one end of Stamboul to the other by day or night without the slightest discourtesy or interference, who ignored the fact that order was being well maintained by military patrols, and forgot that during the progress of Italy's brigand-campaign in Tripoli not a hair of a single Italian head was touched in Constantinople.

During the recent crisis the entire absence of excitement or violence among the Moslem inhabitants of the capital was very striking. Amid the horrors and humiliations of October and November, the thinly disguised jubilation of the Greek residents, and the ungenerous speeches of foreign statesmen, the Muhammadan populace displayed a restraint and dignity which was really phenomenal. The national misfortunes were deeply felt, but no angry words were spoken in public, no bitter recriminations took place in the streets, no single act of violence was directed against any of the helpless communities of Christians isolated here and there in the network of the Stamboul streets. Could the authorities of any other European capital, with the enemy within thirty miles of its gates, have guaranteed a similar freedom from outrage and violence?

In the dark hours of Turkey's recent misfortunes, amid the accumulated miseries of war and pestilence, scarcely a single note of sympathy for the stricken nation could be detected in the European press. Treaties solemnly signed by the nations of Europe are violated without a word of protest from the Churches of Christendom, which have to a large extent bestowed their blessing and approval on a war of conquest, prompted by sheer lust of new territory.

This general trend of feeling is due in some slight measure to religious bigotry, but in a much larger degree to the influence of the European press, carefully led on every possible occasion by the press bureaux established in Europe by Turkey's more especial adversaries in the Balkans and elsewhere. In short, the Turks have always been badly handicapped by their inability to make effective reply to the criticisms and attacks of the foreign press. Ever since their hasty attempt to establish reforms in 1908 they have never been allowed any of that rest or leisure without which no nation can bring about far-reaching changes in government and administration. Who could reasonably expect adequate reforms during three years of almost incessant conflict in Arabia, Tripoli, Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace? How long has it taken us in England to grant some measure of self-government to Ireland? But in the Christian nations of Europe are sincere in their desire for better government in Turkey, let them now grant her ten years of freedom from Christian aggression. On the other hand, in the building up of her new national life, full of immense possibilities, let Turkey remember that she cannot afford to allow her enemies the virtual monopoly of exercising influence on the powerful press of Europe, the creator of that public opinion which no statesman of the twentieth century can afford to ignore.—E. N. BENNETT, in the *Nineteenth Century*.

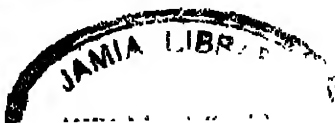
TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

Through Hasan Raza Khan, Esq., c/o Md. Owais Qarni, Esq., Member, Red Crescent Society, Azamgarh—

Collections made in some villages ...	450	0	0
Shahjahan Begum Sahiba, Begumabad ...	15	0	0
Through the Secretary, Anjuman Islamia, Dhamtari, Rajpur ...	65	0	0
Through M. Ahmad, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman Iqbal-musli-min Amritsar ...	59	8	0

Through Khan Bahadur Syed Jafar Hussain Sahib, Bhopal—

Sale proceeds of the All-India Medical Mission Group ...	50	0	0
Through Syed Abdul Majid, Esq., Hamirpur—			
Khoda Baksh, Esq. ...	1	4	0
Wife of Abdul Hakim Sahib and Qasim Sahib ...	1	4	0
Sahib, repeat four each ...	4	0	0



Wife of Chanda Khan Sahib and Aunt of Chanda Khan Sahib, rupees three each ...	6	0	0
Messrs. Bashiruddin, Elahi Baksh, Zakir Ali, Abdur Rahman, Rahim, and Dulla, rupees each ...	6	0	0
Muhammad Ismail, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Wazir Khan, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Petty Collections ...	2	12	0
Through Kazi Latafat Hussain, Esq., Islamnagar, Budaun—			
Mite of Islamnagar ...	30	9	0
Through M. Safar Ali, Esq., Noakhali—			
Collected in the town ...	30	0	0
Through Mulla Dewa Sahib, Dasora, Dacca—			
Collected in village Dasora ...	17	0	0
Through Ahsanullah Khan, Esq., Garhmukhteshar—			
Self ...	5	0	0
Muhammad Fasih, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Through Master Muhammad Din Sahib, Hoshinpur—			
Collected by himself ...	6	4	0
S. J. Ali, Esq., Rangoon ...	2	8	0
"A Sympathiser," Gorakhpur ...	850	0	0
Through Ali Zaman Khan, Esq., Gmula ...	70	0	0
Through Syed Nurul Haq, Esq., Majumdari, Sylhet—			
Collected from the Mussulmans of the vicinity ...	25	0	0
Syed Asmatulla, Esq., Hasepet, on behalf of his deceased mother-in-law ...	10	0	0
Mushtaq Hussain, Esq., Tehsil Kasht, Dist. Dehradun ...	2	0	0
Muhammad Mustaq, Esq., Bazidpur, Ghazipur ...	22	0	0
Through Bashiruddin, Esq., Khosabagh, Dist. Noakhali—			
House to house collections made by the members of the Red Crescent Society of Khosabagh ...	100	0	0
Through Wali Ahmad, Esq., Secretary, Chail Muslim Club, Dondipur, Allahabad ...	25	0	0
Through M. Hamid Noman, Esq., Gorakhpur—			
"A Sympathiser," through Haji Kadir Baksh Sahib ...	660	0	0
Messrs. Ali Muhammad Ahsan and Hafiz-uddin, Barisal ...	400	0	0
Through Dilwar Hussain, Esq., Ranchi ...	5	0	0
Moulvi Miran Baksh Sahib, Tanet, Dist. Peshawar ...	10	0	0
Through Messrs. Muhammad Jamal, Md. Qasim, Ajmer—			
Sheikh Haji Faiz Sahib, Pisagarh ...	200	0	0
Sheikh Muhammad Sahib, Pisagarh ...	25	0	0
Other Mussulmans ...	18	0	0
Through Muhammad Shohab Tazqi, Esq., Mhow ...	4	0	0
Through Nazir Ahmed Khan, Esq., Pirawa ...	50	0	0
Amastulla Pirmalik, Esq., Duleharchha, Bogra ...	5	0	0
Through Khwaja Muhammad Azam Sahib, Dacca—			
Mussalmans of the place ...	5,000	0	0
Through Khwaja Ahmadulla Khan, Esq., Rajah-mandry ...	42	0	0
Through Niaz Muhammad Khan, Esq., Kalanore, Raseek—			
Mussalmans of the place ...	216	0	0
Through Muhammad Yaqub Esq., Delhi—			
Clarks of D. A. G's office ...	18	1	0
Sheikh Ataur Rahman, Esq., Delhi ...	15	0	0
Through Nizamuddin, Esq., Dera Ismail Khan—			
Messrs. Muhammad Mohsin, Ahmad Din and Azizuddin, rupees two each ...	6	0	0
Messrs. Ghulam Muhammad, Ghulam Mustafa, Muhammad Hayat, Khan Azim, Sultan Muhammad, and Syed Amir, rupees one each ...	6	0	0
Kazi Ahmad Din Sahib ...	10	0	0
Mineuddin, Esq. ...	1	12	2
Messrs. Ibrahim and Ghulam Yasin, annas eight each ...	1	0	0
Through Muhammad Nawaz, Esq., Dera Ismail Khan, on behalf of Gul Muhammad Khan Sahib, deceased ...	5	4	0
Through Muhammad Ismail Hanifi, Esq.—			
S. of S. ...	1	8	0
A. M. G. I. A. H., Aliqarh ...	0	7	0
Through Ahmadulla, Esq., Charfakera, Dist. Noakhali—			
House to house collections made in the village ...	80	0	0
Through Syed Khurshid Ali, Esq., Hyderabad, Deccan—			
Proceeds of a benefit-night arranged by Mr. Patel, the physician of the Electric Bioscope Co., in aid of the B. C. Society ...	305	0	0

A. N. Muhammad Ehteshamul Haq Khan, Esq., Bassei via Serhind ...	5	0	0
Through Abdur Rashid Khan, Esq., Noakhali ...	150	0	0
Through Bashir Ahmad, Esq., Etawah—			
Mother of Bashir Ahmad Sahib ...	2	13	0
Anwarul Haq Sahib ...	7	3	0
Sheikh Ataur Rahman, Esq., Delhi ...	15	0	0
"A Sympathiser," Manipur State ...	101	2	0
Through Shaikh Chuttan, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman Mohafiz-Islam, Hahlwani (not received) ...	1,000	0	0
Through Fazal Hasan, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Bahraich ...	550	0	0
Through the Secretary, Anjuman-i-Dinbri ...	80	0	0
Fazal Karim, Esq., Sasaram ...	5	0	0
Through Bashiruddin Ahmad, Esq., Khosabagh, Dist. Noakhali—			
Collected by the members of the Red Crescent Society ...	125	0	0
Through Chhote Khan Sahib, Budaun ...	14	4	0
Through Zillur Rahman, Esq., Hardoi, on behalf of M. Bazlur Rahman, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Through Moulvi Bakht, Amballa—			
Collected at Chak No. 486 ...	4	0	0
M. Mir Alam, Esq., Peshawar ...	2	0	0
Abul Hasan, Esq., Sultanpur ...	100	0	0
Abdul Rahim Khan, Esq., Delhi ...	25	0	0
Through Fazle Hussain, Esq., Ahmadpur ...	180	0	0
Through M. Abdul Majid, Esq., Chapra—			
Collected by Mr. Mazlum Wasay, alias Molvi Akloo ...	75	0	0
Mehran Ali, Esq., Rara, Sahibpura ...	65	0	0
Through Mahbub Khan, Esq., Jhagpur ...	30	12	0
Through Ali Hammad, Esq., Fyzabad ...	29	0	0
Ramzan Ali, Esq., Jaunpur ...	11	0	0
Shamsuddin Ahmad, Esq., Nilphamari ...	5	0	0
Shaikh Nurula, Esq., Yatung, Tibet ...	4	0	0
Through S. M. Abbas, Esq., Allahabad—			
A Moslem Lady ...	2	0	0
Through Fazle Haq, Esq., Bassei, out of—			

فند مجدودہ باغات مجروحین ترکیہ

Moulvi Muhammad Ibrahim Sahib of Delhi ...	5	0	0
Imamuddin, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Through Shah Najmuddin, Esq. ...	4	0	0
Price of a bag of wool given by a Fakir ...	4	0	0
Sale proceeds of ornaments given by a lady ...	12	0	0
A Moslem lady (3rd instalment) ...	5	0	0
Through Hafiz Amrullah Sahib ...	70	6	0
Collected in a meeting addressed by Moulvi Fazle Hussain Sahib ...	12	14	0
Through Moulvi Anjad Ali Sahib, Balnighat, Dinajpur—			
R. Tagore, Esq. ...	100	0	0
S. K. Sanad, Esq. ...	10	0	0
N. K. Adhikari, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Messrs. K. Chakravarti, Ibrahim Mandal, Newaz-ud-din Chaudhry, and Isafe Ali Mandal, rupees two each ...	8	0	0
Messrs. N. K. Chakravarti, and Zamur-ud-din Munshi, rupees three each ...	0	0	0
Messrs. Ismail Mandal, Hasun-ud-din, Majid-ud-din, Saif-ud-din, G. Chakravarti, Zulmat Ali, Sirat-ud-din, Amrullah Mandal and Additional Munsiff, rupees one each ...	10	0	0
Collected at Man ud Meeting ...	28	14	0
From M'ad Fund ...	31	0	0
Through Syed Zamur-ud-din, Esq., Sultanpur—			
K. B. Muhammad Bakar Khan Sahib ...	25	0	0
Abdulla, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Ahmad ulia Khan, Esq., Kukori ...	2	0	0
Through Muntaz Khan, Esq., Udaipur ...	20	0	0
Mother of Reazul Hasan, Esq., Aliqarh ...	3	0	0
Shaikh Hidayatulla Sahib, Ferozepur ...	8	0	0
Muhammad Wasi, Esq., Sagri ...	5	0	0
Through Wali Ahmad, Esq., Secretary, Debating Club, Chail Muslim Boarding House, Allahabad—			
Members of the Club ...	25	0	0

Amount received from 1st to 7th March less Rs. 2-0-0 deducted by Mr. Hamid Noman of Gorakhpur for M. O. Commission, and Rs. 6-14-0 with Moulvi Anjad Ali Sahib of Dinajpur, Rs. 11,956 8 0			
Amount previously acknowledged ...	Rs. 3,09,112 6 3		
Total ...	Rs. 3,18,068 9 3		

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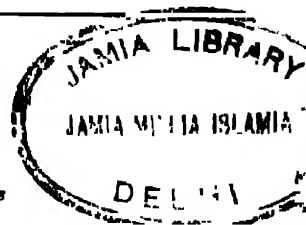
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They only live who dare!

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The Week.

Persia.

M. Constant, the Belgian Director of Customs at Bushire, and his wife were driving home from dinner on the night of the 7th when an unknown Persian ran alongside the carriage and fired repeatedly at the occupants. Madame Constant was killed, while her husband was seriously wounded.

It is reported locally that the attack on M. Constant was due to personal animosity possibly on the part of a dismissed servant but the Government has promised a most searching investigation.

The latest information about the assassin of M. Constant is that he is dismissed a Customs employé who joined the Gendarmerie. It is reported that the newly recruited force of gendarmes at Bushire is proving somewhat unruly.

Fears are entertained in official circles at Teheran that the ex-Shah, who was reported recently to have left Odessa for western Europe, contemplates returning to Persia in the spring. Colonel Bjalmarsen, Swedish head of the Gendarmerie, has left for Shiraz in an automobile accompanied by the French Minister who is going on an archaeological tour in Persia.

The Russians are still maintaining some of their plague stations on the Afghan and Persian frontiers, though no cases of the disease have been actually reported. Rumours are current in the tribal country of an Afghan caravan having reached the Mekran littoral to receive a large consignment of arms, said to have been landed from Muscat. It appears doubtful, however, whether anything more than a small number of rifles has been got through owing to the strictness of the naval blockade.

A Teheran message states that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires has offered Government two hundred thousand sterling to be repaid in three years from July 1914. A similar British offer is expected.

A Teheran telegram says that according to information from Bushire two hundred Bahrloo raiders have entered the district of Bunder Abbas, plundered villages and attacked a British survey party at Behman. They appear, however, to have been driven off after severe fighting.

Reports from Lingah indicate that a large force of tribesmen is contemplating an attack on Bunder Abbas.

A Teheran message says that one hundred and sixty-eight gendarmes at Bushire have been paid and disbanded.

A British warship is now at Bunder Abbas where the survey party has arrived safely. The town and vicinity are reported quiet though raiders are still in the district.

China.

China has informed the Ministers of the Six-Power Group that she does not agree to the scheme recently submitted with regard to adviserships in connection with the Six Power loan. China suggests a return to the original list, which includes Herr Roup, the German for the Audit Department, to whose appointment France objected.

The Nieder Oesterreichische Escompto Gesellschaft has granted China a loan of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, China undertaking to give the Poldihuetto Cast Steel Works for the next ten years orders for tool, steel, rifle-barrels, and gun parts to the same amount. The Poldihuetto Company will establish a branch in Peking.

Moslem College for Poona.

It is understood that a scheme for a Muhammadan college at Poona on the lines of the Aligarh College is being matured and that a Muhammadan gentleman has expressed his readiness to make a donation of ten lakhs of rupees for founding the college. If the scheme is matured it is proposed to extend the Chhatraboy Ebrahim Muhammadan school, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the Governor in November last.

The McCormick Case.

Mr. Hanlyu, Mr. Arnold's counsel, is returning to Rangoon via Bombay to arrange for the Fatma vs McCormick case to be presented to the Privy Council in appeal. Mr. Arnold's legal advisers have succeeded in prevailing on the India Office to forego security for costs.

À TÊTE À TÊTE



We have received another letter from Mr. Abdul Rahman Suddiq and one from Dr. Naim in charge of the Omerli section. Dr. Naim writes as follows:—

Omerli Field-Hospital, 23rd Feb., 1913.

"I am very sorry I could not write you till now, and especially the last week's report of my Omerli Hospital, as I had to go to Stamboul to discuss certain matters with Dr. Ansari.

"*9th Feb.*—Dr. Ansari left Omerli on 9th February, 1913, leaving me in charge of the Hospital with half of the Mission. This division of the Mission, though an honour, affected the Mission discipline and work very much. Firstly, it upset the whole work as everything was to be divided and arranged a second time, which meant at least one week's hard labour in mud and snow. Secondly, everybody wanted to go to the front, and the idea of following Enver Bey's Army was too charming in itself. So half of the Mission felt miserable and broken hearted and some of the members were actually crying! So my first duty was to give the members sound advice and put their minds at rest and then to fix their duties. Everything was put in order as the wounded were expected every hour.

"*10th and 11th Feb.*—These two days were spent in putting the Hospital in order through incessant rain and snow.

"*12th Feb.*—Ah Ghaleb Bey, the Inspector of Croissant Rouge, inspected our Hospital and was pleased to see it in order, and he informed us that to-day we are to get the first batch of wounded soldiers at 12 a.m. We were very glad to hear this news and our ambulance bearers with stretchers were ready for the first time to receive their wounded brothers. The train arrived at 12 a.m., and we got 9 wounded soldiers out of the lot. It was a great trouble to get them down. The soldiers were put to bed and were dressed one by one and their injuries were noted down. Four of them were very seriously wounded. It was my first experience to see these bullet wounds, and I was surprised to see the way these bullets take in the human body. For example a soldier was shot in his left temple, the bullet passed through his eyeball, then through his plate and, passing through the floor of his mouth, was lodged on the right side of his neck.

"*13th Feb.*—Weather extremely bad. Impossible to go out of the tents. The rain and hailstorm was incessant. Iashuddin and Ghulam Ahmad went out yesterday, had to sleep out and came back to-day. After getting permission they went as far as Tehataldja village and slept there in an hotel which was occupied by the Bulgars two days before. They saw the village. The Moslem quarter of the village was all blown up; the railway station was pulled down; but the Christian quarters were safe. In the village itself there were some Christians and only two Moslem inhabitants.

"*14th Feb.*—Weather extremely bad. I wanted to operate on some cases; but could not do it, as to bring patients to the operation theatre was an impossibility.

"*15th Feb.*—Hailstorm very severe. I was obliged to operate even in that awful weather. I was very glad that it fell to my lot to perform the first operation and do a mending good for my wounded soldiers. I removed the bullet from the neck of Am Ibrahim, and I was obliged to remove his left eyeball, as it was quite destroyed, and its removal was essential to save his other eye. The operation was done in ordinary lamp-light as the day was quite dark. Dr. Ansari came to Omerli and was much pleased to see the Hospital working. The Mission was doing some useful work after all, and he was satisfied that all this trouble was not useless. To-day one of our most useful and hard-working men—Abdul Waheed—fell ill. He developed pleurisy

and there is a suspicion of his getting pneumonia. He was to be sent back to Stamboul which was a great loss to my Hospital.

"*16th Feb.*—Weather as usual very bad. I went to Stamboul with Abdul Waheed and to discuss with Dr. Ansari the disadvantages of working at Omerli. It was very cruel to keep wounded soldiers in tents in incessant rain and snow when the temperature goes down to 0°C and even below 0°C. The only supplying place is Tehataldja where there is going to be no fight. The difficulties of working under these circumstances and the effect of the climate on our members are very great and I pointed out the advantages of a Hospital in Stamboul, which is the centre where patients come from all sides. The matter was discussed, but the question of expenses was very hard to deal with and so the proposal was dropped, though I was against keeping the Hospital at Omerli, as we won't be able to show our good work to our Indian people.

"*17th Feb.*—To-day I had to stay in Stamboul as Dr. Ansari was leaving for Gallipoli to-night.

"*18th Feb.*—I returned to Omerli, and was glad to see my operation case doing very well. It was Masoud Day and we had a good dinner and invited the Bombay Mission people to dinner with some of our Turkish officers.

"*19th and 20th Feb.*—Nothing particular. We were obliged to stay in tents. I went to Khadimkeny to see Abidin Salim Pasha and told him plainly that he should give us work for the sake of the peculiar importance of our Mission. He promised to send the wounded first to us and then to other Missions.

"*21st Feb.*—To-day we got 19 wounded soldiers. So our work has begun, and we expect to get more wounded soldiers daily. Our members are very glad and work hard, and the patients are satisfied with our treatment and prefer to remain under tents to staying in any other hospital.

"*22nd and 23rd Feb.*—Nothing particular. Weather extremely bad. I was obliged to come to Stamboul as I was feeling very bad from severe cold, bronchitis and asthma.

"*24th Feb.*—I am here in Stamboul. I intend to stay in some hospital for a week or so and go back to Omerli when I am all right. I have put Dr. Minza Raza Khan in charge there. It is a pity Abdul Waheed had to leave for India. The total admissions in our Hospital were 68 till 23rd Feb."

As for Mr. Abdul Rahman's letter it is a conundrum which we would give much to solve. He refers in it to Dr. Ansari's letter which, however, we have been unable to find in the envelope in which Mr. Abdul Rahman encloses only some cuttings from French papers, which Madame La Baronne Rosen would like us to translate and publish in the *Comrade*, and a list of Indian subscribers to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, which we hope to publish in our next. It appears to us that our excellent ex-Manager forgot to enclose Dr. Ansari's letter and succeeded in making his own letter thoroughly unintelligible. As we do not wish to confuse our readers we spare them the trouble of solving this conundrum. But it appears that the Omerli could have been a source of great trouble to the section of the Mission stationed there as must be evident from the letter of Dr. Naim who has himself been laid up. Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan who, as we had fully expected, had endeared himself to everybody in the Mission and had established an excellent reputation as a willing and hard worker, was unfortunately invalided with pneumonia, as we published last week, and has been sent back at his own desire. Dr. Shams-ul-Barry and Mr. Husain Raza Beg had returned a week ago, but we have not ourselves heard from any of these gentlemen except for a telegram from Dr. Barry who says he has posted to us a letter from Hassan Omer Pasha, Vice-President of the Ottoman Red Crescent, which has not reached us. It seems that the tents purchased in England have contributed not a little to the troubles of the Mission, and Mr. Abdul Rahman writes that "the dispensary in our Omerli hospital is a tent worth a visit. So poor Waheed got pneumonia and had to come to Stamboul." In the sentence previous to this Mr. Abdul Rahman mentions that Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan is an excellent compounder and a very hard-working man. It is, therefore, not quite clear whether Mr. Abdul Rahman attributes Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan's very unfortunate illness to his own merits or to the merits of the tent. But it is clear that the atmospheric conditions and the state of the roads have provided the severest trials for the members of the Mission. During Dr. Naim's absence at Constantinople owing to an attack of bronchitis Dr. Raza Khan will be in charge, and it is hoped that with Mr. Shuaib Qurashy, who has proved such an excellent worker, he will be able to manage the affairs of the Omerli Field-Hospital satisfactorily. We hope there will be no more cases of serious illness among the workers and that the two sections of the Mission will be able to do excellent work. Our patience with the campfires of the tents is vanishing with every reported illness and we give them notice that if another member of the Mission falls ill, they will hear something.

Mr. HARRY H. LAMB, H. B. M. Consul-General at Salonica, has

Another Letter from Salonica.

sent us the following letter, dated 31st January, through the India Office:—
 "I am in receipt of telegraphic advice through the Foreign Office to the effect that you have contributed a further sum of £500 for the relief of Mussulman Refugees in this district, £500 of which may be devoted to the care of the sick in this place and the remainder is to be placed at the disposal of the Vice-Consul at Monastir unless I consider that the necessity is greater here, subject to my own discretion. As I have to-day telegraphed to the Foreign Office, I have recently ascertained from a thoroughly trustworthy source that there are 4,000 refugees in urgent need of relief in the town of Seres, which has not yet been included in the district of any of the existing relief agencies. The following extracts from my informant's letter, dated the 20th instant, will give you a fair idea of the situation there:—
 'There appear to be at the present moment some four thousand persons in Seres who are in real distress from a list submitted from a reliable source it appears that the condition of 2,562 of these is desperate. The Bulgarian authorities are doing something to alleviate the distress, but their efforts, or the means at their disposal are wholly inadequate. Most of the sufferers are Muhajirs from the villages, but, as might be expected in a town of 28,000 inhabitants which was the headquarters of a Turkish Sanjak, there are a large number of ex-officials whose position is most painful. I am assured that many of these are literally starving in their houses. Many of them have been robbed of all they possessed, all are without means of subsistence. The £100 referred to above has been personally distributed among sixty families of this category which includes three or four local Beys, formerly affluent now absolutely destitute. In the Osman Hoja Medrese, for instance, I saw 84 people crowded together in some eight little rooms. There are three men, 81 women and two children. They are absolutely destitute. Under these circumstances I would propose to utilize the £400 now kindly contributed for the relief of these very unfortunately situated people at Seres, if I can secure the services of a suitable person to distribute relief. With regard to the first contribution of £100, which I have devoted to Hospital work in our Relief Camp, I enclose herewith a statement of the sums already expended, and I will continue to furnish you with statements of expenditure as it is made. You will please to understand, however, that, as these refugees will probably be in need of relief for several months to come, we have every interest to husband our funds as much as possible. I enclose a copy of the daily report of our Camp Doctors for the 22nd and 23rd instant, which will suffice to give you an idea of the work done. There is a daily average of 90 to 100 sick in the Camp, and the death-rate varies from 4 to 10 per diem, the great majority of these deaths occurring amongst the children under 4 years of age. From January 1st up to January 27th—the only period for which complete statistics are available—the following cases of sickness were treated in Camp.—Men 797, Women 686, Children 607, total 2,095. Of these 44 men, 45 women and 41 children were suffering from small pox and 7 men, 6 women and 13 children from other contagious diseases. The death-rate for the same period amounted to 175, of which 113 were children. To these must be added about 60 deaths which occurred between December 11th, when the first refugees were installed in the Camp, and the end of the month. About 20 of these deaths were due to small-pox, but by far the largest number from any one cause were those of quite small children, upon whom the hardship of camp life in winter with insufficient nourishment naturally has told the most severely. There is unfortunately no means of comparing these figures with those of the refugees remaining in the city, but there can be little doubt that the death-rate amongst the latter has been considerably higher in proportion. About 3,500 refugees, besides 360 convalescent soldiers, are being shipped tomorrow for Smyrna on board the Egyptian Red Crescent steamer *Kazil Irnak*, and a certain number of Bosniaks have recently been repatriated by the Austrian Government, but the number of people in this town who are in need of relief do not appear to be at all reduced thereby. The Rev. E. B. Haskell, an American Missionary long resident in this country, who has had very considerable experience of relief work and enjoys the confidence of all classes of the population, has kindly consented to proceed to Serres for the purpose of personally directing the distribution of your relief in that town. I therefore propose to purchase at once some £200 worth of flour and send it to Serres as soon as ever I can obtain from the Bulgarian authorities the necessary means of transport. I reserve the remainder of the £400 until I receive his report as to what may be the most effective method of employing it. The need of relief is widespread and increasingly acute, but I do not think that there is any district where the situation can be much worse than it is in Serres, and I do not think that a better agent could be found for its relief than Mr. Haskell. I venture, therefore, to think that you may rest assured that this part of your generous contribution will be well expended."

The HON. SECRETARY of the M. A. O. College Old Boys' Association asks us to request all Old Boys

The Old Boys' Reunion.

Alghath to join this year's Dinner and 4th Annual Reunion, which are fixed for the 21st and 22nd instant. Apart from the great pleasure of meeting a very large number of old college friends, the college staff and the present students, which should afford sufficient inducement to an Old Boy to visit Alghath on this occasion, the matter is of considerable importance awaiting his consideration which render his presence very necessary. "We have some very important questions before us," says the Hon. Secretary, "which we have got to decide and, we hope, our decisions will result in the raising of our dear old college to a still higher position amongst the educational institutions of India. The time has come when we the Old Boys, should take more and heavier burdens on our shoulders and give such help to our *Alma Mater* as may be worthy of her and of our own position." We are sure the invitation of the Hon. Secretary will meet with an enthusiastic response. Beside the hard intellectual fare that he procures the Secretary shrewdly hints at very big arrangements for the Dinner this year. As we are told that it "will be held in open air on the Cricket Lawn" as "the Strachey Hall would be too small" for the purpose!

We wish to give to the following letter of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amery

British Red Crescent.

Al the greatest possible publicity. He writes—"I have read with sorrow the atrocious libel the *Watan* of Lahore has reproduced in its issue of the 28th January from a Madras vernacular paper concerning the staff of the British Red Crescent Hospital in Constantinople. It is a matter of small moment to me whether the Mussulman subscribers send their subscriptions to the British Red Crescent or not. But the reputation of the men and women, some of them volunteers, who are giving their services and even risking their lives to relieve the sufferings of the Moslem sick and wounded, is a subject of the utmost importance. I, therefore, beg you to extend to me the courtesy of your columns to give an emphatic contradiction to the libellous statements published in the *Watan*. Reports concerning the work done by the British Red Crescent Hospitals have been regularly sent to the Mussalman papers and to the subscribers to the Fund. They must, therefore, know how Dr. Godwin Baynes immediately on arrival at San Stefano, about the third week in November last, when cholera was raging among the Turkish troops, organised a hospital which was the means of saving a large number of lives; and in appreciation and recognition of the efficient and valuable services of the staff the International Board of Health placed its hospital under the charge of Dr. Godwin Baynes. They must know also how the Scutari Hospital ministered to the sufferings of the sick and wounded who were taken there from San Stefano by the admirable sea-transport that was organised by the Director. If, in the face of these facts, any section of the Mussalman people feel inclined to attach credence to malignant falsehoods set in circulation with the avowed object of stopping subscriptions coming to the British Red Crescent for the continuance of its work of mercy, I can only express my regret at their simplicity. The enclosed extract from a letter of the Superintendent-Sister at the San Stefano Hospital will show, in some degree, the devoted service the British Red Crescent staff are giving to humanity. And I am in a position to say that the charges levelled against them by a member of an Indian Medical Mission who has concealed his identity under a pseudonym are a tissue of malicious falsehoods. To take one instance, none of the British Red Crescent doctors get £100 per month. The salary of the principal Surgeon, Dr. Bernard Haigh, who, after serving devotedly and conscientiously in Tripoli for nine months, went to Constantinople, is only £86, and the other doctors receive a smaller remuneration. It is equally a lie that our hospital has lost 390 patients. Notwithstanding the fact that the sick and wounded who came to our hospitals were, when received, in the worst possible condition from exposure and neglect, the death-rate has, thanks to excellent care and patient nursing, been very low. The public may rest assured that the matter will not be allowed to remain where it is. It is a pity that the Mussalman of India should carry even to distant countries on a mission professedly humanitarian the feelings of jealousy, envy and malice which have been the ruin of the community." While publishing this letter we may add that we do not know why anyone should wish to malign the British Red Crescent, and we would like to know who it is that has a desire to make a "corner" in such charity. As organisers of a Medical Mission ourselves, we wish to make it clear that so far as we know, no one connected with the All-India Medical Mission has shown a desire to circulate misstatements calculated to injure the reputations of men engaged on the British Red Crescent work. As a matter of fact, we are aware that Dr. Amari and his colleagues have at all times exercised much restraint in expressing opinions about the work

of other... and we ourselves have had to put up with a good deal, as we ought to have borne in the way of malicious enemies.

Indians of all communities and creeds who have been in a position to judge his urbanity, and his generous sympathy with Indian aspirations and the Indians' desire to secure for themselves the respect due to them, have been feeling for some time past the sadness of farewell because the time originally fixed for Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's departure, after a tenure of the Finance Member's office of the customary duration, is fast approaching. Such, indeed, has been the charm of Sir Guy's manner, and the fairness and magnanimity of his treatment of Indian questions, that we were not in the least surprised to learn that his non-official colleagues of H. E. the Viceroy's Council requested His Excellency to arrange for an extension of Sir Guy's term of office by two years. We believe His Excellency, while unable to receive a deputation on this subject, has communicated the wishes of these gentlemen to the Secretary of State, and we trust that Lord Curzon would be pleased to accede to a request which is significant of the growing cordiality between officials and non-officials, and that we shall have with us for a few years longer a kind friend, a sagacious statesman and a public servant who, in spite of his exalted place, has never unwound in five years of bureaucratic associations that he had learnt in England, namely, that a public servant is nothing more or less than a servant of the public. We hope we shall not have to part with Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson as soon as we had feared; and that, whatever the decision of the Secretary of State, Sir Guy has still before him many years of useful public service and a long and unclouded life of happiness.

In view of the difficulty of obtaining correct information about Turkish affairs, and the meagreness of the news supplied by Renter and its inaccuracies and biased character, we had felt the need for establishing a news service for Turkish news in collaboration with the Turks themselves, and had written to H. E. Mahmoud Sherkat Pasha a long letter explaining the need of such a news service and its benefit to the Turks as well as the Indian Mussalmans. We are glad that our suggestion has at last proved fruitful, and we shall soon be in a position to publish news direct from Turkey if our contemporaries and other well-to-do Indian Mussalmans and Moslem princes who desire to get such news come forward to assist us. The readers of newspapers are sometimes not as considerate as they should be, and, although the readers of the *Comrade* have been its chief supporters to whose generous enthusiasm we owe so much, we have also had to record the regrettable indifference of some to the financial condition of the paper the day of which practically one subscriber out of every four or five has neglected to pay. Many people desire to obtain an ideal paper which would have all the best features of English dailies and should possess in addition some special features of its own; but they never consider that newspaper proprietors are not inexhaustible gold mines, and that it is impossible for one paper to be generous to every applicant for all sorts of concessions while it is possible for all of them to be just and even generous towards it without any considerable individual sacrifice. Under these circumstances, it is idle for us to expect that the readers of the *Comrade* or of the *Hamard* would enable us without outside assistance to realise the dream of many years and establish an agency of our own for the publication of authentic news obtained from Turkey. But if Indian Mussalmans and Moslem princes and newspapers are as anxious to obtain correct information about Turkey as they appear to be, it should not at all be difficult to establish an agency such as we have outlined. To begin with, we may receive daily messages of about 50 words and, as there is no press rate for telegrams sent to or from Turkey, the expense of the cables alone would be about Rs. 75 a day or Rs. 2,250 a month. Other charges may, on a conservative estimate, be calculated at another Rs. 750 a month, making a total of Rs. 3,000. If the Moslem princes paid half the cost, and newspapers and private persons bore the other half, the scheme has every chance of success. A contribution on an average of Rs. 330 from six Native States is not likely to be such a great drain, and when it is remembered that the Government pays very large sums to Renter and to the Associated Press for their telegraphic service for the chief officers of the Government, including Ambassadors in Native States, we do not think that the Moslem princes would have reason to shrink from such an expenditure. As regards the newspapers, some of the leading vernacular papers can easily afford four or five hundred rupees a month for such a service; but if six newspapers could be secured which could contribute Rs. 125 a month, there would be only the balance of Rs. 750 to secure, which is not too large for a community that has

many rich men who can privately take the whole service at the same rate as the newspapers. The inland telegraphic charges for newspapers would be small; but they would be too heavy for private subscribers who may not secure any concession such as the Press Message rates; and we think it would be equitable to spread them over all subscribers alike. It must be understood that the rates roughly calculated here barely cover the cable and telegraphic charges, and if many newspapers do not become subscribers, they may have to be raised by Rs. 10 to Rs. 25 a month. But this is because our friends in Turkey are prepared to supply news free of charge. During the war no cise words are allowed, but later on it would be possible to work with a cise and thus curtail the charges immensely. When that is done other rates will be arranged, but at present we offer to our contemporaries and private individuals and Native States the rates which we have mentioned above, i. e., Rs. 125 a month for a service averaging about 50 words a day. If we receive sufficient applications with deposits at least for a month, we shall immediately cable to Constantinople asking them to commence sending us daily telegrams on receipt of our cable. Here is a chance which has never presented itself before, and may not present itself again. And we anxiously await the response to our offer which the generosity and patriotism of our friends in Turkey have made it possible. The only question is whether in a country which has 70 million Mussalmans and a number of Moslem States, and several Moslem papers that have made considerable amounts of money out of the Tripolitan and the Bilcan wars, we can discover 30 subscribers of Rs. 125 a month. Surely this is not too much to expect; but in these days of much clamour and very modest work one cannot be too sure. There is not much time to waste, and we hope His Highness the Nizam would himself subscribe for six sets of telegrams for his vast dominions, and Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal and His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Rampur for three sets each for their ministers and secretaries. Our contemporaries, both weekly and daily, which have large sales, in every case considerably inflated by the troubles of Turkey, should also take advantage of this offer and between them take seven or eight sets of telegrams, leaving four or five for Moslem merchant princes and landowners. Delay would deprive us of an excellent chance and we expect an early and a hearty response from all concerned.

It is a triumph of no inconsiderable significance that the Imperial Legislature has passed the Wakf Bill of the Hon. Mr. Jinnah; and Khan Bahadur Moulvi Mohamed Yusuf of Calcutta, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, C. S. I., C. I. E., and, last but not the least, Shamsul-Ulama Maulana Shibli Nomani who organised the Moslem memorial and the Najwat-ul-Ulama deputation have to be congratulated no less than the author of the Bill on the success achieved. But a word of no little praise is due to the Hon. Syed Ali Imam, the Law Member, whose earlier studies in Moslem Law learnt from Moslem Ulama came to his assistance in remodelling the Bill and removing from it the restrictive innovation to which the Nalwa had objected, but which the Hon. Mr. Jinnah had introduced into his Bill to satisfy his non-Moslem colleagues that the Bill was in no way designed to assist Moslem debtors in defrauding their creditors. The tactics of Mr. Jinnah were sound and have been justified by results, for even the Hon. Mr. Vijayarajendra Chariar, who represents in the Council the ablest lawyers of India, supported the Bill after explaining his position and the doubts that had assailed his mind. The Bill, as passed, is merely a declaratory measure which restores the applicability of Moslem Law to cases of family endowments in British India; and, although we believe that the device of Waqf-alal-Aulad is only an exception to the principle underlying the Moslem Law of Succession which removes a harsh rigidity unsuited to legislation for all times and all men, we rejoice in the triumphant vindication of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria's Proclamation, which guaranteed to her Moslem subjects the regulation of their affairs according to their own Personal Law. In its essence, however, the Moslem Law of Succession is far more equitable than any other law we know of and is more hostile to perpetuity than any Equity. It gives full control to the owner of property to dispose of it as he likes during his life, while he is still in the enjoyment of his power and senses. But after his demise it distributes it among his successors in elaborately arranged proportions according to the dictates of natural affection and social equity, giving to everyone just enough to start in life as he had done from whom the property is inherited, and yet not enough to anyone to remain indolent and unproductive—a month that eats and not a hand that earns. This we have felt constrained to say because during the Council discussions some Mussalmans wistfully looked up to the institution of Fendal England which gives to the first-born the greatest share of his ancestor's property without making him to-day as responsible as he was to the State for a levy of feudal troops in the days when

The Wakf Bill.

military service was demanded in exchange for feudal holdings. The historical sense is a valuable corrective of legislative errors and to our Moslem fellow-countrymen we shall only say: "Beware of imitations!"

It will be remembered that Haji Baksh Elahi Sahib, of Delhi, had

A Generous use of a Generous Gift.

given Rs. 50,000 as a thank-offering on the occasion of His Excellency the Viceroy's first public appearance after the outrage. No conditions were attached to the gift, as it was left entirely at the discretion of His Excellency to make use of the sum for any charitable purpose. We are glad to learn that "Rs 30,000 from the sum of Rs 50,000 has been allocated by His Excellency to Lady Lowther's Fund for the relief of Turkish soldiers' wives and children and refugees, and the money will be despatched to Constantinople forthwith." The decision of His Excellency is as considerate as it is in the fitness of things, and it will be peculiarly gratifying to the Mussalmans of India. The existing misery and suffering in Turkey are appalling and no charity can at present be more appropriate than the one applied to relieve them in some measure. The offer of Rs 50,000 by Haji Baksh Elahi Sahib in a spirit of thankfulness to God that He had preserved the life of Lord Hardinge will, through His Excellency's thoughtful and humane decision, be instrumental in saving the lives of scores of his fellow-beings. We understand that the balance of Rs. 20,000 will be spent on some object of utility to the citizens of Delhi.

The following letter has been addressed by Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan, G. C. I. E., Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, to Mr S Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All India Moslem League:—

The Nawab of Dacca and the Moslem League.

"Dear Sir,—As you are aware, my almost fatal illness in October last has left me a complete wreck, utterly incapable of being of any service to my community, and before I had been sufficiently convalescent, to fill the cup of my miseries God was pleased to wrest from me my most beloved son, the pride of my family. I have again fallen a prey to my old maladies Diabetes and Albuminuria, and the unanimous opinion of the local medical experts is that it will be suicidal if I do not keep myself aloof from business and take absolute repose. It is due to this impaired health that I had to take leave of absence from the Council for the remainder of the present season. I have received your printed letter of the 17th February last, and the fact that I am addressing a reply to you, even in this deplorable state of my body and mind and in spite of the doctors' warning, will, I am sure, convince you of my unabated love for my community. In this predicament I am compelled, in spite of my strong personal inclination to the contrary, to observe strictly, in the interest of my health, my family and also perhaps in the interest of the community, the injunctions of my medical advisers and to abstain from participation in the discussion of the burning questions of the day affecting us, the Muhammadans. I venture to hope that the community will forgive me the enforced slothfulness which I deeply regret, and that I shall have the benedictions of my brethren for the speedy restoration to health and peace of mind to enable me to resume public duties. In view of the supreme importance of the coming Annual Session of the League I could not control the temptation of going through the draft resolutions enclosed with your letter under reply. I find that they involve changes of the most momentous nature, marking a distinct departure from the established principles of the League, founded on the lines chalked out by Sir Syed Ahmed, and as I claim no small share in having brought this institution into being, I cannot, at this juncture, help offering my humble suggestions. Although we may look for justification of the spirit which underlies some of these resolutions, in the general advancement of the Muhammadans, any precipitate action on our part may land us in difficulties which it will not be easy to overcome. Well, it might strike you as an unjustifiable dependency, but judging from the course of events I fear the star of Islam is now on the wane; and with the political horizon overcast with such dense clouds and untoward circumstances likely to fetter our hands, we should proceed with proper forethought and caution. I wish all our leaders to consider whether or not it is advisable to wait a while with patience, watch further developments and then initiate movements calculated to truly benefit the community, should circumstances and the situation justify it. We should not be carried away by the excitement of the hour, bidding adieu to that calmness of judgment which is the key to all success of human endeavours. I beg that you will kindly lay this letter before the Council of the League before those resolutions are put to the meeting." All those who know the

Nawab Bahadur and the love he bears to his community, for which he has worked arduously, and which he has assisted with lavish generosity, will pray to the Almighty to grant him health, happiness and a long life of usefulness to his people. We note with satisfaction that there is no desire on his part to dictate to his people, but at the same time he is anxious that the horses which drag the coach of the Mussalmans should not be whipped at a crossing. We admire the spirit of the letter and commend it to the serious consideration of a community that should be able to combine a cool head with a warm heart if it is still true to its historic traditions.

We regret we have not been able to announce earlier that £8,000 have been sent on various occasions to the Grand Vizier in Constantinople out of the Comrade Turkish Relief Fund, in addition to a draft for £123-16-13 (Rs. 1,850-0-0)

The Turkish Relief Fund.

which was received by us from Haji Karam Elahi and Hafiz Abdul Rabb Sahib, and was sent to the Grand Vizier on the 26th December, 1912. £2,000 were sent through the Bank of Bengal between 21st and 25th December, and £5,000 through the National Bank of India on the 25th January. We received two cablegrams on the 30th January from Marshal Mahmud Shauket Pasha, Grand Vizier, acknowledging with thanks the receipt of £5,000 and of £2,100 respectively. The cablegram, however, errs about the latter figure inasmuch as our own first remittance of £2,000, together with the draft of £123 16-3, obviously amount to £2,123 16-3. We think it was with a view to avoid unnecessary cabling expenses that there was no mention of £23-16-3 in the acknowledgement of the Grand Vizier. We may state that we have also received an acknowledgement of our latest remittance of £1,000-0-0 despatched to the Grand Vizier, through the Alliance Bank of Simla, on the 14th February. We hope one of these days to publish the facsimiles of the Grand Vizier's cablegrams. Of course, these sums are in addition to the £1,000 sent during the war in Tripoli and £1,000 sent now to the British Consul-General at Salonica. The total amount altogether sent to Turkey, exclusive of contributions to the Mission, is Rs 1,51,850.

We have received a cheque for Rs 550-0-0 from the Officer Commanding the 15th Lancers, on account of subscriptions towards the Turkish Relief Fund contributed by all Indian ranks of the 15th Lancers (Creston's Mulla).

The Turkish Relief Fund and the Indian Soldiers.

While it is only natural that our soldiers should feel sympathy with the victims of the Balkan War and desire to contribute their mite towards the relief of suffering, we cannot but feel gratified that their Commanding Officer should have regarded the desire with sympathy and, after collecting the subscriptions, forwarded them himself. We have no doubt that among all Moslem soldiers of the Indian Army such desire exists, and we trust the Officers Commanding other Indian Regiments will follow the admirable example set by Colonel H. M. Johnston. We could have taken the lead in this matter ourselves and gone to collect subscriptions to large Cantonment Stations. But we did not wish to be misunderstood and have waited for the C. O.'s to initiate the work. We think we know the temper of our people better, and we can confidently say that such action as Colonel Johnston's would increase rather than diminish the loyalty of our troops.

On account of the Annual Reunion of the Old Boys at Aligarh which is to come off on the 21st and the 22nd instant and the meetings of the All-India Moslem League and the Moslem University Committee to be subsequently held at Lucknow, it would be difficult to issue the Comrade on the 22nd March. We are naturally averse to taking leaves especially in the case of weekly journals, and we have never departed from the principle except on the occasion of our transfer from Calcutta to Delhi when it was obviously impossible to issue the Comrade till an entirely new press had been set up. On this occasion, however, we feel that we may legitimately claim a week's leave, not as a holiday but to enable the editorial staff to take part in communal discussions likely to lead to important results. We trust our readers will not grudge us this concession. We hope to make ample amends by making the next issue of the Comrade, i. e., of the 29th March, much larger than usual.



The Comrade.

Bonds or Boycott?

It was not so long ago that among the Mussalmans of India free expression and the indication of courage and independence were deemed the greatest of political sins, and expediency was the one commandment which had usurped to itself the respect due to the entire political decalogue. When the *Comrade* made its bow to the public a little more than two years ago it had to conquer many prejudices, for on the one side it was suspected of Muslim fanaticism, and on the other it was looked upon as a political fire-brand that would set the Ganges and the Jumna and the five rivers of the Punjab on fire. It is true that we had strong convictions, and, whatever our convictions, we were in no way afraid of expressing them strongly. But our ideal was political purity not political prudery, and, if we had no desire to earn a reputation for loyalty at the expense of independence, we had no ambition either to achieve popularity with a section of our countrymen who looked askance at Muslim political aspirations, by the simple expedient of sacrificing the interests of that section of the public which constituted the Muslim community. In navigating the perilous seas of Indian politics we were not foolish enough to ignore the existence of Boyls. In trying to avoid Charybdis, and, following the course indicated by that seasoned mariner of Aligarh, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, we marked out for ourselves a course equidistant from servility and sedition. We were determined to give unto Caesar what was due to Caesar, and to give unto God what was due to God. And, although we were conscious of the fact that we could not please all at all times, we felt that we would be able to formulate a policy that would achieve in the long run the mood of approval from the bulk of our people. Two years is indeed too short a period wherein to judge of one's work; but if we survey to-day what we have done, and measure the public approval of our policy and action, we feel assured that after all we have not done so badly, and that in return for that we have not been so poorly rewarded by our numerous constituents. It is not for us to judge our own merits and demerits and imitate the Creator who saw His own handiwork and beheld that it was very good. The verdict must rest with the public, but we have no anxiety about that verdict so far as our own safety and welfare is concerned.

But we are getting anxious about the safety and welfare of our constituents, for a change has come over the surface of things. If it is true that the unparalleled sufferings of the Indian Mussalmans have led them to revise their political charts and reorganise the service of their seamen and their command of the ships, it would not be wholly unpardonable if we took some credit to ourselves for indicating to them the perils of the sea, and initiating them into this new navigation. But it is not wise seamanship to turn the head of the ship from the direction of a shoal near the seashore, which a timid helmsman was hugging all the time, towards a submerged rock in the contrary direction; and, if we desire to claim any credit for the revision of the political chart and a change of direction in the ship's voyage, we cannot disclaim all responsibility if the ship begins to drift towards a new danger. That responsibility we unhesitatingly accept, and we are prepared to face every difficulty that such a responsibility entails.

In the early monsoons, when after a period of drought the thirsty and parched land is flooded with welcome showers, every gargyle begins to spout forth the water of heaven. But that water is not unmixed with the filth and dirt of thirsty days. In the summer the voice of birds is hushed in the garden; but with the first rains every noisy toad and vociferous insect fills the air with a din and clamour that make quiet and rest impossible. In politics also this rule of the rains holds away, and the bursting of the political monsoon heralds the spouting of gargyles and the noise of loads. It seems to us that the Muslim monsoon is on us to-day, for many gargyles are spouting mud and many a toad that was not heard of before is loudly clamant. Nothing is cheaper at the moment than independence of thought and freedom of expression, and the slave of yesterday is the slave-master of to-day. Well may Ghali say—

ہر بوالہوس فی حسن پرستی شعار کی * اب آبروئے شیوہ اہل نظر گئی

(Every man of lust has become a worshipper of beauty;

The honour of the cult of beauty's connoisseurs is now gone.)

Our columns which were at one time deemed to be too tempestuous are now regarded by some as stagnant, and what was once an ever-bubbling fountain head of enthusiasm is to-day insufficient to satisfy the thirst of these Falstaffs.

If it be so, so be it. Whatever the outcome of this, we shall at least satisfy those of our opponents who thought that the applause of the crowd was the breath of our nostrils. We have been, and are to-day of the crowd, and for the crowd, and, whatever the crowd may think of us, we shall not give it up in despair. In fact, we think it is as sensible and orderly a crowd as ever existed, if we do not neglect in the comparison the fact that the classes, which consider themselves so superior to the masses, are themselves far from well-informed and disciplined. But, although we regard them as our only final tribunal, from which there is no appeal except to our conscience and to our Creator, we shall not flatter them with the belief that they are at all times able to discriminate between wisdom and ignorance, sincerity and cant. We shall, therefore, unhesitatingly come forward to bar their way whenever we think they are treading the path that leads to destruction; and shall not for a moment waver in our resolve to rescue them from those who, whether through ignorance or selfishness, mislead them. It is sometimes amusing to recollect that we who initiated the Muslim University movement, and who have been, and still are, a very dragon in the path of everyone who would like to capture that institution or its present nucleus at Aligarh, are pointed to as the wreckers of the University by some Muslims and non-Muslims at one and the same time, and that, in spite of having led the way in organising in a practical manner the movement which gave a point and a purpose to the bogey of Pan-Islamism—a bogey that was deemed sinister when it was only a vague aspiration floating in the atmosphere, as devoid of danger as of practical utility—we are considered by some to be a weakling who shrinks from the least effort and sacrifice in the cause of Islam. But our own reputation is an insignificant thing which can be left to take care of itself, and we shall not waste a minute of our time in vindicating it when there is much else to be saved from what threatens, if not prevented in time, to be the universal wreck. It is enough for us to remind our people that

کہتی ہیں قدیمی جسی میں پارہوں تیرا

زہیں بھی نہ تھیں تپسی گرفتارہوں تیرا

(I am he whom they call thy ancient lover, for I was thy prisoner even before thou hadst these curly locks wherewith to imprison me.)

To-day the situation is this. Apart from purely Indian questions—for which a policy must be discovered after consideration of the circumstances surrounding us here in India or in the country that sends to India a majority of its administrators, and not in Turkey or Persia, Morocco or Tripoli—there is the question of Turkey and her fate. Indian Mussalmans shouted themselves hoarse—and not unnaturally or unwisely—when Kiamil's Cabinet seemed determined to sell the birthright of his country and the honour and prestige of Islam without being even assured of the mess of pottage, and appeals were sent to Turkey to desist from the pursuit of such a craven and treacherous policy. But the only justification for such appeals was that the Mussalmans in India were prepared to sacrifice something when they called upon the Mussalmans of Turkey to be prepared in the last resort to sacrifice all. The Turks have shown that they are capable of the sacrifice demanded of them, and it is now for the Mussalmans of India to show that they are prepared to do something to prove their fraternal feeling and love of Islam in a manner beneficial to Turkey and her Muslim population. To us the best and the only practical proof of the sincerity of Indian Mussalmans is the investment of as large a proportion as possible of their ready cash in the Ottoman Treasury Bonds; but to some others it appears that all that is necessary is to preach an impracticable boycott of European goods, and we accept the challenge to prove that the Bond-slaves are after all not so servile as the would-be boycotters would make out.

A good deal has been written about boycott and Swadeshi in the Muslim press, but we shall refuse to consider the economic aspect of the question unless it is contended that the boycott is not a political weapon. Our friends may write as they like to convince Sir James Meakin, but we fear it will not do for us. We are prepared not only to discuss the merits of Swadeshi—and they are many—but also to advertise them; but we must know whether the temper of those who have become Swadeshi is suddenly the temper of the pioneers of commerce and the captains of industry. If, however, boycott is being preached—as at times it may legitimately be preached—as a means of hurting the enemies of the people who are otherwise invulnerable, then we can discuss its political effectiveness only as a weapon for hurting the people's enemies.

Now it is clear that the Balkan Allies are the direct cause of the troubles of Turkey, and the boycott must be designed to hurt them in the first instance. Commercially speaking, practically the only important ally is Greece, and the Mussalmans of India have to see

wherein they can hurt Greece. So little did they know of matters commercial that, during the Turco-Italian war, beyond boycotting Palli's banqueting hall at Calcutta and Italian cloth which, contrary to its name, is often manufactured elsewhere, the Mussalmans could do nothing to injure Italy, and we do not know if that country felt the sting of the mosquito through its rhino pachyderm. Perhaps all that they know of the commercial activities of Greece to-day is that Greeks are the biggest dealers in Egyptian and Turkish cigarettes, and that Messrs. Ralli Bros. are the leading firm in the export trade of India's agricultural produce. Which of these are Indian Mussalmans going to boycott, and how far do they hope to succeed? We do not for a moment suggest that there should be no boycott of Greece and the Greeks; but the question is whether that is all that can and should be done, if even that can be done with any success.

To us it appears that such a boycott will prove wholly ineffective, and, although it is more likely that the rest of Europe can be hurt a little more grievously, the statistics of European imports into India clearly show that it is England which would be the chief sufferer so far as any suffering is entailed. But England—even the England of Sir Edward Grey and of the Liberal Cabinet—is not the greatest sinner, and unless Russia incurs sufficient loss by the Indian Moslem's boycott the biggest fish will escape through the net. As for England herself, she was the only Power concerned in the boycott preached in Bengal by a community that was united and used to united political effort. But what was the result? The boycott itself failed and not even Lancashire was impressed sufficiently to induce the British Cabinet to alter the policy of the Indian Government. Those highly patriotic gentlemen who are preaching from the text of Bengal have hitherto only shown their absolute innocence of all knowledge of commercial statistics, and were they closely examined on the subject of Bengal's success in boycotting British goods, their dupes would discover that they know no more about trade matters than the veriest tyro who has not yet learnt to hup in commercial numbers.

To turn to the policy of boycott. Unlike the Partition question, at present whatever offence there is lies at the door of the Liberal Cabinet, for the Government of India, led by H. E. the Viceroy, have throughout acted in an irreproachable manner. We have not the faintest doubt that Indian Mussalmans will impress Lancashire with their own futility, but, worse than that, they would set the face of the Government of India against them. For it would be the Government here that will reap the whirlwind for the sowing of the wind by Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues. To put it on the lowest plane, these are mistaken tactics and betray a lack of the sense of proportion as well as of a sense of propriety. Whatever influence the Government of India can exercise in the international relations of England—and those who know the inner history of the Persian crisis know that it has not been a small one—would be lost, or rather the Government of India will be tempted to exercise it against rather than for Indian Mussalmans, and whatever goodwill Indian Mussalmans possess would be lost. It may be said that this goodwill is an asset of no value and that its opposite, namely, the ill-will of the Indian Government, is a liability which the Indian Mussalmans are not afraid to incur. Even if this were true, it must be remembered that the only justification of boycott as that of diplomacy, is its success, and unless that were assured there is no gain to be had out of the boycott, whereas the loss, however patiently borne, would still be a loss.

Under these circumstances we are convinced that those who preach the boycott of British goods are the misguided guides of the people, and, what is far worse, some of them are charlatans who wish to make capital out of the troubles of a distressed community. They think that when once the wine which a Moslem was taught all his life to detest has found a way to his unaccustomed head, and his unconquerable detestation of this fiery liquid is at last overcome, the only way to win his approval and secure his money is to give a more potent potion, and thus each draught that is presented to his lips is fiercer than the last. This political alcoholism is indeed such a dangerous menace to the sobriety of Moslem society that we are determined to stake everything on combating it, and we are prepared to face every suspicion and calumny, for we follow him who had said to the preacher from the text of popularity: "If the sun is placed on my right hand and the moon on my left, by God I will still say only that which I believe." We have ourselves set a new value on distinctions and recognitions which have not the solid basis of popular respect and affection, and it is a secret to none that any such recognition would embarrass us more than please us. As for our safety, that is in the hands of God, and not of Governments; and, although few may have known it, we have not been unaware of the slender string which has sustained our liberty during the last six months. But we have never desired to parade our readiness for every fate that may be ours, nor do we wish to show our wounds like the candidates for the Consular honours of Republican Rome. All that we may, however, say at pre-

sent, by way of apology for any timidity that may be detected in our conduct and expressions, is that we still regard it a higher honour to be the *Ghani* than the *Shahed*, the victor rather than the victim of despotism.

All that has been said before has been concerned merely with the merits and chances of success of the boycott as an absolute factor. But the boycott is not an absolute factor, for at present it is certain to clash with the activity necessary for an early sale of the Ottoman Treasury Bonds. In fact, we have reason to believe that some at least among the prominent preachers of boycott are those who wish it to be a substitute for whatever sacrifice there may be in purchasing the Bonds. It combines the minimum of sacrifice with the maximum of fame, and it is its worst condemnation that, although it may lead in certain not impossible contingencies to the sacrifice of many innocent Moslem lives, it will provide powder and shot for the death of not a single soldier of the Balkan Allies. If Turkey was asked to-day whether she would rather have a futile boycott of European goods by Indian Moslems, for which they may have to pay grievously, or a million sterling as a loan for which she is prepared to pay them a handsome bonus, and which may assist her to tide over her difficulties at the most serious crisis in her national life, we have no doubt whatever of Turkey's answer. That answer and the welfare of our own people in this country are the only answers for which we have an ear, and the din of unpopularity and the hisses and the hootings of any section of the Moslem community in India will be as entirely lost upon us as the whispers of interested officials who may wish to use us for any purpose of their own. This is the path we have carved out for ourselves, and with God's help we shall not waver from it a hair's breadth. Those who may choose to go with us will find in us a fellow traveller and a comrade. But those who choose to follow another path may do so without waiting for such an insignificant thing as our approval. To them we say:

لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ *

(To you your faith; to me mine.)

It has been suggested to us by those who are convinced of the inwardness of our convictions that while going our own way we need not point the error of their ways to others that go in another direction. They suggested to us that there should be two wings among the Mussalman, each respecting and tolerating the other. To this suggestion our answer is that, although in political creeds compulsion is no more possible than in spiritual convictions, yet it is subversive of all that we hold dear in the faith of Islam to encourage castes and sections and we cannot tolerate such toleration of political schisms and castes as has been suggested. There are no Sudias and Brahmans in Islam. All Mussalmans are one community and one caste, and whatever the path they choose for themselves the highroad or the lower road, Mussalmans must ever travel together. Therefore, so long as there is strength in us, we shall not cease to point out the virtues of the one and only way, and shall never consent to a compromise which was rejected more than thirteen centuries ago by one whom we humbly follow, who refused to concede that the idols of Ka'ba had any share of the divinity of the God of Ka'ba.

Is there really such a plethora of earnest workers among Mussalmans in India that they can afford to split their society into wings and sections? Will they dare to look at their political and educational organisations and say that they are fully and properly manned? The Secretaryship of the Aligarh Truaders was the most important office in the communal organism, and yet when failing health and infirmities incidental to age compelled Nawab Viqueer-ul-Mulk to retire, the office went literally begging, and was offered to the only Mussalman who could afford to live at Aligarh and devote his time to the work.

The Secretaryship of the All-India Moslem League captured the fancy of the younger generation, but its first Secretary could not remain in the country; and its second Secretary looked for its sake the work at Aligarh for which he was better fitted, and at his death left the League almost as moribund as he had found it. Since his sad demise the office has not yet been permanently offered to any one, for the simple reason that no one is prepared to spend even a couple of hours a day on the duties of this office. The officiating Secretary is the only one who seems prepared to do even that which is being done, and while we are ready to criticise him as morosely as any of the New Patriots, they are no more ready with a substitute for him than we. Even the members of the League and its Council are indifferent to the League's fate, so that we shall not be unjust to Mr. Shafi if we say that he was elected President of the forthcoming session chiefly because no other name was proposed. But is the Moslem community at large any more mindful of its duty than its much-abused representatives? The League is supposed to have been sold to the Aga Khan; but we ask if the community made the least effort to renew it from the auctioneer. Even Rs. 20 a year is, it seems, too high a price to pay for the League's financial indepen-

dence, and the roll of membership, and even more than that, its list of arrears of subscriptions laughs to scorn the loud claims of the New Patriotism. When the League's Constitution was first framed we took a considerable share in the work, and it was our anxious care to make it a really representative assembly broad-based on a system of delegation from Town and District Leagues to Provincial Leagues, and from Provincial Leagues to the All-India League. But so indifferent has the community been to the political work that in the last six years only a few District Leagues have been formed and practically every District League and Provincial League—and particularly the Behar League of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque—have been rotting carcases rather than living institutions, and to-day it is financial reasons rather than political sagacity which have suggested the complete reversal of the League's Constitution.

The Educational Conference is the special perquisite of an unchanging and unchangeable Joint Honorary Secretary, who has seen to it that, whosoever may come or go, he goes on for ever. And yet, even if he had upset this Permanent Settlement of the office upon himself by more equitable and reasonable rules, we do not know whether we could have found a substitute for him if he had elected to resign.

Even the recent activity of the community is the result of a more active journalism; but we do not know of many Moslem journalists who have taken the least share in the practical every-day work of education or politics. Pharisaical as it may sound, we must say we are the only journal that is represented in this work. But we have been able to offer this vicarious sacrifice for our confrères only by neglecting domestic duties, which is a sin, and ruining a once robust health, which is a crime. What is far worse, our journalistic work has suffered more than our most merciless critic could say, and our finances are in a state of utter chaos. But this cannot last, and we must shut shop and declare ourselves insolvent if to our multifarious duties we have to add the exhausting task of defending ourselves against every lapse of memory and deliberate misstatement merely to bank a Behar stalwart, who never neglected to represent the wishes of his community on Mr. Banu's Bill and Separate Electorates, of the dignity of a resignation proclaimed to his beloved co-religionists by the town-criers. We are asked to speak out; but we believe we are yet capable of a sacrifice as great as silence at this juncture demands. Those who know us must also know that silence is not our habitual sin; but

ہم کسی کا خیال جو چاہوں
ورنہ کیا بات کر نہیں آتی

This state of affairs is in all conscience bad enough, but the main responsibility must be that of the community which has tolerated it so long. The sleeper is at last awakened, but he has not yet been able to collect his senses and his somnolence seems worse than his sleep. In the work of destruction we willing to lend a helping hand, but only if out of the materials something else is to be constructed. We respect the strength of our Samsons who can pull down huge fabrics; but we are afraid of the blindness which would crush under the debris of what they pull down both friend and foe. The idols must be broken, but the human mind abhors a vacuum and craves for some object of worship. The question is who is it to be. If for *Lah* we only substitute *Manat*, idolatry would still defile the House of God. And if a choice was left to us we would worship the bones of a Syed Ahmad rather than the living body of his best ruler, and even the Satan of Bombay may not compare unfavourably with the Saint of Calcutta. Let us not be too sure that the idols would leave our Ka'ba peacefully. The effort that failed at the Lucknow meeting is a portent of sinister significance.

دیکھنا حسن مآل ت پرستی دیکھنا
رات مآل کو خدائی موتی موتی رہنمائی

The Executive and Judicial Functions.

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 7th March, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerji moved that grants made to local Governments be increased by such allotments as the Government of India may think fit, with a view to carry out the experiment of separation of Judicial and Executive functions in the administration of criminal justice in areas to be selected by local Governments with the approval of the Government of India. Mr. Banerji said that the experiment was to be a tentative measure which was not to be incorporated into the regular administrative machinery until it had been tried and found successful. In the second place, he declared, the experiment was not to be tried all over the country or even in all Regulation provinces, but in selected areas. "What the Resolution sought to do," he explained, "was to secure the acceptance of the

principle in a definite form, leaving its application to such parts of the country as the Government might in its wisdom decide upon." All the Indian members of the Council that took part in the debate gave the unqualified support to the Resolution. The Hon. Sir Reginald Cradock, however, urged the Council to reject it and accordingly it was negatived by 37 votes to 25.

There are two points of the utmost significance that the debate initiated by Mr. Banerji has brought prominently to light. All enlightened and responsible opinion in the country, irrespective of race and creed distinctions, has grown unanimous and resolute in its demand for a great administrative reform. The Government attitude is, on the other hand, still evasive and irresolute, though we doubt if official catchwords and formalities can render the demand less insistent. To the Home Member, who lightly dismissed it as "vague," the remarkable vote of the non-official minority must afford some food for reflection. His speech is the Council has naturally caused immense surprise and disappointment in the country, for he seems almost to have receded from the position that Sir Harvey Adamson as Home Member defined a few years ago in his famous pronouncement on the subject. The Government had then practically committed themselves to a formal acceptance of the principle, and they had promised to initiate a limited experiment in selected areas before evolving a definite scheme for wider application. The Hon. Mr. Banerji's resolution was merely intended to remind the Government of their promise and ascertain the manner in which they were going to redeem it. The attitude of the Hon. Sir Reginald Cradock has made it painfully clear that, so far as the Government is concerned, the separation of Judicial and Executive powers in the administration of the country is still an open question. His fugitive reference to the pledge given by Sir Harvey Adamson, and the special emphasis he laid on "the difficulties," discovered through correspondence with local Governments, would seem to indicate the kind of official sympathy with which the "question" is likely to be considered.

We need not solemnly set about in this year of grace to discuss the desirability of the reform in question. A primitive society may have its policeman, its judge, its revenue officer, and its military leader rolled into one. But as soon as a certain standard of civilisation is reached, the need for the division of functions becomes imperative. It can no longer be maintained with reason that conditions in India to-day still permit nothing better than a primitive type of administration. Indeed, the case for reform is so obvious that Government has never seriously questioned its merits. Official objections have been mainly urged on financial grounds and sometimes the never-failing theory of "Prestige" has been called into requisition. It has never been effectively denied that the separation of Judicial and Executive functions is desirable on principle. All we have heard in opposition to the public demand is that the reform would be too costly and that it might impair the efficiency of the administration by divesting the district officer of much of his dignity and prestige. The latter plea is based on a curious doctrine of statecraft. We are, in effect, asked to believe that the efficiency of administration in India can only be attained by keeping the mass of the people in a state of perpetual awe. Such a theory of governance would have never come to grief in the history of the world if Providence had ordained that the sheep existed solely for the sake of the shepherd. In that case, an ideal State would be a hierarchy of irresponsible gods controlling the lives of mere men with a simple gesture or a frown. Why does an Indian district officer need his prestige? To maintain the peace and the authority of the law? Those are, of course, the primary duties of an executive officer, but they can best be discharged by inspiring confidence in the hearts of the people.

As for financial difficulties, we have not yet been definitely told that they are insuperable. Let us, however, assume that the cost would be enormous and that it would put a severe strain on the finances of India. Even this consideration cannot be held to justify the forbidding attitude of the Government. The Indian people are already paying a huge price for a costly administration. Every now and then its efficiency is called into question, and every now and then an improvement in efficiency is secured by an increase in annual expenditure. We are persuaded, for our part, that while much of the existing expenditure is necessary, a considerable portion of it is wasteful and could be reduced appreciably by a wise policy of retrenchment. But even if the Indian Government could not spare a pie by a skilful husbanding of its resources, we would urge it to resort to further taxation for the sake of urgent administrative reforms. Money must be found for the purpose of separating the Executive from the Judicial functions as it has always been found for the Army and the emoluments of the Civil Service. The reform does not aim at an administrative Utopia involving incredible outlay. We have yet to know of a civilised country in Europe or elsewhere that has been driven into bankruptcy on account of its having made a clear distinction between its judiciary and its police.



The Council.

BY THE HON. MR. GUY.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It

On the first of March began the real business of a feeble session with the presentation of the Financial Statement. Sir Guy no more in the chair, for H. E. had returned a few days ago from quiet and rest to the din of politics and the business of his high office. But Sir Guy still happier as the bridegroom than as the King presiding over the ceremony. For the first of March a special day of Sir Guy's very own, and to-day he was the monarch of the empty benches he surveyed and the patentees of the day's eloquence. He began with reminding the small audience that this the fifth year of his office and the third of the material well-being of the country since his advent to India. "Sixty per cent.," said the statistician who revels in averages, and "First Division I," said the schoolboy who was himself content with 88 per cent and would be content with 80 or even 25 if he could scrape through examinations. Nobody happier than Sir Guy when proved a false prophet, and sure enough he takes a snaking pleasure when Hon. Members condemn his caution because his financial prognostications are falsified by the steady glare of June when the weather prophet calculated that there would be heavy April showers. Why, the critic himself comes abegging to the falsified weather prophet for a dose of the heaven-nointed sunshine of prosperity. Having calculated many thorns to a few roses, Sir Guy still outwardly grumbling that the gardener had given him for a buttonhole a flou harvest rose simply because of a single thorn called Kathiawar. However, acknowledged that no monsoon ever behaved or could behave as she was expected to do, so that disappointments were only make-believes and excuses for not taking off taxes dictated by droughts and deficits.

After a survey of the rainfall he came to a survey of the windfall of five millions from Opium and Railways. Bottom the Weyer wanted to play both Pyramus and Thisbe, and Railway Sleeper no less anxious to take credit for both. Railways are of course Railways, and as for Opium, not even DeQuincy could claim it as his own, against the Sleeper who represented *Papaver Somniferum* throughout the Council Session. Somehow the drug proved as persistent in the case of Sir Guy as of China and year after year Council regaled with copious draughts from the produce of Malwa and Bikaner. Last year China was very very good, but this year she almost became horrid, and Sir Guy sorely tempted by her to break the pledge and take to the drug again. Bombay merchants watching for every sign of backsliding ready with a lamp and a pipe and the smoking stick with which to light Sir Guy's path to financial nirvana, but he only threw them some of the money he had saved for this moral relaxation and kept the pipe still at arm's length. Read a lesson to China and skillfully flattered John Chinaman whose word was his bond, and whose reputation for probity stood high among the nations. Sir Guy, cautious prophet in finance, still more cautious prophet in morality, whispered doubts whether

China had not bitten a bigger morsel of morality than she could chew, and almost seemed to hope that the bad old days of prosperous Malwa merchants and Bagdad Jews would come again, and John Chinaman would be another Coleridge going to the opium den in spite of the efforts of his own hirelings appealing to him to think of his wife and children and desist from the black draught.

One and a half million surplus from Opium was matched with three and two-thirds millions net receipts from the Railways, and two and a half millions came from other sources to reward the caution of Sir Guy. Anxious to make his Provincial Harem a sharer in his good fortune, Sir Guy loved nothing better than sitting in the midst of this bunch of beauties giving much anxious thought to the distribution of his surplus. Once more Education and Sanitation proved the favourites, for if their official spouses loved them, their non-official admirers were even more madly fond of them.

Turning towards expenditure, Sir Guy found that the parsimony of the Provinces was balanced by the prodigality of a spendthrift Imperialism, which swallowed exactly as much again as the Provinces had saved. But even then some departments had robbed the hen-roosts of others, and if truth be told, the robbers were not more willing to rob than the robbed themselves to get rid of their belongings. One of the robbers was the Civil Works and the other and bigger, of course, Military Services.

Sir Guy pleaded guilty to the heinous charge of a feeling of surprise and some indignation that calculating Calcutta should have suspected him of financial legerdemain in making the 'four' millions of Delhi expenditure fourteen millions without Calcutta's detecting the trick. He assured Hon. Members with the help of a comprehensive *pro forma* account, which Calcutta may still call an account rendered incomprehensible and merely for form's sake.

After detailing the revised estimate for the last nine months, Sir Guy came to a new page in India's financial history and opened the budget for the next year. But it is a moot point whether he turned a new leaf in attending to the need of that heavy-laden beast of burden, the ordinary taxpayer. Once more his burden just the same, and in view of the disappearing Opium who could complain of the still appearing Silver, Tobacco and Petroleum taxes that disappear into Sir Guy's hands?

Dealing with the provision for next year's revenue, Sir Guy announced the total disappearance of certified Opium and thus the decrease of three and two-thirds millions sterling, and shrewd eyes could at once detect in the confession of this totalism a world of watery eyes and a million chasms of yawns. As for Railways, it is easy to be wise after the event, and Sir Guy refusing this cheap wisdom once more became the prophet of caution. The Railway curve had gone up from a surplus of 1½ millions to 2½ millions, but Sir Guy asked whether the curve was going any higher. May the upward gradient still continue, and may the Railway Sleeper never have to say in reply to the challenge "Halt, who goes down there?" "I, Sir, rolling rapidly."

Coming to expenditure, it was the turn of the non-officials to ask whether the curve was not going higher for ever, for with no Opium

and a downward Railway gradient there was still an upward jump of 4½ millions. The Provinces intended to make up for their parsimony by spending 8½ millions more, while the Imperial Government wanted to follow at a distance with a million more, half of which would go to purchase the drowsy juice of Malwa and please the Baghdad Jews and Central India Princes at the same time.

Before turning to Provincial Grants, Sir Guy surpassed his former caution by budgeting on the basis of a two crore Imperial surplus, and this, after having taken the pledge about Opium. He took up his sleeves, and shook his garments and showed his hands. There will be no new tax, and, yet, lo and behold! there was to be double the usual surplus. And those who saw the sleight of hand wondered at the marvels of Sir Guy. There was no Mild Hindu to whisper that the Finance Minister had been a caution all along and had kept on through fat years the additional taxes imposed only after a lean year of deficit. But if anyone had suggested even distantly the lightening of the load, Sir Guy would have pointed to Education and Sanitation, the twins of a phenomenal development—only children a few years ago, and now full-blown flappers, and the Lights of the Imperial Harem. If their numerous admirers were inclined to grudge them additional expenditure, Sir Guy could always trot out the most fetching person of the lot, Swarajbai, to whose development every youth in the country was longingly looking forward. Even the Mild Hindu could not grudge her anything and this year Sir Guy had bought her freedom from her Provincial owners by paying nearly 80 lakhs. The Mild Hindu's tactics were of the Mango-tree juggler; but here the Government *Mal-a* brought a goodly basket "from our own gardens"—the first *dah* from the rulers to the ruled in return for millions of those visiting cards which take the place of meagre paste-board in the gorgeous East.

This, thought Sir Guy, the best introduction for the excess of more than half a million in Military Expenditure, which as originally estimated was pompously proclaimed to have been fixed at a figure below that of any year since 1908-9. But Sir Guy proposes and No-More-Kay and Napoleon B. Haldane dispose; and they were disposed to humble the pride of Sir Guy for Military economy. So they saw to it that unforeseen demands were made, and the end of it was that the Military Expenditure of 1912-13 was far the largest of any for many years past. Well may Bootlair Sahib refuse to commit posterity when Nihal Sain Sahib's Committee's Report, dealing with "the possibility of effecting further economy in Military Expenditure," is shortly expected. Surely there was a misprint, as poor Sandow H. would have said, when "impossibility" was turned into "possibility." The Report of the Committee which examined the question of Marine Expenditure is "still under consideration," and well may the people fear and tremble, for the final result even now is an increase of the net Military Budget by more than half a million as compared with the current year's budget. Would that there was a Committee to deal with the possibility of effecting further economies in Bootlair Sahib's budget, or something was done to bring the poor taxpayer, to whom nobody is considerate, "under consideration." Calcutta and the Railway Sleeper jubilant. For Sir Guy's inflated balances now entirely at the disposal of the Railways, and the engines are lustily drawing away no less than 12 millions "in spite of the reckless utterances of obviously interested entities." Railway earnings have risen from 4½ per cent in 1909-10 to nearly 6 in 1912-13, but the more modest irrigation gives nearly 9 per cent, or if incomplete works are excluded, 10½ per cent. "But who rocks the Wind when it blows, or loves not the Sun?"

When the Imperial theme was over, Sir Guy turned to Provincial Finance and began to justify the ways of gods to men. He remembered the spirited attacks made on the Punjab Settlements, and no year passes without the patriotic pleadings of the white-robed Pandit on behalf of the Disunited Provinces. "Time brings," said Sir Guy, "the answer," and the Pandit is waiting for time to bring the answer in the shape of gubernatorial pleadings when Orator Merton has had room enough to take the graceful curve and cut the figure of a like him of the Bakery. Even now Beggarly Burma, in spite of the sarcasm of the Mild Hindu, is a veritable Over Twist among the Provinces, and little Assam under its Belted Earle, with its representative in the Council, must have a dole. But those grants, said Sir Guy, are in the nature of an investment in the business firm of the armor partner. May the partnership not be dissolved under the stress of paragraph 9 of the Articles of Disassociation?

After a survey of Ways and Means, Sir Guy passed to the adjoining territory of Exchange and Currency where there was some interesting ground to be traversed. The Judicial Enquiry in England has not yet disclosed the true nature and extent of the interest in the purchase of more than seven millions worth of silver by the S. of S. As for the currency, Sir Guy like his Government absolutely neutral in the controversy of rival creeds, but he could express satisfaction at the success of the experiment in currency. Last year he was despondent of converting the S. of S. to turn the Gold Standard Reserve into "liquid gold", which may mean Phiz

or the latest hair-dye of curly darlings. But whatever it means, Sir Guy has succeeded beyond his hopes. But there was yet another question, namely, the minting of gold in India. The sovereign, he thought, introduces questions of control which are difficult of solution. But—may the Lord pardon us for blasphemy—they seem to have controlled the sovereign well enough on a certain date in the last calendar month of a certain year of grace. Sir Guy chose his position between undue hope and extreme apprehension. He disclaimed the desire for the Midas touch in converting our currency into gold, but to the Drain Theory of English Currency Partisans he put the nasty question, why the gold of India should travel 7,000 miles to get the guinea stamp. Heaven only knows whether this portends the ultimate success of Cromwell House in shutting the doors of England to Indian youth, or only the bogey of Anglo-India, the Silly Simultaneous! Sir Guy thought that in one form or another India would get precisely the amount of gold which she wants and which she is able to pay for. May she pay well for her own, and import not over much of the gilt trash of Great Britain and Greater Humberg. He pointed out that the total additions to the Currency in the three years ending March, 1912, amounted to 65 crores, of which rupees accounted for only 28. All this very good for the gold grabbers, but we trust these figures will not reach Mr Lloyd George's ears. Sir Guy thought it was sometimes forgotten how big India was, and to his mind her growth in the matters with which he was more particularly concerned outstripped the ordinary conceptions of it. Heaven forbid that the Chancellor of the Exchequer may discover the latest fiscal Antipoon for the fat of the land. Our mints may not be the best in the world, but Sir Guy knew of none better. Unlike the Battle of the Sites and the Battle of the Styles, the Battle of the Mints had now lasted for 15 years, and Sir Guy was delighted that the Indian Gold Mint was engaging its opponents in a decisive combat just before he was going to seek the victories of peace and retirement.

Only natural that at the end of five eventful and well-crammed years of work Sir Guy should ruminate over what had been done. When he came towards the end of 1908 India had just passed through a period which in their elaborate distinctions Government call "distressful scarcity." There was a deficit of 8½ millions, but even the next year—the year of hopefulness—which came with a good monsoon, failed to enter briskly into the ill-ventilated Department of Finance. The cyclone of taxation had, however, found many a chink and crevice. Next year prosperity returned, but taxation had found in the Department a bourne from which such travellers never return. With recurring surpluses of enormous sizes Sir Guy felt the need of an apology. But although he was too uncomfortable to remain silent, he remained proudly and defiantly unrepentant. And what was the reason behind which this sturdy but amiable heathen took cover in his last fight with the financial evangelists? Guess, O reader, and guess again, but I trow thou wilt fail if thou guessest till Domesday, and that because thou hast been introduced to Sir Guy's apology, has dined and snipped with it, nay has lain with it till familiarity has led to satiety, and satiety to a desire for a perpetual and irrevocable divorce, in spite of all that the Archbishop of York, the Brahmin's Shastras and Katharine of Spain may say to the contrary. It is none other than that old jail-bird *Res Judicata*, alias Settled Fact, alias Final Decision. Sir Guy does not suggest taxation up to the hilt; but, if the Poet Laureate of his land wished to broadcast the Empire on the representation of the people's will, Sir Guy, the Financier Laureate, would broadcast it on the taxation of the people's wealth. But thanks to thee, Sir Guy, that if thou hast broadened the basis of taxation and not reduced the weight of the expenditure pyramid thou hast also broadened the basis of expenditure and has been pushing up Bootlair Sahib's twins to the splendid isolation of No-More-Kay. Perdicion catch my soul, but I do love thee. May thou still remain in Delhi, the abode of Deputy-Commissioned Peace and Alipur Road Prosperity.

Petty Larceny.

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC.)

[Wit is your birth-right: therefore steal it wheresoever you find it—*Rigmarole Feda.*]

The man who learns to say "No" generally succeeds in this world; while the woman is likely to find herself an old maid.

The number of women who really care to vote is about equal to the number of men who like to put the baby to sleep.

Don't try to analyse women: love them for what they are.

A man dives headlong into love, a woman paddles into it.

Every man has the love affairs he deserves.

The War Supplement

News of the Week.

London, Mar. 8.

The King received Hakkı Pasha at Buckingham Palace yesterday and introduced him to Sir Edward Grey.

The reply of the Allies to the Powers' offer of mediation is still awaited. It is stated in Berlin that information hitherto received indicates that the unqualified assent of the Allies is not expected.

An Athens telegram states that General Sontzo has been appointed Governor of Janina which the Crown Prince entered yesterday. The Queen has proceeded to that city also. The Turkish prisoners in Epirus total a hundred thousand.

London, Mar. 10.

A Sofia message states that the Minister of Finance yesterday intimated that representations would be made to Belgrade regarding the expulsion from Monastir of the manager of the local branch of the Bulgarian National Bank by the Servians.

An Athens message says that two squadrons of cavalry reconnoitring north of Janina on Friday captured 2,300 Turkish fugitives.

Five thousand more Servian troops with a number of Turkish Krupp guns have sailed from Salonica for San Giovanni di Medua to help the Montenegrins at Scutari. The rest of a complete division will follow.

The *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent at Janina wires that the place is a natural fortress of the first magnitude. He says that Essad Pasha, the commandant, told him that over a million sterling had been spent on the fortifications. The Greek losses in the final battle are estimated at 1,800, but the Epirus campaign, lasting four months, has cost the Greeks 15,000 casualties.

In his speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament to-day the King, referring to the peace negotiations, much regretted that owing to the failure of the delegates to come to an agreement war continues. The possible developments of war and resulting changes are of interest to the great Powers who are neutral and are parties to the Treaty of Berlin. All these parties earnestly desire to prevent war from spreading and to see it terminate as soon as possible. "My Government, especially through the Ambassadors in London, has kept in close touch and co-operation with the other Powers in the endeavours in which all have shared to preserve concerted action and to establish agreement on all points on which differences are possible. Herein a large measure of success has been achieved. Agreement in principle has been reached on matters of the greatest importance. Some points are still under discussion but I am hopeful that the consultations between the Powers will enable them to secure a complete understanding among themselves and hasten the conclusion of war. My Government will continue to co-operate with the other Powers with the most earnest desire to secure the peace of Europe."

In the debate on the Address Mr. Bonar Law said that he would welcome the assurance that the Balkan War would be speedily terminated.

Mr. Asquith said that the deliberations of the Ambassadors had resulted in an agreement on two vital points. The first was the question of the Adriatic littoral and Servia's economic access thereto. Secondly the Powers were unanimous in accepting an autonomous Albania under a European guarantee. With regard to its frontiers agreement on one or two points only, which were not vital points, was required to secure complete concord between the Powers. They were at present awaiting the Allies' reply with reference to mediation. He was glad that Rumania and Bulgaria were in process of availing themselves of the mediation of the Power.

The diplomatic grouping of the Powers had not altered. Neither with France nor Russia were our relations less cordial or intimate. "We intend to retain these friendships." There was change in the relations between the groups which were becoming increasingly cordial. Powers like ourselves less directly interested in the Near East had co-operated earnestly to find a path of agreement for all. "Therein we have worked with a single-minded desire with Germany. Co-operation has not only made the path of diplomacy pleasant, but we trust and believe inspired a mutual sense of confidence which will continue between the two great nations."

Mr. Asquith paid a tribute to the conciliatory spirit of the representatives of all the Powers' Ambassadors at the Conference,

and also to Sir Edward Grey's unexampled patience, resolution and sagacity.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords Lord Lansdowne's speech followed closely the lines of that of Mr. Bonar Law. Dealing with the Balkans Lord Lansdowne said: "I have a certain feeling for an old ally who has fallen on evil day an ally who has fought with gallantry and devotion, whose people are co-religionists with a great body of His Majesty's loyal subjects in India."

London, Mar. 1

A message to the *Times* from Salonica states that the Bulgarians were refused admission to the village of Nigrita near Seres by the Greeks.

The Bulgarians thereupon bombarded the village with field guns on the 5th instant. The Greeks replied with rifle fire. The attack was continued on the 6th March and was still in progress on the 7th when the messenger left.

Lat.

The official despatches show that fighting at Nigrita between the Greeks and the Bulgarians has been very serious. There were numerous casualties on both sides. The Bulgarian and Greek Governments have taken the matter in hand and are sending commissions to the spot.

London, Mar. 1

The semi-official Sofia journal *Mir* says that the Allies have decided to accept the mediation of the Powers on the basis of the conditions laid down in London plus an indemnity. Hostilities will continue in the meantime.

It is stated in Vienna that Austria has taken steps in London with a view to inducing the Powers collectively to demand from Belgrade an explanation of the despatch of additional troops to Durazzo after the ambassadors had agreed to recognise the independence of Albania.

The Austrian minister in Belgrade has protested against the despatch of Servian troops to the assistance of Montenegrins at Scutari and has requested that they be recalled.

M. Pasic replied that Servia was compelled to assist her allies irrespective of the fate of Scutari.

A message to the *Times* from Salonica states that the fighting at Nigrita continued all yesterday between the Greeks and the Bulgarians.

The Bulgarians retreated at night across the Karasu river. The Greeks pursued them and burned bridges. The Bulgarians hoisted the white flag. The Greek losses were fifteen killed and forty wounded, while 120 Bulgarians were captured.

The negotiations between Rumania and Bulgaria have been transferred to St. Petersburg where they will come within the purview of M. Sazonoff, Foreign Minister, and the foreign ambassadors.

The Austro-Hungarian and Russian Governments have issued an identical communication stating that the recent exchange of letters between Emperor Francis Joseph and Tsar Nicholas have again shown that the events in the Balkans have not affected the feelings of friendship of the two sovereigns, and that the maintenance of peace continues to be their aim.

The two Governments, therefore, have decided that the purely defensive measures taken in the frontier provinces are no longer necessary. Austria-Hungary is accordingly reducing the number of her troops in Galicia to normal, while Russia is dismissing reservists due to be dismissed last autumn.

The semi-official *Fremdenblatt* (Vienna) welcomes the demobilization of the frontiers as indicating an improvement in the relations between Austria and Russia and the recognition by Russia of the sincerity of Austria's policy with regard to the Balkans which make possible the final obliteration of the sources of Austro-Russian discord.

London, Mar. 13

The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that a private code message has been received in London from Sofia saying that after desperate fighting the Bulgarians captured the fort of Heitintarla taking 400 prisoners and that they expected to enter Adrianople on Wednesday.

The Turkish warship *Hamidiye*, whose whereabouts since the 17th February have been a mystery, yesterday fired fifteen shells into the Servian camp at Durazzo, but caused no damage. The vessel then retired.

The *Hamidiyeh* bombarded San Giovanni di Medua and then proceeded in the direction of the Italian coast.

This action has alarmed Serbia, which is engaged in sending troops and transports to take part in the siege of Scutari.

The reply of the Allies to the note of the Powers will ask, says a Sofia telegram, for a line from Mida to Rodosto as the frontier between Bulgaria and Turkey, the cession of all occupied territories with fortresses, also the Aegean islands, and the payment of a war indemnity.

A Constantinople message says that serious fighting took place at Bulair on the 11th instant, the Turkish fleet co-operating with the troops.

A Cetigne telegram says that after bombarding Durazzo the *Hamidiyeh* fired at and badly damaged four transports at San Giovanni di Medua, two of which are still burning. The *Hamidiyeh* then proceeded in the directions of Duleigno and Antivari without, however, bombarding them and then steamed for Italy.

While the announcement of demobilisation is welcomed in Vienna disappointment is expressed that the measure only applies to Galicia leaving thousands of reservists on the Servian frontier.

The announcement of Sir Percy Scott's impending retirement was made at a banquet of the Association of Chambers of Commerce at which Mr. Sidney Buxton and Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London, were among the guests.

Mr. Buxton declared that the war in the Near East had had one considerable result, in bringing together the great nations of Europe in more friendly relations.

London, Mar. 14.

A Belgrade message says that the Turkish warship *Hamidiyeh* after bombarding Durazzo departed to San Giovanni di Medua where it bombarded the Servian barracks but with little effect, the artillery returning fire.

As the *Hamidiyeh* was withdrawing it shelled two Servian transports. Both were set on fire and considerable damage was done to supplies and ammunition. Fifty men were killed.

It is believed in Constantinople that the additional demands which the Allies will present to the Powers demanding full rights for their subjects in Turkey will prove another stumbling block to the conclusion of peace. It is feared that the attempts at mediation will end in a failure.

Enver Bey's Expedition.

The armistice expired on February 8. On the 4th and 5th fighting took place between Kavakkeni and Hexamili, in which the Turkish forces took the offensive, but were repulsed, losing by all accounts some 1,200 men. The Bulgarians then advanced. A feigned retreat on the part of their advance guard drew a Turkish force under an extremely heavy artillery fire to the west of Kavakkow. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th the Bulgarians occupied Hexamili, and pressed down towards Bulair until they were checked partly by a Turkish counter-attack, partly by the landing at Sharkeui of the advance guard of the Tenth Army Corps, of which Enver Bey is the actual, if not the nominal, commander.

The landing, which took place on February 8, was covered by an inshore squadron, composed of the gunboat "Zuhaf" and some torpedo craft and by the heavy artillery of the battleship "Torgut Reis," "Harbarose," and the cruiser "Medjidiyeh." Between 6 and 7 in the morning the fleet appeared off Sharkeui, then steamed north, followed by the transports, which then turned towards the Asiatic coast and finally steamed in towards Indjir Point, west of Sharkeui, while the main squadron returned and bombarded the hills above Sharkeui from 9 to 10 in the morning. The actual landing, covered by the "Zuhaf" and torpedo craft, was effected near Indjir Point. Pontons were towed in by launches and smaller transports. Two pontoon bridges were put into position under cover of fire from the "Zuhaf" by 12, when the advance guard landed, covered by the fire of the main fleet. The Bulgarians seem to have offered no resistance till about half the landing force, which comprised, it is believed, the best part of two divisions, was ashore. They then opened a heavy fire from the woods between Indjir Point and Sharkeui. The fleet bombarded the hills a third time, but it was not till late in the afternoon that the town was actually occupied and the Bulgarian flag hauled down. The hills above Sharkeui seem to have been occupied towards nightfall, the Bulgarians retiring to higher ground inland. Fighting was very sharp at several points, the Bulgarians using hand-bombs. Fighting continued during the night of the 8th-9th. The fleet used searchlights in support of the troops.

The losses incurred in the operations of the two days are believed to have amounted to fifteen officers and 800 men. The sequel is

unknown, but there is reason to believe that Enver Bey found the force landed as unable to make headway as were the Italians in Tripoli.—The Times.

Three Days' Battle at Scutari.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Cettigne, Feb. 18.

THE recent attack on Scutari was the Montenegrin Army's first taste of fighting on a large scale. The three days' battle was very heavy, as the several thousands of wounded which fill all the available accommodation here and at Podgoritza testify. The result achieved would seem to amount merely to a tightening of the band encircling the town. Except on the Tarabosh side I cannot speak from personal observation, owing to the practical impossibility of getting from one section of the theatre of operations to another, but in that quarter, according to good information, the Montenegrins lost nearly a thousand in killed and wounded. In the capture of Great Bardanjolt—the Turks, in spite of statements to the contrary, seem still to be in possession of the lower portion of the hill—and in the repulse of the Turkish counter-attack on the Montenegrin trenches in the plain General Vukotitch is believed to have lost nearer 4,000 than 3,000 men. This is a very heavy loss out of a force of about 30,000, but the possession of Bardanjolt has been decided. This is a step forward for the Montenegrins, since the position dominates the town from the north-east.

In the capture of Bushat, and in the attack on Berdica the Servian casualties are reported—though as to this there is no definite information available—to have been 500 or 600. Scutari, in fact, has proved itself capable, hitherto at all events, of withstanding the attack of 50,000 to 60,000 troops, although it must not be forgotten that, possibly through over-confidence in their powers, the Servians have not been supplied with anything in the nature of heavy artillery.

The report that the continuation of the attack is being delayed owing to the difficulty which the Servians have experienced in assaulting Berdica in consequence of the water-logged state of the country is, at all events, only half the truth. The facts would seem to be that they over-estimated their own strength and under-estimated the strength of Scutari. Until by bringing up heavier guns and probably more men—which in the case of the former, at any rate, have to come either from Serbia or from the occupied districts of Macedonia—the weight of their attack has been increased, the Servian commander has decided to desist. The Montenegrins are also preparing to strengthen their artillery, and, presumably, the completion of these preparations will mark the resumption of the attack. Meanwhile a desultory bombardment is being kept up by the Montenegrin guns, some of which, whether intentionally or from very bad marksmanship it is impossible to say for certain, have succeeded latterly during the night time—according to statements made by Montenegrin soldiers—in dropping a number of shells into the town of Scutari itself.

The immediate failure of the long-postponed attack, accompanied as it was by heavy loss, is naturally a bitter disappointment, more especially as, by the acceptance of Servian aid, it was hoped that success was assured. So far as the faulty organization permits, efforts are being made on all sides to cope with the flood of wounded men, but the arrangements for their proper transport and housing are most inadequate. It must not be forgotten that throughout the war Montenegro has been almost entirely dependent for medical assistance on foreign countries. The withdrawal of several of these missions, including the British, during the armistice has left the country most inadequately provided with surgeons and skilled helpers. While, therefore, it is impossible not to criticize the manner in which the Montenegrin authorities have failed to profit by experience with regard to the transport of the wounded, such criticism cannot but be tempered by the unpleasant thought that England and other nations, which by sending Red Cross missions to Montenegro, assured this country of help, have by the premature withdrawal of this help left her in the lurch at a most critical moment.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society.

WE have received the following summary of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society's work during the Balkan War. The Society is under the patronage of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Mohamed Rashad V:—

PREAMBLE.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society, although it is a national institution, has passed to a state of an international one, after the decisions taken by the General Convention Act and by the Hague Conference. It is an impartial benevolent Society, which helps even the wounded men of the enemies' armies. Its income is derived from public donations and subscriptions.

The Society's Central Office is composed of 80 members. They are elected by the Society's founders and active members at a general annual meeting. The Central Office is composed of honorary members as follows: one President, two Vice-Presidents, one General Secretary, one Book-keeper, one Treasurer. But during this period of war, when business increased on a great scale, additional clerks were engaged and paid.

The Imperial Ottoman Government may, at any time of the year, cause the accounts of the Society to be inspected.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society is the only institution of the kind in Turkey. Nobody is permitted to found a similar institution.

Notwithstanding its very short existence of 18 months, the Society has done a great deal of good work in Tripoli of Africa and in Bengazi, and has expended about 90,000 Turkish Pounds (1) for the setting up and the maintenance of hospitals.

As to the expenses incurred and work done during the Balkan War full particulars are given below which will be a logical and categorical answer to the malicious attacks and publications directed against the Society and its members, who, gratuitously, are working day and night by setting up hospitals, taking care of the sick and wounded, providing the military and municipal hygienic institutions with medical stores, giving them practical assistance, helping the cholera patients of the army, the refugees and persons affected with various illnesses, etc.

The utility of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society has met with recognition from philanthropists and subscribers in Turkey, in Bosnia, in Egypt, in India, in South Africa, and in other countries who have placed in the hands of the Central Office different sums to be applied for the benefit of this charitable institution. To all the philanthropists and subscribers the Ottoman Red Crescent Society conveys openly its sincere thanks.

A.—HOSPITALS.

On the 20th Eiloul 1328 [4 October, 1912] the Central Office Council held a general meeting under the presidency of His Highness Hussein Hâmi Pasha, first President of the Society, in order to advise what to do during war time.

It has been decided:

(a) To appoint to each hospital of 100 beds one chief-physician, 1 operator, 1 physician, 2 assistant physicians, 1 chemist, 1 manager (quartermaster), 1 steward, 2 medical students (stagiaires) of the Imperial Ottoman Medical School, 11 trained nurses, 1 store-keeper, 1 cook, 1 scullion and 3 servants (men).

(b) To provide each patient with four suits of clothes and four suits of bed linen, the whole clean and in conformity with the requirements of modern hygiene.

(c) To assure the maintenance of each hospital at least for a period of four months.

In Constantinople were founded three hospitals, namely, the Cudirga Hospital, with 200 beds, the University Hospital, with 600 beds, and the Wafa Idadié Hospital, with 150 beds. The three are under the direction of the most learned and clever operators and physicians, who have attended many thousands of wounded and patients. The Cudirga Hospital, previously arranged for 100 beds has, later, by building barracks, been enlarged so that it may contain 200 beds. The expenses incurred for this purpose amounted to 1,130 Turkish Pounds.

Besides the arrangements made in Constantinople, the needs of the Army of the East and the Army of the West have been taken into consideration. The Ottoman Red Crescent Society has founded one hospital in Adrianople and another in Salonica with 250 beds each. Both are still doing good work.

One hospital with 150 beds has been founded in Uskub. Its work lasted over a month, till no more wounded remained in it. The continuation of the work of the hospital organized with 150 beds in Lüle Burgaz has been impossible. The material and stores provided for the Society's hospitals of Janina, Monastir, Al-lanonna, Sentari and the medical personnel appointed to them, did not reach their respective places, owing to the closing of the roads.

As to the medical material used in the service of the hospitals of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, it has been decided that it shall be of the best quality. A great deal of medicine and numbers of surgical instruments have been bought in Europe. Two French hospitals sets of the types "Hôpital de Campagne" and "Hôpital Territorial" have been brought from France, four field hospitals for 100 beds each, from England and five complete sets of surgical instruments from Germany.

A sum of 5,000 Turkish Pounds has been spent for the purchase of medicated cotton wool, bandages and medicines.

Two of the four field-hospitals brought from England for the total price of 4,000 Turkish Pounds have been sent, on behalf of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, to Sentari and have been

placed under the direction of two British operators and two assistant operators, specially engaged for this purpose.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society undertook the necessary expenses for sending to Adrianople a medical mission, kindly organized by the German Red Crescent Society. This mission arrived at Sofia, but the Bulgarian authorities did not allow it to go to Adrianople. The Ottoman Red Crescent Society is still working to obtain leave for the mission to proceed to this town.

A great deal of medical material has been newly sent to Adrianople for use in the Ottoman Red Crescent Society's hospital.

Two hospitals, one in Dardanelles with 200 beds and one in Gallipoli with 50 beds, have been recently opened and provided with all the necessary material.

The Society has further decided to have manufactured artificial legs, arms, hands, and feet for the wounded, who have lost one of these members after a surgical operation in one of its hospitals. This decision is already being put into execution.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society distributes underclothes and clothes to the wounded, who, after regaining health, leave hospital for home.

The persons being in the service of the Society wear the uniform with the emblem of the Red Crescent. Those who attend cholera patients wear boots and special clothes, and are protected against contagion.

B.—REST STATIONS.

The formation in Europe of rest stations being of great importance the Ottoman Red Crescent Society has arranged some of them in order to assure help to the sick and wounded while they halt on their way for the purpose of, it may be, resting for the night, or merely for the issue of food or light refreshments. After taking the advice of the military medical Department, the Society has opened rest stations in Tcherkess-Keuy, in Tchorlon, in Lüle Burgaz, in Kouleli-Bougaz, in Pavli-Keuy, and in Sirkedji, provided them with the necessary provisions and appointed to each of them 1 manager, 1 cook and several servants for the distribution of tea, soup, bread and other refreshments. Among these stations those of Sirkedji, Lüle-Burgaz and Pavli-Keuy started working at first, but the two latter have been transferred to Sparta-Koule and to San Stefano. These three stations, and especially the rest station of Sirkedji, have done a great deal of good work by providing food and refreshments for the wounded and sick who arrived by hundreds. A physician and two men for the purpose of disinfecting have been appointed to each of these stations.

C.—HELP TO CHOLERA PATIENTS.

When this terrible epidemic broke out among soldiers at Hadim-keny, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society made haste to send to this place tents and medical assistance with the necessary material that the situation required. A hospital settled at first, in tents, and after partly in barracks, has been arranged in Hadimkeny for 250 beds. Two other hospitals, one with 150 and other with 70 beds, have been arranged in San Stefano and in Sparta, respectively. They have been settled in tents, brought from England and from Germany.

Soldiers suffering from cholera and sent from Tchataldja to Constantinople have been sheltered in the Mosques Sainte Sophie, (Aya Sofia) Sultan Ahmed, Nour Osmanie and Mahmoud Pasha, and on the 3rd Teshrin-ewel 1328 (16 October 1912) the Ottoman Red Crescent Society decided to provide for their maintenance. The cholera patients of the Mosque Sainte Sophie have been, later supported by a commission formed by the ministry of Public Education, to which the Society offered 3,600 kilog. of bread.

According to statistical figures, there has been, on the average, distributed to each of the cholera patients 1 kilog bread per day, soup in the morning, meat with potatoes or peas and rice with meat in the evening.

From the 6th Teshrin-ewel to the 25th Teshrinusani (from the 19th October to the 8th November 1912) 1,251 patients have been treated for cholera, in the Mosque of Nour Osmanie, from the 8th to the 24th Teshrin-ewel 1328 (from the 21st October to the 6th November 1912) 447 in the Mosque Mahmoud-Pasha, and from the 6th Teshrin-ewel to the end of Teshrinusani 1328 (from the 19th October to the 3rd December 1912) 1,200 in the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed.

D.—AID TO THE FOREIGN MEDICAL MISSIONS.

In order to help the wounded and sick several medical missions have been organized abroad and sent here by the foreign Red Crescent and Cross Societies. The Ottoman Red Crescent Society welcomed the members of these missions, made arrangements to assure them comfortable quarters. The "Senayi-Nefiso" School (Fine Arts School) has been transformed into hospital and put at the disposal of the British Red Crescent Mission, kindly formed by Sir Ernest Cassel, founder of the National Bank of Turkey.

The cost of altering and finishing the building for this hospital has been borne by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, which provides 150 beds and 2,100 articles of clothing.

The School "Rashidieh" at Scutari (Bosphorus) has been also transformed into hospital and put at the disposal of another British Red Crescent Society, kindly formed on behalf of Indian people through the Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, of London. The Ottoman Red Crescent Society bore the expenses for the transformation of this School into hospital, provided it with beds and with other articles.

Two Medical Missions arrived from India were welcomed. The one was settled in the University Hospital and the other in the Cadirga Hospital.

The clothes and the material necessary for the Red Crescent's Hospitals organized by the British Colony and by the French School (Ecole de France) at Moda (Bosphorus) have been given by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, which also provided 25 beds and all the necessary material for the Convalescent Home, arranged for the officers in the Yachting Club, at Prinkipo (Marmara Sea).

E.—AID TO MILITARY AND MUNICIPAL HOSPITALS.

It happened that about 20,000 wounded arrived at Constantinople in a short time. Hospitals were full. Military and municipal authorities took common measures to help the sick and wounded. Many military barracks have been transformed into hospitals. Municipality founded hospitals in various points of the town.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society besides the 3 hospitals with 950 beds that it has founded, brought help to the military and municipal authorities. It gave to the Municipal Hospital of Demir Capou 7,500 Turkish Pounds in cash and the following articles in kind:

Eighteen hundred articles of clothing, 1,000 blankets, 28 rounds of linoleum, 231 kilog. of sublime, 99 kilog. of Serum Hayem, 175 Turkish blankets (yorgan), 74 beds, 28 drawers and 11 cushions.

The following articles have been given by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society to the military authorities:—

Four thousand and ninety-seven canvas cases for beds, 2,800 straw mattresses, 449 beds, 660 cushions, 1,514 blankets, 559 Turkish blankets (yorgan), 12,500 sheets for beds, 8,930 drawers, 7,570 under-clothings, 8,025 morning gowns (antari), 2,750 woolen under-clothing, 559 night caps, 1,200 pairs of stockings, 1,600 pairs of slippers, 49 physician blouses, 40 aprons, 25 cotton cloaks (hırka), 1,512 cups, 78 doz. of spoons, 110 tents, 2,751 matting, 280 complete stretchers, 43 coffins and 1 auto, which can carry 11 men.

The hospital organized at the school (Conleli Idadiasi) received 2,100 articles of various clothing, the Military Hospital of Maidos 830; the Clinical Surgery's Hospital 4,000 cases for cushions, 4,000 under-clothings, 4,000 morning gowns for sick, 4,125 drawers, 4,000 simple sheets and 1,097 cases for mattresses, and the hospitals organized at Bughaz Keny, San Stefano, Kara Donroun and Nisban Tash received several articles of various clothing and medical material and stores.

The following articles have been given to the hospital organized by the Women's Branch of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, at the Imperial Medical School: 117 blankets, 2,850 articles of various clothing, 100 woolen under-clothings, 200 pairs of stockings and bandages.

The municipal Hospital of Pera received 100 articles of clothing. The Jeremiah Hospital 100; the Tash Kuchla Hospital 3,290 articles of clothing, 200 pairs of stockings and slippers; the British Hospital at Candilli 550 sets of clothes; the British Red Crescent's Hospital at Scutari (Bosphorus) 312 articles of clothing, the hospital settled at the Greek Ottoman School at San-Stefano 1,200, and the American ambassadress received 200 for the San Stefano Hospital.

Six hundred Turkish Pounds have been spent to put the finishing touch to the barracks built for the wounded and sick.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society ordered from America 30 carriages for the transport of the wounded and decided to give the same to the military medical authorities as a gift of the Society.

Further, the steamship *Cambridge* of the Ottoman Navigation Company has been fitted out and appropriated for the transport of wounded and sick in the Marmara Sea.

F.—HELP TO REFUGEES.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society, owing to its very short existence and by absence of special institutions, was not prepared to bring immediate help to the sick and refugees who, flying from the tyrannies of the Bulgarian army, arrived at Constantinople. However, being informed that the municipal commission formed in order to help the refugees could, by lack of means,

not afford to do anything useful to them, the Society contributed to this work, the sum of 7,500 Turkish Pounds. Besides the contribution it voted further sums to help and supply with provisions 3,600 refugees, living in barracks out of Yedi Conle, and to feed 800 beasts. Similarly care has been taken of the refugees, sheltered in the Mosques Daoud Pasha and Djarah Pasha, and in the other neighbourhoods. The building belonging to Hashim Pasha, and situated opposite to the Town-Hall, has been arranged for the families of the officers, to each member of whom the Society gave 3 piastres per day and undertook the maintenance of 130 persons.

For its own part, the Women's Branch of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society distributed to 4,011 refugees cotton cloaks, woolen underclothes, morning gowns (antari), stockings and shoes.

The costs for the maintenance of these refugees amount to the sum of about 2,000 Turkish Pounds per week. This maintenance is continuing since the 10th Kianoun-ewel 1328 (23 December 1912).

More than 1,800 articles of clothing, like cotton cloaks, morning gowns, under-clothings, drawers and stockings have been distributed to the refugees living in carts, out of Edirne Capou. Those living in the lodging-house of Sirry Effendi, at the neighbourhood of Edirne Capou; in the Mosques of Zindjirli Capou, Ihyassin, Atik Ali Pasha, all the three in Zindjirli Capou; in the Mosque Fetwa Einim, in Kara Gumnuk and in the Mosque Edirne Capou, etc., received more than 1,600 articles of clothing. The refugees of Kutchuk Sou received 1,274, and those living in the Mosque Calirga, many thousands of cotton cloaks, morning gowns, under-clothings, drawers, woolen under-clothings, stockings, sheets and shoes.

The Ottoman Red Crescent Society's Hospital, which has been founded in Salonica with 200 beds, is still working, even after the invasion of this town and helping sick and wounded soldiers and refugees. But, this work being insufficient, the Society sent to this town important sums to be applied for the relief of the refugees and prisoners, and decided to continue, in this way, to do all in its power.

The refugees, who have been sent to some of the Vilayets and those gathered in Gallipoli did not remain out of mind. The Branches of the Society in the Vilayets of Hud vendiklar, Aidin, Angora and Conna have been instructed to do all that is necessary in order to help the refugees by all means. The Brussa Branch having required money, 600 Turkish Pounds have been sent for this purpose.

Two hundred sacks of biscuits, 20 sacks of potatoes and many other provisions, 1,000 blankets, 3,000 pairs of stockings and 200 Turkish Pounds have been forwarded to Gallipoli through a member of the Central Office.

Besides that, the military commandant seeing the necessity of founding in this town a hospital, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society decided to comply with the request of the commandant. Consequently, the building is already chosen, the personnel appointed and it will be opened in a few days.

G.—WOMEN'S WORK

The Women's Branch of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society has displayed great activity during the war period. The Ottoman women worked continuously and sewed over 70,000 articles of various clothing. They collected subscriptions for the Society, took care of the families and orphans of the martyrs, besieged and lost officers, distributed clothes and sets of beds, provided them with food and gave to each member of each family 3,5 piastres per day. Forty officers' families have been settled in the house kindly arranged for this purpose by Djelal El-Din Monkhitar Bey. Several other families have been sent to their towns and their maintenance assured, and clothes have been given to some others. In short, the work of the Ottoman women has been patriotic, humane, useful and successful.

II.—HELP TO PRISONERS.

In addition to its general work, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society decided to carry out another important duty. It undertook the task to establish relations between the officers and soldiers, who have been taken prisoners, and their families, and to assure the continuity of these relations.

In a report published by Dr. Omer Besim Pasha, the representative of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society at the International Congress, held last year, in Washington, it is said that one of the decisions taken by this Congress consists in the fact that a special commission shall be formed by the Central Offices of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, with authority to assure the establishment and the continuity of relations between war prisoners and their families. This decision has been lately approved by the International Central Office of the Red Cross at Geneva.

Having been officially informed that an International Committee has been formed in Belgrade under the presidency of the Swiss Consul General in this town, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society formed a commission composed of members of its Central Office, in order to

establish a correspondence with the abovenamed Committee, and to ensure regular and continual relations between prisoners and friends of their families. Paid clerks have been appointed to help the members of this commission, through which, it will be possible to the public to communicate with prisoners, and reciprocally.

CONCLUSION.

The abovementioned particulars and figures constitute the work of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society during the past two months. Things have been done with a spirit of method and pursued with great zeal, so that public welfare has been protected. The maintenance of its hospitals until the end has been assured, and its reserve capital not touched. But, in order to do much better work, it is necessary that arrangements of all kinds may be made in times of peace. If the work of the Red Cross Societies of other nations is more extensively appreciated, the reason is due to the fact, that these institutions have been longer in operation and had time to make all kinds of preparations, and assure order and rapidity.

The making up of beds and sets of beds and the preparing of medical stores in times of peace, does not mean that the Society is ready for every contingency. It is indispensable that a *personnel* composed of physicians, nurses and medical officers be ready for this purpose at any time.

Taking these reasons into consideration and after the experience gained during this war, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society is, at present, proceeding to fill up a blank, by enrolling learned and clever physicians, training nurses and stretcher bearers, setting medical material stores in various points of the Ottoman Empire, fitting out a Red Crescent ship, founding "Home-nursing" and if necessary a "Hospital School" and "Aid-stations" and buying stretchers and autos, etc.

The task of the Society will not be limited to working only in the time of war. Following the example of the other countries, it has decided to extend the circle of its activity, in building a great *dépôt*, which shall contain instruments and medical stores to be employed in case of contagious diseases. It has already purchased for the sum of 1,000 Turkish pounds a field situated on the sea front, near the railway stations and the building of *dépôt* will be shortly started.

The Society, considering the difficulties it had with the transport of sick and wounded, decided also to purchase 2 autos, 2 carriages and 1 goods auto. Röntgen apparatus, which is so indispensable for the surgical operations, has been ordered from Europe.

People who know the importance of an institution of this kind have appreciated the patriotic, humane, useful and successful work done by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society.

The task of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society is now to work for the future, and it is very anxious to bring this institution to a rank equal to that of similar European Societies, so that it may satisfy the national honour.

The members of the Society are persons in high positions and eminent military and naval medical officers, who may be confidently expected to do good work, especially with aid of national help and public sympathy.

Before closing, the Ottoman Red Crescent Society conveys again its sincere thanks to all the subscribers and others who have so kindly helped.

Albania's Claims.

Interview with Prince Ahmed Fuad.

Among the many questions that have assumed international significance within the past six months, that of Albania's future as a new Balkan State is deserving of a prominent place, and the fact that the delimitation of her boundaries forms the basis for ambassadorial *causeries* now taking place in London adds interest of a topical nature to the subject, which is enhanced by the presence in England of His Highness Prince Ahmed Fuad, who is attempting to bring Albania's claims to the notice of the ambassadors.

Prince Ahmed Fuad, who was seen yesterday at Claridge's Hotel by a representative of the *Near East*, thus explained his position.

"The Powers," he said, "are discussing the future position of New Albania. In doing so they consult and debate the desires of Russia, Austria, Italy, Servia, Montenegro, etc., but they do not consult our interests in the matter. Yet surely these are vital. Consequently I have been asked by representative Albanian notables and committees to bring Albania's claims to the notice of the Powers. That is my object: to induce the Great Powers also to consider our wishes and interests.

"Why should they not be considered? We are living in the age of the devolution of nationalities. Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy—and how many others?—regained their independence almost

within the memory of living man; and the great nations, like England and France, have always been willing to champion the cause and claims of these budding nationalities. We Albanians trust that these traditions will not be forgotten to-day. Prior to the claims of Servia and Montenegro to soil which is our soil, are our rights, and we must insist on them while we may.

"What are Montenegro's pretensions to Scutari? They are based on the assertion that the plain of Scutari is rich and fertile, whereas Montenegro is poor and cannot live without it. This claim, if recognised by the Powers, would constitute a new right, it would legalise attempts on property by the necessitous.

"Servia's claims to Ipek and Jakova, to the regions between the White Drin and Scutari, and the Drin and Montenegro, are no less unjust. From all points of view these districts and towns are Albanian, and to deprive us of them and of Scutari, our moral capital, must cripple us before our birth, and make us look continually forward to the day of retaliation. I say it emphatically; there will be no lasting peace in the Balkan Peninsula if we are shorn of what is ours. There will always be danger of unrest so long as the members of one race are subject to another. In one word, if peace is to be guaranteed it will be necessary to give Albanians their whole country—that is, where Albanian customs and habits prevail, and where both tradition and history give us exclusive rights.

"The above constitutes our claims. The claims put forward by Austria as to the limits of Albania is the absolute minimum to which the Albanians could agree. Ipek must be our frontier town in the north and Janina in the south. The Montenegrins already possess Podgoritz, Antivari, and Duleigno, with their Albanian population, and have no right to put forward any claim to Scutari."

After expressing his hopes that the Powers would eventually consider Albanian's claims favourably, his Highness dwelt on the country and its inhabitants.

"Practically nothing is known abroad about Albania," he said, "and the little that is known is tainted with Servian, Montenegrin, or Greek prejudices, according to the observer's standpoint or that of his guide. The Albanians are a race which has nothing in common with the Slavs, Wallachs, or Greeks. It is frequently claimed that in Albania itself there are so many thousand Greeks or Serbs. The Christian Albanians, who have no Patriarchate of their own, had to join either the Greek or the Servian patriarchates, who claimed them as either Greeks or Serbs, as the case might be. In reality, however, they are and remain Albanians to the backbone.

"At present all is chaos in Albania, its towns having been occupied and its fields overrun by contending armies. But when peace has been declared and Albania has been instituted an independent State, in possession of all her rightful lands, she will rapidly develop her resources, educate her people, build railways and roads, and organise all her economic forces. For the race is an energetic and enterprising one, and one, moreover, that will be grateful to whomsoever advocates the consideration of her claims.

"A final word, however, the Albanians are not pro-Austrians or pro-Slavs or pro-Italians. They are, first and foremost, Albanians." —*The Near East*

The Balkan States To-Day.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN'S" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN THE BALKANS.)

EARLY in the war a colleague on the staff of an important newspaper pointed out that the Orient express from Vienna onwards did duty as a barometer of the importance attached to a Balkan crisis. If he was right, then Europe takes small interest in the renewal of the war. For the express left Vienna on the day war was renewed with a very small complement of passengers. There were a few merchants making for Budapest, an Armenian or two heading for Constantinople, and the usual proportion of Jews. But the special correspondents were noticeably absent. And until the train ran into Belgrade station there was no sign that we were approaching the last act of the drama.

Even in peace-time Belgrade station always calls Ruritania to mind. In the early stages of the war the whole station was filled with uniforms, and the arrival of hospital trains, disgorging their load of mangled humanity, added a gruesome interest. But now Belgrade station is nearly normal again. The railway trucks are emptier than usual. The scrutiny of passengers and their luggage is stricter. The waiting-rooms still bear the flaming Red Cross that marked their conversion into dressing stations, but they are now empty. And round the entrance to the station the officious guides had begun to waylay passengers again with offers to show the places of interest.

The town itself has run through the whole gamut of emotions of the capital of a State at war. During mobilisation the Servians showed small signs of warlike ardour. Neither the army nor the

people were confident of the result of the military operations, and the certainty of commercial loss was obvious to all. An observer at the time pointed out that the troops leaving for the front looked as if they were going to an "abattoir." Then came in rapid succession the news of the victory of Kumanova, the capture of Unküb, and the battle of Monastir, and the depression of the Serbian—ever a volatile person—evaporated into immense self-conceit. But at the present moment the Serbians have forgotten alike the charms of military success and the claim of their duty to their Allies. They are heartily sick of war. Their fields are crying for the plough and their pockets are asking for cash. And neither plough nor cash is forthcoming, man and cattle are at the front, and business is at a standstill in the towns. The Serbian feels that the continuation of the war will bring no greater share of the spoils to him. He feels he is being used as a catapaw by the predominant partner in the Alliance. Already, also, there are ominous grumblings that the original terms of the alliance give Serbia less than her due. Monastir was taken by Serbian arms, and is still held by them, but by the treaty and by ethnographical claim it goes to Bulgaria. Alessio and Durazzo seem unattainable. Salonica is at best a chance. Whatever the eventual terms of peace between the Allies as a whole, and Turkey, there is small doubt but that the settlement among the Allies themselves will leave behind it many a bone of contention for Serbian diplomacy.

The Bulgarian conceals his feelings with greater skill than the Serbian, but Sofia is at present hardly less pacific than Belgrade. The dislocation of the earlier days of the war has passed away in large measure. Most of the shops are open again, the tramways are running and flacres are available. Prices are very little above normal. But in spite of these outward and inside signs of the renewal of ordinary conditions of life the capital still suffers daily, for business is almost at a standstill. And in the country it is the same as in Serbia. The time for ploughing and sowing is very close, and the country is denuded of men and even of boys. The peasant of the Balkan State lives from hand to mouth. He has no reserves collected, and the loss of a year's crops means not merely ruin but starvation to him. Reliable information puts the loss in men capable of work already at 50,000 for Bulgaria alone. If war were to cease to-morrow this in itself would mean a heavy handicap to this young State.

In the club and café men talk openly of the mistake of the armistice. To be effective an armistice with a view to peace negotiations must fulfil three distinct conditions. One party must realise that the arbitrament of arms has decided against it, the scope of the negotiations must be confined within certain definite limits, the period of truce must be strictly limited. Not one of these conditions was complied with in December, 1912. The Turkish nation had not been decisively defeated, the chief portion of its armed strength had not even been engaged. There was no definition of the scope of the negotiations, and there was no time limit. Had the Allies pushed on their military measures ruthlessly instead of giving way to the representations of the Great Powers and to the dread of epidemics, there is small doubt but that they could have pierced the Tchataldja lines and dictated terms of peace with their sword at the throat of Turkey. Breathing space was all in favour of the Porte.

It is an open secret now that in the original terms of the Alliance no mention was made of the fate of Adrianople. It was not considered then of prime importance. Now both Turk and Bulgarian realise clearly enough that without it Bulgaria's spoils in Thrace are of small value. But while for this reason the Bulgarian delegates in London were well justified in breaking off the negotiations on this point, the argument does not thrust itself home into the reason of the other Allies. They have already in their possession all they can hope for, and Turkey is prepared to let them have it. It says much for the predominant influence of Bulgaria in the Alliance that in spite of this she was able to carry her allies with her in the further appeal to arms. But though she has succeeded in doing this the process has left a sore in both Serbian and Greek amour propre which will not tend to the future friendliness of the allied States.

Of Adrianople surprisingly little is known here. The Bulgarians seem to have decided not to risk another assault. Deserters from the fortress come over daily in numbers varying from ten to twenty. But that is a quite inconsiderable number. They speak of short rations, but, on the other hand, the prices which they say are current for food are not abnormally high. The Bulgarian staff seems to hope that the fortress will be reduced within three weeks. On the other hand, the sortie by the Turks on the 8th February cost the Bulgarians some 1,600 men, so that the fighting qualities of the defenders seem to be well maintained. The bombardment seems to have had astonishingly little effect on the defences, and the loss of life in the town is fairly certain to be negligible. For, whatever its moral effect, artillery fire into a town has never yet destroyed much human life. On the whole there seems no reason why Adrianople should not make good its defence for many more weeks.

The military situation can be summed up in a sentence. The Allies have shot their bolt; the Turk has not now, any more than he had at any period, the bow with which to shoot the bolt that is still in his quiver. And so the result is stalemate. What will be the issue? Prophecy is dangerous, but in all probability the war will drag on until Adrianople falls, and then each side will be very willing to accept the mediation of the Great Powers.

Turkey After the War.

MR E. N. DENNETT in the course of a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* says:—

Students of Near Eastern problems are almost bewildered by the recent happenings in Turkey. Fresh scenes and characters are crowded into the tragic drama, and the final issues can only be vaguely conjectured. The Western critic of Turkish affairs is, indeed, always more or less in a log, for the Ottoman Government has rarely made any adequate effort to elucidate its purposes or justify its conduct in the European press. Foreign press bureaux and similar influences have proved of immense value to the Balkan States, while in many instances Turkey's case has never secured even a bare hearing in the journals of any European capital, with the occasional exception of Berlin and Vienna. As a recent example, what adequate attention has been called to the cruel outrages inflicted on Moslem peasantry by the advancing armies of Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria? The Balkan Committee has collected large sums for the relief of Christian refugees, who are assured of a safe return to their homes, and the columns of an evening paper are open to the appeal of Bulgarian princesses on behalf of Bulgarian orphans. Where does one ever read of the black deeds which have disgraced the allied armies in Southern Macedonia, reprisals, perhaps, for the savagery of Albanian hillmen, but none the less terrible realities? What of the scores of thousands of unhappy Moslem peasants who fled, in terror, to escape murder and isolation at the hands of the invaders? The misery of these destitute refugees at Salonica (80,000), Komani (26,000), and so on is simply appalling, and unless further aid is forthcoming death by starvation must inevitably end the sufferings of many thousands. The Greek Government gave £6,000, and it is doubtful if it will do more. The British Red Crescent Society has with the money generously subscribed by Moslem subjects of the Crown saved thousands of refugees from starvation, but its funds are well-nigh exhausted.

In other directions the same cloud of obscurity hangs over the affairs of Turkey. The motives and purposes of the Young Turkish leaders who have re-established themselves at Constantinople receive scanty notice or appreciation in the press. Yet it is quite impossible to meet men like Enver Bey or Fethi Bey without being convinced of their absolute sincerity and genuine patriotism. They worked hard four years ago in the face of countless difficulties to secure good government for their country, but Austria, Italy, and the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee were too strong for them. Nevertheless these reformers have never despaired of the Republic, and if Turkey emerges with honour and some measure of success from the troubles that beset her, she may have to choose between two forms of government—a strong military dictatorship or an effective Constitution on Young Turkish lines.

The loss of territory is naturally galling to a proud and sensitive race, and the surrender acquiesced in during the recent Conference was enormous enough, including as it did the whole of Macedonia and Albania, three-quarters of Thrace, and some of the islands. The statement in General Savoff's appeal to his soldiers that Turkey had been "unwilling to yield an inch of the conquered territory" is ludicrously false, but good enough, one supposes, for the peasant troops under his command. Nevertheless the loss of Ottoman territory may well prove a real blessing to the nation, however painful for the moment. Albania yielded practically no revenue, whilst the *enfants gâtes* of its mountains have proved a constant source of trouble and expense even under so indulgent a ruler as Abul Hamid. Macedonia, again, despite the fertility of its valleys, was never developed under Turkish rule, and hung like a millstone round the neck of the Ottomans for generations. The best blood and treasure of Anatolia has been poured into Macedonia, and little has come out of this distressed province except strife and bloodshed. Crete, again, has long since ceased to be an integral part of the Sultan's dominions. As to Tripoli, while nothing can justify Italy's mean act of brigandage, the severance of this neglected vilayet has saved the Ottoman Exchequer an annual loss of nearly a quarter of a million. It was an evil day for Turkey when she saddled herself with the Arabian provinces—the conquest of the Yemen only dates from 1872,—for this vast area, like the Soudan in days of old, has long been accursed by the wives and mothers of the Sultan's soldiers. A private record carefully made on the spot has revealed the dreadful fact that in the last twenty years no less than 800,000

Turks passed the port of Suez on their way to the Yemen who never returned!

Lastly, many of the islands are a positive source of weakness to Turkey in the absence of any effective fleet, for their garrisons are exposed to easy capture by any maritime enemy. Outlying islands like Stampalia, Nikaria, or Paara have never done more than barely pay for their upkeep, and their surrender would inflict no real injury on the Ottoman Empire, not even one of sentiment, for the inhabitants of these bleak isles are almost entirely Greek. The retention of islands like Imbaros, Tenedos, Mytilene, or Rhodes stands on a wholly different footing, nor is it probable in any case that the Powers would permit Greece to hold permanently some of her easy conquests, which lie in dangerous proximity to the mutilated but still compact and formidable dominions of the Sultan.

Even after the surrender of nine-tenths of his European possessions, and probably some of the Aegean Islands, the Sultan will still rule over vast territories, three times as large as Italy—territories full of latent wealth. The essential problem will be how to secure repose for consolidation and development. Turkey has learnt by bitter experience the value attaching to solemn treaties in the eyes of the Christian Powers. Will international jealousy and self-seeking allow the harassed Empire ten years in which to order her finance, develop her resources, and re-establish her defences? That is the ever-present anxiety in the minds of Turkish patriots. "Take Tripoli, Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, if you will, but grant us at least the peace we badly need for good government in Asia."

But who at any rate, can find fault with Enver Bey and his friends for their recent action? Those who, like the writer, saw Turkish batteries without shells, troops without food, cholera victims without shelter or treatment, and all the other miseries of a tortured people amid the ever-desponding gloom of military disaster can only be amazed at the moderation of an almost bloodless revolution, the mere change of a Ministry.

Balkan Finances.

THE representative of a Berlin bank, who recently returned from the Balkans, has published his views on the financial situation in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. We reproduce the following extracts:—As regards finances, Bulgaria is the worst off, as before the outbreak the country was badly prepared financially. This is proved by its efforts to obtain money in foreign countries, which led to a far greater amount in Treasury bonds being issued than the Allies—40 million francs in France and 25 millions in Russia. Serbia had 40 million francs over from the previous loan, and had also a monopoly surplus of more than 50 millions. As regards Greece, the National Bank is very favourably placed. It holds about 100 million francs abroad. Roumania has suffered from the shipment difficulties; more than 700 million francs worth of corn has remained in the country. On the other hand, the Government has been compelled to lay in stores of war material and to buy steamers, which produced a calamitous situation in foreign exchange. As regards banks generally: In Serbia the results of the banks, in spite of war and moratorium, are favourable and in excess of 1911, so that the dividend can easily be maintained or even increased. In Bulgaria the banks are showing caution, especially as non-payments will be numerous. In Roumania the banks generally seem to have worked well. Salonica deserves a special note, as its future is very problematic. At present this town is the transit station for Macedonia and Serbia. If Salonica is to be internationalised, Greeks and Serbians would each create a commercial interchange town for themselves, so that only a very small Hinterland would be made for Serbia. If Salonica remains Greek, the Serbian Custom would be lost, so that in any case Salonica's commercial prosperity would decline.—*The Near East*.

Ottoman Finances.

THE Ottoman Government has at last obtained an advance of £500,000, which will permit it to pay the salaries of its employees, says the *Daily Telegraph*. According to information derived from a good financial source, this advance was obtained from the Belgian group represented by the Deutsche Orient Bank on the following terms:—The rate of interest is to be 7 per cent. The Government reserves to itself for a year the option of selling to the Belgian group for the construction of certain buildings the land of the manoeuvre ground and the barracks of the *Armen* quarter at Pera, and the buildings of the Bourse de Commerce at Galata. If, after the expiration of one year, a firm concession has not been given the Government must repay the

advance, with the stipulated interest and a commission of 10 per cent. Negotiations for another advance of £500,000 are being continued with the National Bank of Turkey and the Deutsche Bank, and in regard to this final instructions are being awaited from London. Other negotiations in regard to the Tobacco Regie are also proceeding. The Government has made a counter-proposition offering to prolong the concession of the Regie for five years on the terms of the present concession.

According to yesterday's *La Presse*, Antwerp, the Turkish Government has approached various credit establishments here with a view to the placing of a large parcel of six per cent. one-year Treasury bonds. Only one bank, adds the paper, has taken any.—*The Near East*

The Horrors of Scutari.

THE "Corriere della Sera" publishes some letters from its correspondent, who is going through the siege at Scutari. Writing on January 12, he says:—"The sad scenes in front of the bakeries are renewed every day, and assume even larger dimensions, especially in the evenings. The poor crowds assemble, which, having begged in the daytime, try to purchase some bread before the closing of the shops. The struggle for bread becomes often very acute. A few days ago a woman swooned in the crowd. Last night one of the bakers conceived the unfortunate idea of announcing that the stock of bread was nearly at an end. The crush became so great that a young girl had her backbone broken by somebody's elbow, and had to be carried out. . . . A friend of mine gives every day a piece of bread to a man who invariably repeats, 'The children and myself are dying from hunger.' Yesterday my friend jestingly remarked, 'It is now a month since you have been repeating this every day.' The poor man smiled bitterly. 'It is true,' he said, 'but our lives are really hanging by a thread. You see, we only eat a piece of bread dipped in a spoonful of oil and salt once a day, or once every other day. To me and my wife it is all the same how we finish, but it is the little ones who are causing us so much pain.'"

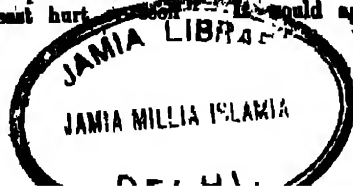
Four days later the same correspondent reported that sugar had gone, coffee was at an end, butter, bacon, oil, dripping—all were gone; there were no vegetables, with the exception of cabbage and some mysterious grass, grandiloquently called salad, and seven bakeries had shut down for lack of flour.

A Romantic Episode.

ADRIANOPLE now beleaguered by the Allies, was the scene of a romantic episode of the Cromwellian era. In 1637 a fair Quakeress named Mary Fisher made her way through infinite peril of land and water to the camp of Sultan Mohamed IV., which covered a fertile plain near the second city of his empire. Mary had heard terrible stories of Turkish fanaticism, and longed to do something towards the introduction of a purer religion into Eastern Europe. Her object was neither more nor less than to convert the "Grand Signor" to Christianity!

Mary Fisher had suffered much for her faith at home. Thrice was she imprisoned in York Castle, and she had been publicly flogged for denouncing the religious apathy which prevailed at Cambridge. Her reception by the Faithful must have proved that Turkey was far in advance of Western Europe in the matter of religious toleration. After many fruitless efforts to obtain an audience she found a friend in Ahmad Bassa, then Grand Vizier, who belonged to an Albanian family famous for its statesmanship and organising power. Thanks to his intervention Mary Fisher was welcomed by the young Sultan—he was only seventeen—with all the honours usually accorded to an ambassador.

Observing that his visitor was abashed by the rude splendour of an Oriental Court, Mohamed IV. bade her speak out, inasmuch as all present had good hearts and were willing to hear her message. Thus encouraged, the Quakeress boldly adjured him to embrace Christianity. She was heard amid profound silence, and then the Sultan remarked that he entertained respect for a woman who had come from so far a country to deliver a message from Heaven, and invited her to stay in their midst for a while. On learning that she was anxious to return to her friends, he begged her at least to accept a guard, lest she should come to any hurt in his dominions. The dauntless girl, however, proved obdurate; she had come thither alone and would set out again without an escort. So Mary Fisher was graciously dismissed, and it is pleasant to learn that she reached Constantinople "without the least hurt." It would appear from the Turkish



Papers that her plain speaking gave great annoyance to our Ambassador, Sir Thomas Benthick, who warned her to depart peacefully. His advice was followed, and Mary reached England in safety, to be honoured by her comrades as the woman "who spoke to the Grand Turk." One is inclined to wonder what her fate would have been, had she heeded the Protector at Whitehall.—*The New East*

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Total ... Rs. 3,23,175 2 0

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A Weekly Journal.

Edited by / Mohamed Ali

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They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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had been so difficult and trying that it had become a matter of primary consideration to give relief by withdrawing it as soon as possible. If we were to have a force in Southern Persia to be effective it should be a large force. It was inadvisable to keep there under trying circumstances a force which could not affect the situation. The withdrawal would start early in April. The damage to trade had been great, but it was surprising, Sir E. Grey said, to find from the Customs returns how much trade had been going on.

With reference to the assertion that Russia was keeping order in the north Sir E. Grey said that the 16,000 troops there kept open only two trade routes. Other routes were as disturbed as those in the south. The Russian experience was not altogether a good one for us to follow in the south. It would clearly mean if any good were to be done a very large undertaking, involving a large and undeniable responsibility and possibly the beginning of the occupation of Southern Persia and the partition of Persia. Consequently as long as there was the least prospect of success the British Government would continue the policy it had pursued.

Sir E. Grey confirmed the statement that England and Russia proposed to advance the Persian Government £200,000 each to enable the Government to restore order and improve its prospects sufficiently to give it a chance of raising a large loan from independent financiers.

Sir E. Grey added, "We wish to advance £100,000 to develop and strengthen the Gendarmery so that it can protect the trade routes in the south. That will be administered by Swedish officers who will be in close connection with the British representatives."

Mr. Bonar Law said, "We fully understand Government's difficulties and we are not going to do anything to increase them. We should regard the prospect of partition with as much distaste as Sir E. Grey would, but England must be prepared in the last to see that outrages on British traders cease."

A Press communiqué states:—

The Baharin raiders, who recently entered the Bunder Abbas district, are reported to have left that neighbourhood and the conditions there are again normal.

The Russian Charge d'Affaires has offered the Government two hundred thousand pounds sterling to be repaid in three years from July 1914. A similar British offer is expected.

The latest information about the assailant of M. Constant is that he is a dismissed Customs employee, who joined the Gendarmery. It is reported that the newly recruited force of the gendarmes at Bushire is proving somewhat unruly.

According to information from Bushire two hundred Baharin raiders have entered the district of Bunder Abbas, plundered villages, and attacked a British survey party at Behnan. They appear, however, to have been driven off after severe fighting. Reports from Lingah indicate that a large force of tribesmen is contemplating an attack on Bunder Abbas. One

The Week.

Persia.

In the House of Commons Mr. Chapple raised the questions of the appointment of Salar-ud-Dowleh to the governorship of Guilan and asked whether the Imperial Government had counselled the Persian Government to defer to Russia's wish for the appointment.

In reply Sir Edward Grey said: "The Persian Minister recently informed me of the disorders and the feared consequences of the appointment. The Persian Government now wish to revoke the appointment, and the matter is under consideration. I do not propose to take an active part in the discussion."

Mr. Edmund Harvey asked a question regarding the attempts of partisans of the ex-Shah to secure his recall to Persia.

Sir E. Grey replied: "I have been communicating on the subject with the Russian Government who equally with the British Government would deprecate any attempt of the ex-Shah to return to Persia."

In the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey made a statement regarding Persia.

He said that there was no denying that life and property were insecure in Southern Persia. The position of the regiment at Shiraz

hundred and sixty eight gendarmes at Bushire have been paid and disbanded. A British warship is now at Bunder Abbas, where a survey party has arrived safely. The town and vicinity are reported quiet, though raiders are still in the district. The *Pioneer* has received information which shows that Persian Baluchistan remains in a state of incipient chaos and that the authority of the Teheran Government has absolutely vanished. No attempt is made to levy revenue, and the officials are left at the mercy of every petty chief. Tribes quarrel and make friends and quarrel again and occasionally there are raids into Persia proper. According to news from Bushire, much difficulty is being experienced in enlisting men for the new Gendarmerie. A number of those engaged are said to have struck. Bushire is still in a somewhat disturbed state. The mounted officer of Major Deschêl, a Swedish officer in Persian employment, was shot and wounded on Friday.

The Persia Committee has sent a letter to the press drawing attention to the unsatisfactory appointment of the ex-Shah's brother, Salar-ed-Dowleh, and suggesting as a remedy for chaos in Persia "the return of the Regent fortified by the full support of Britain and Russia, and that he be permitted to govern in accordance with the Constitution." The *Daily Chronicle*, commenting on the letter, says that if the Committee has nothing better to suggest Persian autonomy is doomed. The *Daily Chronicle* continues: "Unless redemption can be sought from some less unhelpful quarter, the problem which Britain and Russia will shortly be driven to consider will be not the future of the ex-Shah or of Salar-ed Dowleh, but whether they themselves shall govern Persia by dual control or by partition." The *Daily News* says that partition of Persia would be no remedy, but would simply transfer the disease to ourselves. The journal urges the Foreign Office to resist the appointment of Salar-ed Dowleh as a Russian move to secure the return of the ex-Shah. "But that alone," it says, "will not suffice. Money for reforms, re-assembly of the Persian Parliament and withdrawal of Russian troops are indispensable elements of a policy. If the Foreign Office neglects them and continues to drift, it will bring on us the disaster of partition."

The situation at Bunder Abbas is still causing anxiety. The Baharin raiders have halted two miles from the British Consulate, but it is not probable that they will attack the port. Salar-ed Dowleh, it is reported, demands as the condition of his accepting the Governorship of Resht that he shall be allowed a Russian Cossack escort.

The raiders advanced to Bunder Abbas on Sunday evening and halted under cover after engaging Government troops. The cruiser *Pelorus* landed blue-jackets with maxims to strengthen the Guard at the Consulate where British subjects and other Europeans have taken refuge.

A number of members in the House of Commons elicited from Mr. Acland the statement that the Indian troops at Shiraz would be withdrawn in a comparatively near future, and British subjects at Shiraz would be able to go to the coast under their escort.

Replying to Sir John Lubbock in the House of Commons, Mr. Acland said that the only conditions affecting the advance to Persia of £400,000 by Britain and Russia were in respect of interest, repayment and security. He hoped that these would be settled in a few days. The expenditure of the loan would be controlled by the Treasurer-General. A large portion was required for overdue salaries, and some money would be ear-marked for the province of Fars.

Afghanistan.

One modern irrigation work in Afghanistan is the Dorunta Canal in the neighbourhood of Jelalabab. The Amir has always shown much personal interest in this project, but its construction has been slow owing to the difficulty of procuring labour. Villagers have had to be impressed, but this has caused local discontent. It has now been decided to send some Sappers to carry on the work.

China

In a statement approved by the Cabinet, President Woodrow Wilson announces that the Administration has declined to request the group of American bankers to continue negotiations with a view to the participation of the United States in the loan of 125 millions dollars desired by China. Representatives of bankers, interested, declared that they would continue to seek to share the loan only if expressly requested to do so by this Government. The reason why President Wilson declined to make this request was that the Administration did not approve of the conditions of the loan or the implication of responsibility on its own part, which it was plainly told, was involved in the request. President Wilson continues: "The conditions of the loan seem to me to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China. This Administration feels that it ought not even by implication be a party to these conditions. The responsibility on its part implied in requesting the bankers to under-

take the loan might conceivably go to a length in some unhappy contingency of forcible interference in the financial or even political affairs of that Great Oriental State, which is justly entitled to a consciousness of its power and obligation to its people." President Wilson further objects to the perpetration of certain anticipated taxes and pledges for the security of the loan. He declares that the American people desire to participate very generally in opening up to the Chinese and to the world the almost unbounded and unrivalled resources of China. President Wilson promises to support legislation giving Americans better banking facilities in China. While this statement only explains the attitude of the Government to the Chinese loan it is authoritatively stated that the same policy will apply throughout President Wilson's administration to parallel the situation in Central America and elsewhere.

A message to the *Times* from Washington says that the withdrawal of America from the Chinese loan was prompted by President Wilson's desire that the United States should be in a position to exercise a restraining influence in case of selfish intervention on the part of any of the Powers.

The Arnold Case.

Replying to Mr. Morrell in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu, who was received with general cheers on his return, said that it was not possible for the Secretary of State to take steps for the postponement of Captain Finnie's civil action against Mr. Arnold. The latter could apply to the court, with which it rested to decide whether the Privy Council proceedings constituted a bar to postponement. Captain Finnie had not been "put up" by the Government of Burma. The latter was in no sense a party to the action. Regarding Captain Finnie's costs, Mr. Montagu said that the Government of Burma was acting strictly in accordance with the rules governing actions by Government servants.

The All-India Medical Mission.

The following letter was received from Dr. Ansari with the English Mail on the 22nd March:—

Chandt Kila, Dardanelles, 3rd March 1913.

[FROM 4TH TO 11TH FEB.]

It is nearly a month that I have not been able to write to you at any length. My reason has been simply that I have been unsettled and never certain as to where I would be to-morrow. The urgent telegram from Basim Omar Pasha called me to Constantinople early in February, just when my hospital in Omerli had started working, and ever since I have been kept in hope and despair by the authorities in the War Office. At last I am glad to say that I have been able, by sheer dint of dogged perseverance, to secure a beautiful place for our hospital which, I hope, in a day or two, will be full of patients, numbering some 125 to 150.

The object of my hasty summons to Constantinople was (1) the desire of War Minister to see me regarding the Treasury Bonds, and (2) to send a portion of our hospital with Enver Bey's army which was trying to effect a landing at Charkûi (on the coast of Marmora). As regards the Treasury Bonds I interviewed the Finance Minister and his Chief Secretary at least a dozen times and explained to them all the matter, especially the points you had cabled to me regarding the interest, its payment, the capital, the security, and the urgent need of issuing the Bonds at the earliest possible moment. I fully explained that the present time was the most suitable for the sale of these Bonds in India, and that free and regular supply of news was essential for its success. I saw Tâlib Bey who may be said to be the moving spirit of the Party of Union and Progress, and arranged all these matters with him as well. I have already cabled to you the essential points in this connection, and I hope that this matter is now receiving your fullest support, and the Bonds are being well patronised by the Mussalmans of India. One cannot help feeling that the Turks have got absolutely no business capacity, and in arranging the issue of Bonds on such favourable terms they are not as prompt as they might be. That money is most urgently needed by them at present is most obvious to all, and at such a critical state in the life of their country they should be lacking in energy and zeal to expedite the issue of Bonds shows a great weakness and explains a great deal why they have failed so miserably.

The National Defence Association, which may be called an unofficial body of the Party of Union and Progress, has recently shown a great deal of activity at various meetings held in Constantinople and the provinces. It has collected funds which are devoted to the purposes of the Army and the Navy, and has done especially good work in connection with the Commissariat arrangements of the Army. It is due to the activity of this body that the food for the soldiers and the fodder for the horses and the animals regularly reach the armies in the field. It is not generally known by the

people that it is this body which supplied to the Navy a good many of the troopships and a few armoured cruisers, which form part of the Turkish Navy. I have had several interviews with Dr. Col. Ali Darvesh Bey, who is one of the leading lights of this Association. He told me that the greater portion of the Navy and much of the improvements in the Army were effected by the financial help of this Association.

The Navy League is another similar body which has done much for the Turkish Navy. Two of the armoured cruisers, at present in the Turkish Navy, were presented to the nation by this League, and the "Dreadnought," which is being built for Turkey in England has been wholly subscribed for by this Navy League.

Anyone who has seen the soldiers which compose the present Turkish army, as I have had several occasions of seeing in the hospitals, would not doubt that the Anatolian soldiers are about the only soldiers whose spirit would remain undaunted in spite of the severest winter and the greatest hardships that any army could be exposed to. They had not only to fight against the soldiers of the Balkan Confederacy and the resources of the whole of Europe, but the forces of Nature seem to be working against them. Mere words can hardly express the bitter cold and the severe, icy wind and snow which at present the Turkish Army has to face. The snowstorm, which has been prevailing recently, has been the severest I have ever seen—and I have seen some of the worst in the Peak districts of Derbyshire. Here the wind seems to blow from every direction all at once, and the flakes of snow pour down so thick that it is impossible to see more than a few yards ahead. It seems like a mixture of snow, fog and cyclone. In a few minutes' exposure the hands, feet, nose and ears become numb and lifeless. What would it be to those who are lying exposed to this inclement weather in their trenches! I was told by an English resident of Stambul that he had actually seen an unboiled egg frozen inside! It sounds a bit tall but he seems a respectable sort of man.

After the re-commencement of the war the Turks have had several successes and advanced several kilometres specially along Tchataldja, but the weather prevents them from taking any offensive at present.

As regards the division of our Mission, it was early in January that at your suggestion I had divided it into two units, intending to keep one in Omerli and the other somewhere in Asia Minor. The present units are essentially the same as I submitted to you except that Dr. Naim is now in charge of the Omerli Mission instead of Dr. Fyzer who, as you are aware, has been lent to the Bombay Mission and is at present their Director. I had some troubles regarding tents. You are aware of the fact that we had been supplied with very few tents from London. Those sent to us being insufficient for our needs, I had been obliged to buy tents from an English firm in Constantinople, and now that I had to divide all the provisions, stores, appliances and the other articles of the Mission it was impossible to proceed without securing some more tents, especially as I had decided to increase the total number of beds, leaving 75 beds in Omerli and taking 75 with the other section. I have to thank the Director and the members of the Bombay Poor Muslim's Medical Mission, as well as to Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy, for the loan of eight tents without which we could not have proceeded. I was also fortunate in buying three tents from a military provision-supplier at a very cheap price. I have had necessarily to spend large sums in buying kitchen utensils, provisions and stores for this section. Fortunately, we have been able to find a very good firm of Chemists in Constantinople who had supplied us with medicines at London prices. I have had to buy food-stuff to last us for several weeks, as we were uncertain of our destination. The Ottoman Croissant Rouge gave us provisions for 75 patients, but they were quite insufficient even for a dozen people, besides they consisted of rice, bread and sugar. It is obvious we have to make provisions for the food of the patients coming to our hospital.

I have to thank the Croissant Rouge for the services of Dr. Fâmil Bey and Dr. Ali Hasan Bey who are Egyptian gentlemen, graduates of the Turkish Faculty of Medicine, and are of invaluable help to us, as they can speak Turkish and English perfectly besides being very good medical men. I have also added one more to the list of our dressers in the person of Mr. Asley-Imran from Balliol College, Oxford, who had been working in a hospital in Constantinople as a volunteer. You would see that the loss of Dr. Barry has been more than made up.

I was very glad to get a draft for £11,000, as in order to make the necessary purchases I had not only spent all the money at our disposal but have had to borrow £100 from the Croissant Rouge.

I have also received the registers you sent.

[11th to 20th Feb, 1913.]

The week's stay in Constantinople was very tedious and trying. We were asked by the War Office to have all our things ready to

depart at a moment's notice. We were told to remain at the Kadirgah Hospital and not to leave the premises without informing the Central Office of our whereabouts. I had to call at the War Office and the Central Office of the Croissant Rouge for orders, morning, noon and night. Fortunately these days of tedium were spent usefully owing to the large number of wounded received in the Kadirgah Hospital. The Greek doctors on the staff of this hospital were absolutely callous and indifferent in attending to the wounded, and were it not for the hard work I had put in on the request of Dr. Soham, the Director of the Khasta Khana and Baroness Rosen, the matron, good many lives would have been lost. We worked often until 3 and 4 in the morning, dressing the wounds and doing the needful for the patients. I cannot help expressing my greatest esteem and admiration for the zeal, care and the great sympathy shown by the Baroness to all her patients. She is untiring in her work for the relief of suffering, and, although brought up in the lap of luxury and ease, she does not hesitate in doing the meanest kind of work. I have seen her scrubbing the floor, bathing patients and even lifting them up to their beds. It is good to see persons like her who do the work of charity and love for the Turks in spite of their being of a different religion from her own.

I visited Omerli twice during my stay and found the hospital working splendidly. I would have loved you to see the work done by our men whose behaviour would be called nothing short of heroic in the bitterly cold weather, with mud, and snow in places coming up to the calf, when their hands and feet were becoming powerless owing to the cold. I must specially mention here the work done by Abdul Wahed Khan and Dr. Mirza Hiza Khan (of Edinburgh). These two have proved themselves incomparable. Abdul Wahed unfortunately caught a bad chill and had to be removed to Constantinople as he developed Bronchitis, Pneumonia and Pleurisy. In spite of all care he did not improve and had to be returned home. I hope mild winter in Egypt and the Arabian Sea and the sea voyage would cure him by the time he lands in India. I was exceedingly sorry to lose him.

The National Defence Association consulted me regarding some telegrams which they were sending to the ruling Moslem chiefs of India in aid of the Turkish Treasury Bonds. I had asked them to send you a copy for publication in the *Comrade*.

I hope you are receiving telegraphic news regularly from the Ottoman Agency. I had arranged with Talaat Bey for the regular supply of news free of charge to be sent to India and had specially deputed Abdul Rahman Siddiq to collaborate with them. As regards Uzun Kiepari the mistake arose owing to there being two places of the same name, one being on the line of Midia in the Black Sea, the other being near Adrianople.

On the 17th of February, we were ordered to proceed at once, but it proved a false alarm, the boat *Cambridge* not being able to leave until next day. We embarked with all our baggage, hospital equipment, provisions and stores, the packages numbering about three hundred, and sailed on the night of the 18th reaching Gallipoli on the evening of the 19th. I landed at once in company with Dr. Fâmil Bey and Colonel Khalil, Enver Bey's uncle. Khalil Bey is a gallant soldier and has been doing invaluable service to the Turkish Army with his band of volunteers from Crete, Arabia and Anatolia. Often he has fought with his three hundred men against several Bulgar Regiments with such bravery and pluck that the Bulgars thinking them to be backed by a large army have vacated places, leaving a quantity of guns and provision behind.

Enver Bey advised me to take my hospital to Chanak Kila (the town of Dardanelles) as the weather was too severe for the patients to remain in tents. At my special request for giving us his best advice he assured me that Chanak Kila being the centre where all the patients going to Constantinople have to embark on the hospital ship, I would have the best chance of taking as many patients as I wanted in my hospital. He also gave orders for converting the troopship *Rechid Pasha* into a hospital boat under our management, but that idea was abandoned owing to the movement of Enver Bey's Army towards Tchataldja. My intention of giving up the Omerli Hospital was also abandoned due to the same cause. Enver Bey was especially nice to me and sent Dr. Zin Nuri Bey, the Medical Inspector of this portion of the army, and Dr. Ibrahim Bey, the Army Medical Officer in Gallipoli, to help me in establishing my hospital at Chanak Kila.

I was introduced by him to Prince Abdul Halim, the nephew of the present Sultan and the brother of Enver Bey's fiancée. The Prince was very warm in his appreciation of the Moslems of India sending money and the Mission in aid of the Turkish wounded soldiers and said that it would be impossible for Turkey to repay this debt of gratitude. He showed me the badge worn by the Bulgarian soldiers on their caps. It was a lion rampant trodding over the Crescent and carrying a Cross on its head.

Khurshaid Pasha, the Commandant of Enver Bey's section of the army to whom I was introduced by Enver Bey, also showed interest in the work of our Mission and paid us rather undeserved compliments. Although he is the nominal head of this Army Corp he is completely eclipsed by Enver Bey and serves only as a figure-head.

Gallipoli is a beautiful seaport with a natural harbour, but the town has been ruined by frequent earthquakes. At present it seems to be inhabited only by the soldiers. I was unfortunate in having missed seeing Enver Bey, who had gone to Bulair for the inspection of the army. He is in command of the Gallipoli section.

On the morning of the 20th (Mehmed Shereket Pasha, who had come the previous day to Gallipoli, left for Chank Kila on board the Imperial yacht. The Grand Vizier has been very active in personally supervising all the army movements.

[20 February and 3rd March.]

We arrived at Chank Kila on the morning of 21st and were met by Dr. Rashid Bey, Director of the Ottoman Red Crescent Hospital here, who had received a telephone from Enver Bey to give us every assistance.

We went straight to the Commandant's house, Dr. Zia Nuri and Ibrahim Bey accompanying us, and after a great deal of persuasion the Commandant consented to give us the Greek school for our hospital. We had to wait for five days before the troops which were occupying the Greek school vacated the building. On the 26th of February, when the troops were about to leave, a terrible storm started which delayed the embarkation of the soldiers for another three days. However, the school was at last vacated on the 1st March and then we had the place cleaned, washed and disinfected. Our things from the Customs House were taken there on the same day. We unpacked our things on the same day and, in spite of severe snow for the next two days, we have been able to complete four wards with beds newly made for patients. There is still one ward to be completed which we hope to finish in a day or two. The total number of beds would then be (125) hundred and twenty-five, out of which (76) seventy six are quite ready. The delay is simply due to our inability to induce the carpenters to come out and make the 50 wooden beds required for the large ward. The dispensary, operating theatre and dressing room are all complete, excepting the tables which we have to get made by the carpenters. I am sure the people here consider us mad as they see us working in the snow, in places shoulders high. But we are mentally anxious to have our hospital ready without any delay so far as it lies in our power. We hope, however, in a couple of days we will have all arrangements completed. We are assured there are 800 soldiers coming from Bulair who are only delayed owing to the snow. We are hoping to have our hospital full as soon as the patients arrive.

The school is a magnificent building in the Greek style, very airy and light, and with our portable beds the wards look perfect. I am taking some photographs and will send them to you as soon as they are ready.

I have had to buy 500 lbs. mattresses, pillows, blankets and quilts and many other necessary things owing to the increased number of beds. I will have also to supply provisions, but fortunately Chank Kila is a place where all the necessities of life can be procured although at exorbitant prices. Chank Kila is, moreover, well connected with Constantinople, the Russian, Rumanian and Khivan, boats call here on their way to Constantinople and back.

As the hospital would not accommodate more than the number already given, I have rented a house near the hospital for the use of the members of the Mission at a rent of £15 a month.

Here we only come to sleep at night time, but remain in the hospital all the day until 10 at night. One doctor and 8 dressers, who are on duty in the hospital, sleep there alternately.

There are a number of refugees here and I intend starting a relief work for their benefit as soon as the hospital is in full working condition. Their total number is 3,081. Of course I will keep a register of all the expenses incurred for the relief work. Khalique Zaman, the manager of this section, and Shoaib, the manager of Omerli section, keep their accounts and send them to A. Rahman who will prepare a general account to be submitted to you regularly. All my men are happy and cheerful in spite of the severest climate and the hardships. They all join me in sending you their love and regards.

TETE À TETE



We give below an extract from the letter of Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, General Manager of the All-India Medical Mission, received with the last mail which describes the single-minded devotion with which the section of the Mission at Omerli is doing its duty. -- "I had gone to Omerli for two days.

The Workers at Omerli.

They are all well and happy and doing their work most handsomely. Our men are great favorites with the patients, and Shoaib is actually loved by them. One of the wounded soldiers told Shoaib that he had a very beautiful young sister who was an expert in cooking, and he was sure she would keep Shoaib very happy if he married her. And to oblige Shoaib she would demand practically no *meh*. This instance shows how nicely we treat the soldiers. Adnan Salim Pasha visited our hospital without any previous notice yesterday. It was a real surprise visit, and he it was that was surprised to find everything so clean and well managed. He was much impressed with our beautiful little operation theatre, and the thing that completely floored him was the chorus of praises that our patients showered on our men. It makes my heart tingle over with happiness to find that ours is the best hospital round about for miles. In cleanliness we can favourably compare with any Stamboul Hospital."

In a letter, dated 14th February, Mr. Lamb, H. R. M. Consul General at Salonica, writes: -- "Relying on the promise of the Bulgarian authorities to provide transport for the purposes of the relief to be distributed in your name at

Letters From Salonica.

Serres, I purchased some ten tons of flour with your money, and Mr. Haskell left for that place on the 4th instant to make arrangements for its distribution. Owing, however, to the renewal of hostilities on the evening of the 3rd, which resulted in the whole of their available rolling-stock being required for the purposes of military transport, the Bulgarians were prevented from keeping their promise to me, and as Mr. Haskell was unable to remain indefinitely at Serres and telegraphed to me that the people there were in urgent need of relief, I decided to give up the idea of sending flour but to remit him money instead, leaving him free to make the distribution in food or cash as seemed to him most advisable. I accordingly placed £250 at his disposal on the 9th and 10th instant by telegraph through the Imperial Ottoman Bank. In agreement with a small local committee which he had formed, under the Presidency of Mehmed Nourallah Bey, a member of the Turkish Judiciary who had remained in the town after the Bulgarian occupation and who enjoys the reputation of being an upright and intelligent man, Mr. Haskell decided on making his distribution in cash according to lists which had been drawn up by the Moslems and Elders of the different quarters of the town and of which the following is a recapitulation.

QUARTER.	No. of NECESSITIOUS REFUGEES.	
Tatar Khatoun	70
Ayesha	177
Khaznadar	141
Eslime Khatoun	143
Hekim Daoud	40
Ghawi Eyrenos	205
Arsh Khatib	88
Tajdar Khairuddin	171
Khalil Pasha	160
Yonidje Mahale	41
Bedreddin Bey	177
Djami-i-Atik	171
Dergad	150

QUARTER.	No. of NECESSITOUS REFUGEES.
Djeshabri Ayali ...	86
Divre ...	45
Hadji Ali ...	89
Ardji Mahalei ...	54
Serres-ul-Khodja ...	146
Fonadih ...	95
Omanieh ...	67
Mahmondieh ...	40
Tanghri verdi ...	113
Kirleshakvoret ...	42
Toufan Bey ...	171
Khemandja ...	304
Tarakdp Muhieddin ...	15
Moussa Felai ...	21
Ismail Bey ...	46
Arabadji and Kara Hamza ...	75

3,188

"The amount at his disposal allowed of his alloting 8 piastres (about 1s 5d) to each person. The head of each family received from the Commission a ticket (samples of which are enclosed) showing the number of persons composing it, and on presenting this ticket at the premises of the American Tobacco Company, kindly placed at Mr Haskell's disposal for the purpose, was handed the amount to which the number indicated entitled him. Mr Haskell states that the work was so arranged that, in spite of a strong police guard, the distributors were almost overwhelmed and a certain number of persons succeeded in appropriating them who were not provided with tickets, but in general the distribution ran smoothly. Mr. Haskell's full account sent as to be forwarded to you as soon as received. Roughly, £250 I have estimated as above and I hold about £150 worth of flour, as the disposal of which I am awaiting further advice. If I cannot send it to Serres I may either forward it to Moussa or use it on the spot. With regard to the remainder of your contribution, which is more than will be needed for the present, I reserve to myself to report later. The International Commission has sufficient funds in hand and promises to carry on the work till the end of this month or a little longer, but the return of tranquillity seems as far off as ever and there is no doubt that our work will be on our hands for a considerable time to come. The Egyptian Red Crescent steamer *Kizil Irmak* (on *Bahr el Jebel*) which has returned from Smyrna, is embarking 2000 more refugees to that port, but the influx from the interior continues, so that the numbers here do not decrease and all the assistance which we can hope to receive will be fully wanted."

In another letter, dated 21st February, Mr. Hamer writes — "With reference to my letter of the 1st ultimo I beg to enclose herewith a revised statement of the expenditure incurred up to date for Camp Hospital maintenance, the total supplied by your readers. In addition to the isolation tents, which are used for diseases, a large Hospital Tent and Hospital Sanitary building capable of accommodating some 20 patients, are now in working order. The Medical Staff appears to have got the Camp well established, owing to vaccination and other precautionary measures, and small pox and other contagious diseases are becoming rarer in the people. No serious cases in fact have been recorded in the past few days. A spell of severe weather, with thick and cold fog, however, considerably swayed the ordinary activities of the Camp, and especially suffering from the cold. The ordinary necessities of the Camp are not suffering for an adequate supply of fuel and food. I have made a grant of about £60 from your fund for the purpose, with which the Commission has previously agreed to be used for distribution in the Camp, the allowance being the rate of 1 shilling (2-8 lbs) per tent per day. Though the weather is now milder, I am glad to say the death rate is still low, and the cases under treatment not being so numerous as before. The return of the last two days, for instance, show —

	Total cases under treatment.	Cases recovered.	Deaths.	Births.
		(per cases)		
Feb. 18 ...	146	0	5	8
Feb. 19 ...	124	0	7	8

"With reference to my letter of the 14th inst., Mr. Haskell having had to leave the Camp, I am not yet in possession of the complete figures for the last 24 hours. The amount expended there for the 24 hours of the 14th inst. was £100. The railway having now been started, it is not possible to dispatch the flour originally purchased for that place, and frequently remains on my hands here."

Statement of Expenditure on Camp-Hospital out of sums provided by the readers of the "Comrade" newspaper.

1913.		Piastres.
Jan. 31.	Sums previously accounted for...	3981.50
" "	Lamps, crockery and blankets for Hospital Shed ...	1086.00
" "	Chemist and medicines ...	195.00
" "	Sugar for patients... ..	55.75
Feb. 11.	Remuneration of vaccinators ...	520.00
" 17	Part salaries of two Doctors ...	1248.00
" "	Part salaries of Doctors' assistant ...	208.00
" "	Part salaries of four Hospital attendants ...	128.00
" "	Bath for Hospital Shed ...	94.50
" "	Condensed milk for patients ...	321.00
" "	Stationery for Doctors ...	5.00
	Piastres ...	7792.75

E. MAULWURF,
Hon. Treasurer.

SALONICA, 18th Feb 1913

THE All India Moslem League, in one of the resolutions recently passed at its Lucknow Session, "once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Mussalman community it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies."

It is not, however, "in the interests of the Mussalman" alone that the extension of the principle is necessary. If the principle were an exclusive instrument designed to advance a particular class at the expense of the other communities, it would be arguments in spirit and in substance, and demoralising in effect. It is, however, nothing of the kind. As things are, it represents the first and most necessary stage in the political evolution of the people as a whole and in the growth of a sense of common nationality. It secures the elementary conditions of fair play and equality of opportunity for an important section of the people without subjecting the other sections to disability of any kind. The fierce opposition of its enemies in the provinces, and the extreme of some such safeguard was absolutely necessary and inevitable. The Hindu communal patriots who persist in denied India and inveigh against separate electorates for the sake of finding a place for the virtue of tolerance in my belief, I feel. Separate electorates are the only means to keep before the eyes the essential, the inextinguishable elements of the Indian problem. Cooperation, free partnership, sense of mutual dependence and helpfulness will grow as soon as both the great communities begin to perceive that neither of them is a negligible factor in any scheme about the future of India. The recognition of communal individuality, especially, of the less-favoured community, in the early stages of India's political development is an essential condition to that perception. The All-India Moslem League agrees in the same resolution that "a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Mussalman community in all district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils and at the same time essential to the successful working of the public bodies." We do not know how long it would be necessary to the League to go on formulating the demand till its essentialness is recognised by Government. The Hindu political workers, on the other hand, on the flimsy pretext that it aims at separation, have already said that separate electorates are the effectual means of dividing and weakening its aims. The Hindu caste of the people of communal representation in a way to increase the number of the majority. The motive of sincerity of the Hindu community in this question is, in fact, hampered by his attitude towards this question. His opposition to separate electorates is not, finally, for he is reluctant to give the Mussalman a share in the self-governing institutions of the country. The communal representation of Mussalman on municipal and district boards is even more so, inasmuch as these bodies are the forerunners of the bodies of self-government. In the Punjab, in spite of the Moslem majority in the population, the municipal and district boards with mixed electorates are in now, even dominated by the Hindu community. The result of this anomaly has been put in the hands of the Provincial Legislative Council, and a new bill has been returned by the majority of the Council. Sir Louis Dane, in his reply to the question put by the Mussalman at Lahore, said that the Government would not give a single elected seat in the Council to the Mussalman, but would give the seat to the Hindu. The Government, however, has not only represented on the district boards, but also on the Provincial Council. The only fault seems to be that the Government has not yet given adequate representation in those bodies with a vigour and persistence

that the local Government could not have afforded to ignore. Sir Louis Dane has done nothing to bring about an equality of opportunity, and yet he blames the Mussalmans that they have failed to break a long-established monopoly!

The Situation in Persia

The All-India Moslem League in a resolution, exhorted the British Government to use its good offices with a view to induce Russia to evacuate Northern Persia. We, however, doubt very much if the exhortation of the League will carry weight or lead to good results. The Muscovite grip over the northern provinces of Persia is growing tighter every day and there is absolutely no likelihood that the British Foreign Office will be less tolerant of Russian designs or try to save the country from an inevitable partition. The recent railway concessions secured by the Muscovite have a significance that can not be mistaken. When the *Société d'Etudes* came into existence in Paris under Russian patronage to devise a scheme for the construction of a trans-Persian railway, a storm of discussion was raised in the British Press and lengthy explanations were offered by Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey in Parliament. Though nothing definite resulted from those discussions and explanations, it became plainly manifest that the proposal was premature in many respects, and that an important section of British opinion was opposed to it. The *Société* has, however, survived the storm of angry criticism and has been steadily and silently maturing its plans to realize the project which will enable the Muscovite to dominate the entire regions of the Middle East. As a concession to British uneasiness and alarm the *Société* has changed its tactics. Instead of boldly asking for a concession to build a full-length railroad from the Caucasus to the Indian frontier, it has preferred to remain behind the scenes and work out its programme peacefully. The first fruits of this astute policy are the concessions recently exacted by Russia for two railways in Northern Persia, one from Julfa to Tabriz and the other from Tabriz to Kazyin, on the road to Teheran. These railways will ostensibly be called Russian State Railways, but it is a notorious fact that the chief promoter interested in these lines is a well-known Russian member of the *Société*. A British group known as the Persian Railway Syndicate has also secured the approval of the Persian Government to construct a railway between Mohammarah and Khorramabad and is carrying on negotiations for concessions to build branch lines and other railways from Bunder Abbas to Shiraz and Bunder Abbas to Kerman. We are on the eve of a race for concessions, for the country is practically without a strong, independent government and is, therefore, ripe for exploitation. Large systems of railways in the north and the south, and under independent foreign control and management, will inevitably lead to the establishment of protectorates and to the eventual partition of the country. It is this consideration that underlies the railway policy of the Muscovite. The Teheran Government is too feeble and demoralised to resist pressure; and in this case the Muscovite coercion, it would seem, has been tempered with smooth promises to advance petty doses of the usual character to keep the Government going. Lord Morley in his recent statement referred to the new loan of half a million to be lent to Persia, £400,000 in equal parts by England and Russia, and £100,000 by England alone. He did not, however, throw sufficient light on the conditions and security of the loan. He said that "the security for this advance must be looked for in a large loan of four, five or six millions, and they must look for such a loan in connection with the negotiations and operations which were going on between the Persian Government and the *Société d'Etudes*." The sentence might mean either that the security would be arranged when the conditions of the larger loan were framed or that this £400,000 was in the nature of an advance to be deducted from the larger loan when it was advanced. In either case it is alarming when we bear in mind the character and the objects of the *Société d'Etudes*. According to this syndicate neither the population, condition, nor present prospects of Persia would justify a loan of millions; and it would make no large sense "unless, indeed, for the purposes of the (Trans-Persian) railway." When it is remembered that the Russian members of this banking syndicate have just obtained concessions for two railways in Northern Persia one can not help asking if the loan of £200,000 now arranged by Russia is not the real consideration for these concessions. Lord Morley expressed great solicitude for Persian independence. These loan operations and railway concessions, however, which he seems to regard with great hopefulness, are exactly the measures calculated to undermine the integrity and freedom of Persia. They are by article 23 to 26 of the Persian Constitution, unlawful and irregular without the consent of the Persian Parliament. Yet Mr. Asquith only recently expressed a hope that the Persian Parliament would not be summoned just at present. Verily the Liberal Ministers of Great Britain have strange ways of showing respect for the liberties of Persia. It may be some consolation to know that the Indian troops are to be

recalled from Southern Persia. Sir Edward Grey's statement on the subject is reassuring as far as it goes. But it is futile to hope that the Persian Government will be able to establish peace and order as long as the Russian troops remain in occupation of the northern provinces. There is every reason to think that the occupation is becoming permanent. A British occupation of the south will soon be found to be necessary as a counterpoise to Russian advance. In his treatment of Persian questions there has always been a fearful gap between the good intentions of Sir Edward Grey and the stern logic of facts.

We are glad to note that the Mussalmans of the N.-W. Frontier Province have been able to collect together sufficient funds to establish a first-grade Art. College for the education of the Moslem youths. No one can, for a moment,

doubt the need of creating such an institution at Peshawar. It would impart a much-desired impetus to education among a highly gifted and virile community if it is fully equipped and conducted on right lines. We have reason to think a fairly high ideal has inspired the workers in regard to equipment. And we trust the fullest regard will be paid to the real requirements of the Moslem boys in regard to instruction, internal discipline and management. The supreme control of the affairs of the institution has, as far as we understand, been vested in a Board of Trustees composed of Moslems, though we do not exactly know to what extent, if at all, the local Government will exercise powers of supervision. We hope official interference in the affairs of the College will be as little as possible, for a communal institution like this should in the last resort be administered by those who are direct representatives of the community and enjoy its full confidence. We are gratified to learn that Mr. L. Tipping, formerly Professor of English at Aligarh, has been appointed Principal of the College. Mr. Tipping is a fine scholar and, what is much more important, he understands the educational requirements of Mussalmans. He has great sympathy with the ideals of Moslem education that the late Sir Syed Ahmed sought to embody in the college at Aligarh, and we are sure he will work in his new sphere in the spirit of those ideals. In the Pathan youth he will find a splendid material to fashion into a fine, self-respecting and self-reliant manhood. It is fortunate that Mr. Inayatullah Khan, who had gained considerable distinction at Cambridge, has provisionally accepted the vice-Principalship of the College. We trust his connection with the institution will not remain merely provisional. Educated Moslems of his ability and attainments can have no nobler opportunity to serve their community and their country than the one that is now within his reach.

One of the important resolutions adopted with considerable warmth by the All-India Moslem League emphasises the need of Hindu-Moslem co-operation in all matters relating to the welfare of the country. The League "deprecates all

mischievous attempts to widen the unfortunate breach between the Hindus and Mussalmans, and hopes that the leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to restore the amicable relations prevailing between them in the past, and find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted actions on questions of public good." Mr. Mazharul Haque in proposing the resolution made a powerful appeal for Hindu-Moslem unity which was punctuated with loud applause. To bring together the two great communities of India on a single political platform was, he said, the one mission of his life. He had been misunderstood, his own community had sometimes felt alarmed at his zeal. But he would persevere and never waver from the path that alone led to salvation. He had never desired that the Mussalmans should lose their communal individuality, he was a pan-Islamist himself. What he had urged was that the Mussalmans should co-operate on equal terms with the Hindus for the advancement of their common motherland. We admire the objects of the resolution moved by Mr. Mazharul Haque as well as the sentiments to which he gave expression. They are unexceptionable. The very first need of the situation is to strive to alter the psychology of the communal patriot, be he a Hindu or a Moslem, and to rub into his consciousness the duty he owes to India. He has got to be trained in the conception of a greater purpose and a wider task. The League's recognition of this need makes it abundantly clear that the educated Mussalmans are sufficiently alive to their responsibilities. We are sure many educated Hindus realise as well that an Indian nationality can not exclusively be either Hindu or Moslem. And yet it would be idle to deny that the two communities are as much apart to-day in thought and feeling as they were at any time in modern Indian history. We need not discuss the general and deeper causes of this harmful and distressing position. It is, however, necessary to note that much improvement in the

situation would have been viable to-day if an important section of the Hindu press had not recently been indulging in heroics and striking flamboyant attitudes. No one can mistake the change that has come over the feelings of the Indian Mussalmans by recent happenings in the Islamic world. It was natural that some of the impatient spirits in the community, impressed by the attitude of Europe, and especially of the Liberal Government of Great Britain towards Turkey, should have been driven into a deal of incoherent and furious thinking and felt as if the only course left open to them was to enter the Congress fold and swear by its dogmas. Now, such a course can only be explained either as a measure of pure retaliation or as a frank confession of past sins. In either case it scarcely does credit to the political sagacity or character of the Indian Mussalmans. But even if they had no reputation to lose either as a wise or a self-respecting community, the sneers of the Hindu communal patriot would surely keep them from the folly and humiliation of such a course. They may be justly and bitterly disappointed at things as they are. But that does not alter one jot the fundamental facts of the Indian situation. No one need accuse the Hindu communal patriot if he has acquired new notions of his own importance. The loose talk of the Mussalmans to join the Congress tickles his vanity and gives him a good opportunity for retort. "What have I done to deserve this love?" he may justly ask. "The Congress had been in existence all these weary years," he says, "and yet you treated our offers to come and share our labours with lofty disdain. Why this excessive and sudden passion for its ideals and its creed? Is it because you feel aggrieved at the way in which the Government has treated you of late? That scarcely looks like a real conversion to our faith." And he is right. Nothing can be more humiliating to the Indian Mussalmans than that they should lose their balance in a moment of irritation and cast helplessly about for help and guidance. Has their courage failed them in the hour of need and have their own ideals ceased to illumine the path that lies before them? If the community can not keep itself cool in a time of stress and storm and take counsel together, it has scarcely any title to communal existence. The Hindu-Muslim relations must in all conscience be improved and the Hindu communal patriot should, in the first place, come down from his pedestal. But, above all, the Mussalmans should be strong enough to stand on their own legs. No friendship can endure long that is not based on mutual confidence and respect.

At a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council Babu Surendra Nath Ray asked: "(a) Will the Government be pleased to state the amount of the annual subscription payable by the public for the supply of one copy of the paper, the *Near East*, in respect of which a sum of Rs. 2,275 has been allotted in the provisional Budget estimate? (b) Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for incurring such a large expenditure on this account?" The Hon. Mr. Stevenson Moore, in reply, said that "(a) the annual cost for the supply of one copy of the publication is Rs. 22-12-0 including postage. (b) It is proposed, as an experimental measure for one year, to distribute copies of this paper for use in common rooms of educational institutions, libraries, etc., with a view to the dissemination of accurate news regarding the position of Muhammadan affairs in the Near East." We wonder whether the new Bengal Government has altogether forgotten the not very edifying experience of its predecessor in subsidized journalism. It is absolutely indefensible in principle that local Governments should officially patronise certain class of views on Indian or international affairs. Nothing is looked upon with greater suspicion by the public than a view or an argument that tacitly carries the stamp of official approval. In the case of the *Near East* one may well call into question the reason on which the large purchase of the paper has been sought to be justified. We are told the copies of the paper will be distributed as an experimental measure for one year "with a view to the dissemination of accurate news regarding the position of Muhammadan affairs in the Near East." We think we may claim a fairly close acquaintance with the character of the views expressed in this paper and the spirit that animates its correspondence on Near Eastern affairs. Leaving apart a variety of useful information that it brings together on current commercial and financial topics, which is interesting mainly to the British trader and capitalist, the political "facts," views and arguments of the paper are, to say the least, misleading. It has an opportunist policy which seems to follow with arduous care the whims of the British Foreign Office. It has absolutely no real sympathy with the interests and aspirations of the Moslem communities in the Near East for whose special benefit it was ostensibly launched into existence. Its correspondents in Turkey scarcely conceal their hatred of the Turk and have seldom had good word for those

who have been labouring devotedly and hard for the safety and consolidation of the Empire. They had every sympathy with the Macedonian rebels, have hailed with ill-disguised joy the successes of the Allies, have been pouring ridicule on the greatest Turkish patriots, inciting Armenians to revolt and preparing the world to believe that Syria was ripe for independence and Turkish Arabia was ready to throw off the Turkish yoke. The Egyptian correspondent of the *Near East* seems to regard every Egyptian as his personal enemy who does not regard the Occupation as an immutable fact in the ordering of the universe. The Nationalist Press is to him a vile and pestilent thing. The Nationalist party is a pack of dangerous and unscrupulous criminals. The Egyptian people have, in his opinion, no sympathy with their Suzerein and with the troubles of their brethren and fellow-subjects in the Empire. If, however, any spasmodic feeling is shown in favour of the Turk it should be promptly and ruthlessly repressed. Such is the usual fare that this "recognised organ of Moslem interests in England, with special letters from Constantinople, Cairo, Teheran, etc.," weekly drowns up for the edification of its readers. Are such views as these in all conscience "accurate?" Is it right that public money in Bengal should be spent in disseminating them? Is it even expedient that the Government of Lord Carmichael should associate themselves with these views? The "experiment" of educating Moslem opinion in Bengal on such a stuff is bound to fail. The best return that the Moslem boys in Bengali schools and colleges can make to a Government so deeply concerned about their welfare is to leave the paper severely alone. We will await the publication of official report on "the experiment" at the close of the year with abundant curiosity. It will be a rare document, indeed.

WE HAVE been requested to publish the following communication and do so with great pleasure.—"In the meeting of the Aligarh Old Boys' Association, held at Aligarh on the 21st March, 1913, it was decided, at the suggestion of Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Khan,

that an Address be presented to Sir Theodore Morison on April 6th, at 8 P.M., on behalf of the Association. A dinner will also be given to him the same evening. A committee consisting of the following gentlemen was nominated to arrange all the details:—

Mr. Shankat Ali, Secretary, Old Boys' Association. Mr. Sarfras Khan, Joint Secretary, Old Boys' Association. Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Khan, Mr. Tasadduq Ahmad, Mr. Ziauddin Ahmad

"Mr. Towle, Khan Sahib Mir Wilayat Husain and Mr. Qayim Husain were co-opted as members. The colleagues and the old boys of the College desiring to take part in the dinner are requested to intimate their intention of joining the dinner, and send me their subscription of rupees three before April 3rd, 1913. It will not be possible to arrange for the dinner of the gentlemen whose subscriptions are not received in time.—Ziauddin Ahmad, Secretary." The original arrangement was that only old pupils of Sir Theodore Morison were to invite him to the proposed entertainment. This arrangement has been altered, and it is the Old Boys' Association itself that now proposes to entertain the late Principal of the College. In view of the general feeling on the subject, however, the Chairman of this year's Re-Union, when inviting discussion on the motion, stated that this entertainment was to be in no way indicative of the opinion which members may have of the share of Sir Theodore Morison in the decision of the Secretary of State with reference to the Moslem University which has created such an uproar in the Moslem community. It is a source of extreme gratification to us to learn that the Old Boys of the College are anxious to maintain their affectionate goodwill towards their former Principal, although they do not see eye to eye with him in the matter of the Moslem University and its scope and constitution. Will people still cavil at Aligarh and its alumni and condemn the tone and temper of the College?

WE HAVE received the following letter from Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, General Manager of the All-India Medical Mission in Constantinople, and have much pleasure in giving it the widest possible publicity.—"I shall be obliged if you

kindly permit me to correct a false impression that has been created in the minds of Indian Mussalmans about the Missions sent by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali to this country. Some misinformed correspondent wrote to an Urdu weekly of the Punjab that the doctors of the British Red Crescent Missions were being paid £100 a month, and that all the 300 patients sent to the Mission working in the Museum Hospital had died. On making inquiries in the Central Office, I was officially informed that the Mission working in the Museum was not the British Red Crescent Mission sent by Mr. Ameer Ali. Both the Missions sent by the British Red Crescent Society worked outside Constantinople. Over and above this, many of the facts mentioned by the correspondent are far from being true."

The Comrade.

The Fall of Adrianople.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the blow that the Turkish cause has suffered, both from the military and the diplomatic standpoint, by the fall of Adrianople. With the triumphant entry of the Bulgarians into the historic citadel, whose brave and devoted garrison had for about 5 months borne the brunt of assault with stubborn heroism, the entire aspect and meaning of the struggle have undergone a change. Adrianople had, through a variety of circumstances, come to be the vital issue of peace and war. It was on the possession of this city that Bulgaria had determined to stake her all. It was the desperate resolve of the patriotic Turk to return this seat of his earliest power and rule in Europe that had hurled Kemal Pasha from office and cried halt to the meddlesome activity of the Powers. The professional pacifist had been even more eager than the Bulgarians to see the speedy fall of the city, for it constituted the true heart of the struggle in its second phase and with its capture could really end his anxiety about the "peace of Europe." After a resistance that has been in every sense glorious and will live as a brilliant page in Ottoman military history, Adrianople has at last fallen. And with its fall the Turkish Empire in Europe has practically ceased to exist. As long as Adrianople held out the military situation in Thrace, though off ring enormous difficulties, was never entirely hopeless for the Turks. Indeed, it was the one beacon light in the terrible gloom of disaster that had kept the faith and ardour of a brave but sorely-tried race and inspired it with new hope to wrestle with circumstance. That light has been extinguished. And although nothing is impossible or inevitable as long as man regards himself the master of his fate, any further struggle on the part of Turkey would be a struggle of desperation for a forlorn cause. One can not help admiring those who love to battle with fate as champions of forlorn causes; and our admiration for the Turk has grown with the growth of the misfortunes that have overwhelmed him in Europe. But one can not equally help calculating the chances of the situation and take a rough measure of secular cause and effect. The fate of Adrianople has been writ large on the whole military situation to-day; and if Turkey may desire to make peace it would be monstrous to set that desire down to craven fear or want of patriotism. Defeat does not always mean dishonour. And after all that Turkey has dared and faced—her immense sacrifices to keep the struggle going, her unflinching resolution to do all what duty and honour demanded even in the teeth of hostile Europe, her calm fortitude in facing the heaviest trials that any nation has had to undergo in any period of human history, the malice and envy of her biggor foes, the treachery of her Christian subjects, the scorn and jeer of political and religious bigots, the calculating "advice" of her so-called friends and, above all, her financial difficulties aggravated by the attitude of the European Chancelleries, —it would be heartless no less than foolish to taunt her with failure. If she has failed she has failed gloriously. It is the failure of a Titan, chained to a rock of doom, whose brave heart and unconquerable will yet scorn the cruel destiny that binds him down.

Before calculating the effect of the fall of Adrianople on the military and the diplomatic situation it is necessary to give a brief résumé of the events since the break-up of the Peace Conference in London. Needless to say that the main reason that led the Allies to denounce the Armistice was the refusal of the Turks to cede Adrianople. It was obvious therefore, that the Bulgarians would concentrate their efforts on the capturing of the city as soon as the hostilities reopened. A combined Serbian and Bulgarian army of about 1,50,000 was entrusted with the task. Reports of heavy bombardment continued to pour in during the first week of the second phase of the war. Simultaneously a serious strategic move of the Bulgarians seemed to be developing in the direction of Gallipoli. The main Bulgarian army in front of Tchataldja fell back en masse, and, though the activity of the Turkish reconnaissance at those lines for the time being made a vigorous Turkish offensive a probable eventuality, the military experts in Europe inclined to the belief that the Bulgarian strategy had shifted its centre of gravity in the direction of the Dardanelles. This was, perhaps, the masterstroke with which, according to the admirors of the Allies, the Turk was to be brought to his knees. There were the usual reports of heavy fighting and of enormous Turkish losses, but the net result has so far been that the Bulgarians have safely entrenched themselves in front of the Turkish positions, Gallipoli is still in Turkish hands and the Dardanelles is as safe as ever. The bombardment of Adrianople for some time appeared to have grown feeble and fitful. In fact,

there had been little fighting of notable character for some weeks past. Snow-storms and heavy rains might have impeded military operations on a vast scale; but for those who can look a little beneath the surface this war without battles had a deeper significance. If the Turks had not been hampered financially, they would have ere now reversed the verdict of the earlier campaign in Thrace. A successful Turkish offensive depended on the efficiency of transport services and communications as much as on the abundance of field artillery and ammunition. All these things needed millions. With the European money markets vigorously closed to them, and without any likelihood of a large internal loan being raised without delay, all that the Turks could hope to accomplish was to reduce the war to a condition of stalemate. The Bulgarian attack on Gallipoli utterly failed. The gallant commander of Scutari and his no less gallant garrison have shattered the combined Serbian and Montenegrin forces and the siege has been practically broken down. The fall of Janina had been the only notable event of the war before Adrianople fell. The Turkish garrison was comparatively small and the place was absolutely cut off from the Turkish base. The entire strength of Greece had for months past been applied to capturing the position. By sheer weight of numbers the Greeks overbore the resistance of the brave little garrison which had for more than three months kept the entire Greek forces at bay and occasionally inflicted severe reverses on them.

After surveying the whole military situation one could not help asking the question "How will this terrible confusion end?" The fate of Adrianople may at last furnish a melancholy answer. The Turks had urgent reasons not to wait on events. The only chance of saving Adrianople lay in a successful Turkish offensive. But if it was for various reasons impossible for the Turkish army at Tchataldja to come out and beat the Bulgarians in the open field, there could be but one result, for Adrianople was bound to fall some day, *i.e.*, when its food supply was exhausted. The Sofia messages declare that the city has fallen to a combined assault on all sides. Ghazi Shukri Pasha's message to Constantinople, that he would leave the enemy "a heap of smoking ruins," would, however, seem to suggest that the garrison was at its last gasp and was face to face with starvation. In the absence of full and authentic details it is obviously impossible to realise the circumstances that sealed the fate of the historic city. But even if we accept the brief and exultant account furnished from Sofia as accurate, the whole world will pay a willing tribute to the devotion and heroism with which Ghazi Shukri Pasha conducted one of the most determined defences in modern military history. His garrison did not number more than 34,000 and he had to defend a position which extended over a perimeter of about 70 miles. His rôle in military strategy was to hold the position as long as he could and immobilise large forces of the enemy. For five months he held the city against a besieging army of not less than 1,50,000. With the defeat of the Turkish army in the main theatre of war in Thrace his function was reduced to staving off as long as possible the end that was inevitable. If the Turkish offensive had been successful at Tchataldja the defence of Adrianople would have played its essential part in relation to the whole scheme of operations, and its relief would have been the main objective of the mobile Turkish army. The main Turkish forces, however, could not advance much beyond Tchataldja, and the Adrianople garrison was consequently doomed to surrender or perish as gloriously as it could.

With Adrianople in the possession of the Bulgarians, the military situation has enormously altered in favour of the Allies. An army of about 1,50,000 has been set free to reinforce the Bulgarian forces in front of the Tchataldja lines, and the difficulties of Turkish defence would correspondingly increase. Moreover, the Bulgarians have, for the first time, secured the advantage of an uninterrupted and direct railway communication with Sofia. They are by nature a very shrewd and grasping race, and under the present circumstances they are sure to press their demand for a full pound of flesh. They have already stiffened their attitude and declared the terms of mediation proposed by the Powers to be wholly inadequate. They would not be satisfied unless they get an indemnity and the territories included within their proposed line of frontier. If these demands are not accepted, they would continue the war and settle terms of peace directly with the Turks. The Powers, on their part, had already declared that the payment of indemnity by Turkey was out of the question and that Enos-Midia line of frontier should form the basis of discussion for final settlement. We do not know whether the Powers still adhere to their declarations. Their past record in the Balkan crisis is not distinguished for consistency. The loss of Adrianople does not surely mean that Turkey has forfeited every right to have her standpoint considered in

a spirit of disinterestedness and justice. If Bulgaria aspires to the possession of the Gallipoli peninsula and the mastery of the Dardanelles, let her by all means continue the war. The Turk will fight his last fight at Tobataldja with Constantinople as the last stake. If his luck fails him again, let him leave Europe altogether and retire into Asia. For the possession of Constantinople shorn of its defences would be a mere empty glory. Much uncertainty exists at present about the diplomatic situation. The fall of Adrianople has upset many previous calculations, and within the next few days one may hear of unforeseen and surprising developments. The Powers of Europe are once more on their trial. And though they are known to have frequently "adjusted their ideas to the march of events," just as they did soon after their memorable declaration at the outbreak of the war to maintain "the status quo," we have yet to see if at this juncture the wily Tsar Ferdinand will again succeed in inducing them to eat their own words.

Recent statements by Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey on the Balkan situation lead us to hope that the British Government as well as the Continental Powers has grasped the essential elements of the problem and they all seem to have come to mutual agreement on the mode of solution. Will they have the courage to overcome the obstinate and grasping attitude of the Allies? Past experience inclines us to scepticism. The King's reference to the Balkan War in his speech at the opening of Parliament on the 10th March was naturally brief and merely outlined in general terms the attitude of his Government towards the grave problems now confronting Europe. The debate on the Address, however, led to a fuller and more definite statement by the Premier on the European situation and the foreign policy of the Empire. "There is a change in the relations between the groups," said the Premier, "which are becoming increasingly cordial. Powers like ourselves, less directly interested in the Near East, have co-operated earnestly to find a path of agreement for all. Therein we have worked with a single minded desire with Germany." He paid a tribute to the conciliatory spirit of the representatives of all the Powers' Ambassadors at the conference, and also to Sir Edward Grey's "unexampled patience, resolution and sagacity." The preoccupation of Europe in the affairs of the Near East, and more particularly of the Ottoman Empire, may appear gratuitous to many, but it is very real all the same and will vitally affect the final settlement. According to a passage in the Speech from the Throne, "the possible developments of the war and the resulting changes are of interest to the Great Powers who are neutral and are parties to the Treaty of Berlin. These parties earnestly desire to prevent the war from spreading, and to see it terminate as soon as possible." It is therefore, natural to assume that the settlement after the war will be achieved, not on the merits of the issues directly affecting the combatants, but in accordance with the wishes of the neutral Powers "who are parties to the Treaty of Berlin." The more directly interested Powers will formulate the lines of settlement and the "less directly interested Powers" like Great Britain will say Amen to the leaders of their respective groups. This is, perhaps, an ideally convenient arrangement from the standpoint of the Balance of Power that is the fetish of modern diplomacy. But it is neither courageous nor equitable. The attitude of the "less directly interested Powers" in particular is not very creditable. If Russia wants to coerce Turkey to her will, and if Austria places a cheap and decisive veto on Serbian ambitions, their desires and actions are quite intelligible and have at least the merit of consistency. But what we fail to understand, and what is incoherent even as a self-regarding policy, is that "the less directly interested Powers" like Great Britain or France should try to evolve and impose tremendous formulae on the so-called Concert of Europe for a settlement which is to decide the fate of a third Empire and in which they have little direct interest. Mr. Asquith and M. Poincaré were the first to proclaim to the world that the Balkans were for the Balkan people, and that the victors should not be deprived of the fruits of their victories. These pronouncements, shortly after the formal declarations of neutrality and before the cries about the *status quo* had time to die out of the recollection of the credulous world, must for ever live as an amazing revelation of *désintéressement*.

The truth of the matter is that neither the interests of Turkey nor those of the Allies, nor yet the demands of equity have any weight in the counsels of Europe. And the Powers that profess to be least interested in the Near East have in the present crisis been the loudest champions of the interests of their friends. But has Great Britain no great direct interest in the settlement of the Balkan question? Is the future of the Ottoman Empire of no great concern to her? And will its fate have no appreciable effect on her vast imperial problems? In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne was reported to have said: "We have a certain feeling for an old ally who has fallen on evil days, an ally who has fought with gallantry and devotion, whose people are co-religionists with a great body of His Majesty's loyal subjects in India." These words from a Conservative leader will be welcome to the Indian Mussalmans as

some recognition of their title to be heard in the counsels of the Empire. Lord Morley and Lord Crews have already given definite assurances that the views and sentiments of the Indian Mussalmans will have due consideration in the foreign policy of Great Britain. In view, therefore, of the unmistakable strength of Moslem feeling in India the British Government cannot remain studiously indifferent to the wider issues of the Balkan crisis. Surely an important body of opinion within the Empire has as much claim on the consideration of the British Government as the ambitions of the French financiers and the pan-Slavists of Russia.

The Moslem League.

ON THE 22nd and 23rd March the All-India Moslem League held its belated Annual Session at Lucknow; and, although the attendance was not very large, some of the most distinguished Mussalmans of practically every Province in India were present, and the value of the attendance was, indeed, far in excess of its volume. The League's deliberations were, therefore, not of a character to which the Conservative elements in the body politic could take exception, though a Democrat could not have been equally satisfied with the poverty of the numbers of the assembly.

This is in some ways a source of satisfaction to us, for at a critical juncture such as this we were not free from misgivings about a split such as that which divided the Congress into rival camps at Surat towards the end of 1907. We have already expressed our extreme dread of such splits and the dangers of the establishment of sections and wings. And the Lucknow Session has proved, to our complete satisfaction, that both the Conservative and the Radical elements in the Moslem community understand that this is no time for pushing political views to extremes. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haqq did strive to persuade his community to accept a second-hand Radicalism, and the Hon. Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, who is equally persistent and lacking in a sense of proportion, continued his endeavours to keep a progressive community chained to the spot where he had found it half a dozen years ago. But if the general body of the community refused to run at a gallop with the stalwart of Belar, it refused to tarry by the wayside with the Maulvi of Poona. Neither of these gentlemen were taken very seriously, and a community that can succeed in displeasing both is not likely to fail in the search for a middle path.

Our readers will remember that in writing on the 1st of February on the subject of the Hon. Mr. Shafi's election as Chairman of this Session of the League, we said that those of our correspondents who doubted the wisdom of this election had ignored the educative force of circumstances themselves which have such a decisive influence on the making of ordinary politicians and public men. In this contention we were not wrong, for Mr. Shafi's Presidential Address has fully justified it. The Chairman has clearly recognised that his earlier views have become obsolete, and that he must keep himself abreast of the new political currents in the country if he is to retain the confidence of his community and his people. He fully understands that Moslem public opinion has enormously grown in strength and clarity on certain questions affecting the political future of India, and he has revised his political convictions in a progressive spirit which is most hopeful. In his Address we do not find any desire to do his political thinking about with the help of a few conventional formulae, and we are happy to see signs of an intellectual strength to think hard and the courage to point out the way that leads straight to the goal. Coming as his opinions do from a man of the Hon. Mr. Shafi's political way of thinking, they are bound to carry weight in quarters where it is the fashion to set down every independent expression of opinion as the result of the intemperance of youth and political Nihilism.

Mr. Shafi referred to the disturbance in the political ocean which would be felt far and wide on every Moslem shore. But he took care to explain that this commotion has not wholly been due to the storm in international politics, but is the resultant of political currents set in motion by the Government in this country itself. The *Pioneer* which preaches counsels of perfection, if not of progress, to every one except the bureaucratic caste which is its patron, seems highly pleased with itself for its two dozen lines of comment on Mr. Shafi's Presidential Address in its issue of the 24th March, and believes that it has snuffed out the League and the Chairman of its last annual session by the sarcasm that by way of preparation for the great storm which is anticipated the Council of the League has drawn up a new Constitution in which the expression "loyalty to the British Government" has been replaced by "loyalty to the British Crown." But for all this high disdain there is no doubt that considerable uneasiness prevails in the circle of the *Pioneer's* numerous highly-placed patrons. We wonder whether our august contemporary can find it in its heart to condemn the League for a revision of its political chart in the face of paragraph 3 of the famous despatch of the Government of India. Self-Government has clearly been

anticipated for India in that memorable document; and, although a little more than a year ago we did not spare the Government for its lack of consideration for the Mussalmans, we have always felt that if the different communities of India can learn to work together in a spirit of concord and amity, thus making true self-government for the first time possible in this country, paragraph 8 of the Government of India's despatch would not be too dear even at the price of the announcement made by the Government through His Majesty. As the *Pioneer* is still anxious to imitate the party of privilege in English politics which, having decided never to surrender, surrendered at the very first shock of battle, it may do so for all we care. But Indian Mussalmans are not going to be the "Last Ditchers," and they have done wisely in recognising the inevitable and setting themselves to prepare for its advent. They were caught napping when the announcement was made at the Durbar on the 12th of December, 1911, and it is newspapers like the *Pioneer* that were a contributory cause to the Moslem negligence. But this swift and sudden lesson has not been thrown away on the Mussalmans, and it is clear that they must now look out for themselves and not rely any more on the hollow security of the *Pioneer* and its patrons.

At the same time we do not believe in jerky movements and the sharp angularity of political turnings. It would be absurd for the Mussalmans to turn a somersault as Mr Mazhar-ul-Haque seemed to suggest. It will deceive nobody except the Mussalmans themselves, and self-deception is the worst of all political crimes. Events in the Moslem world have also contributed to the sudden awakening of the Mussalmans, but we hope and trust the policy of Indian Mussalmans would ever be formulated by reference to the conditions in India and nowhere else. We also hope that our Moslem fellow-countrymen are not deluding themselves by calling that self-reliance which is nothing better than an exchange of reliance from one prop to another. They must learn to stand on their own feet and to work out their salvation themselves. We have never ceased to regret the strained relations of the different communities of India, but we have not been inactive enough on that account to endeavour to conceal our misgivings about an unconditional surrender of the individuality of the Moslem community. It is political co-operation that we have always advocated and not political *Nurana* of the Moslem community. We share with the Hon. Mr Shafi his views about accepting certain bases for united action by the various Indian communities. But we do not believe any more than he does that the time has come for the Mussalmans to commit political *har-kari*. If Indian Mussalmans in their resentment at the want of consideration shown by the Indian Government in its sudden reversal of the partition of Lord Curzon, and the calculating disregard of their feelings in international affairs by Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues, rush to the nearest Hindu organisation to baptize them into a new political creed, we have no doubt whatever that they would be acting with no more dignity and independence than a mendicant who is refused the beggar's dole at one door and goes cursing to the next to plead for the same in the accents of cringing supplication. Political co-operation can have no alms-house basis, and no union can persist if it is not based on mutual respect of the co-workers and a perfect co-ordination. If by altering the expression "loyalty to the British Government" into "loyalty to the British Crown," the Mussalmans wish to emphasise the fact that after all it is the British connection—that is so essential for their progress—to which they are attached—as we believe the Mussalmans do—and not the bureaucratic caste which is itself a political party and is sometime confused with the Government by law established in British India, then we have nothing to fear on the score of Moslem loyalty, which must ever be above all political partisanship. But it will never do if after having been jilted by the bureaucracy the Mussalmans rush to the feet of a majority of their fellow-countrymen to which they did not pay court before, and shower profuse devotions. We are by no means convinced that their sentiments would make the heart of the latest object of their admiration melt towards them. That party is by no manner of means an *regime*, and the Mussalmans will have to wait till their hairs are grey to get the banners put up and their union solemnised. Those of them who believe that they are irresistible and hope for an easy conquest will not find much encouragement in the comments of some Punjab journals on the Presidential Address. Our would-be bigamist would do well to keep their souls in patience for a while and taste a little the sweets of single blessedness also.

Although we have not yet come across a single Mussalman even in his teens who is foolish enough to think that self-government is only a matter of few days or years, we feel it our duty to impress it on the community that it must not confuse the ideal of the future with the policy of the present. An infant has no sense of perspective, and communities that are, politically speaking, in their infancy are not likely to benefit much if distant ideals are dangled before them temptingly. But we trust the Mussalmans have acquired a sufficient idea of distance and will not hurt themselves in vainly rushing for things yet out of their reach. Nevertheless, we must confess we would have liked it better if self-government,

even as an ideal, had not been placed before the community this year. There is at present a danger of hasty action which it would have been better to have altogether avoided. Moreover, it is our belief that the adoption of self-government as an ideal at the present moment is likely to be misunderstood by the Government and other communities. They may think that disturbing events occurring elsewhere have prompted the Mussalman to hoist the flag of self-government in sheer desperation. The poet has well described such a state of feeling in his passionate lines:

وہا کسی کہان کا عشق جو سر پوڑا تھا
نہ پر اے سنگدل نہرا می سنگ آملہ کوں مرو

(Fidelity and love! What fidelity and love? When it comes to breaking one's head why need it be the stone of thy threshold, O Heart of Stone?)

We are convinced that although the Mussalmans have had their tempers and their patience sorely tried of late, it is not desperation that has moved them forward, but the political instinct which guides progressive communities to take stock of their situation from time to time. But we are not quite certain that in a year such as this they would be able to impress the world that their latest move is the result of deliberation rather than desperation. Be that as it may, after the discussion in the Council meeting of the League last December, there was no alternative for the League itself but to go on as the Council had begun. It has been said that the declaration of this ideal was the Moslems' trump card, and they have proved themselves lacking in political *finesse* in playing it too early in the game. There is a good deal in this argument; but the card had been exposed last December, and according to the rules of the game it had to be played. But it must not be forgotten that the trumps had been declared by the Mussalmans' bureaucratic partner himself, and whatever indications had been given during the progress of the game had encouraged the leading out of trumps.

We do not wish to minimise the significance of the Lucknow meetings of December and March, but we trust no one will think for a moment that after the Mussalman have delivered themselves of aspirations which have been created by Western education and recently encouraged by the British Government, they have ceased to have rights and interests of their own which need advocacy and protection. The question of separate representation in local bodies has to be taken up with vigour and persistence, and we are glad that they have not neglected to press the point this year in spite of the claims of Mussulmans abroad which had to be advocated with force and cogency. Mr Mazhar-ul-Haque seems to have at last recognised that his opinions are not shared by a vast majority of his co-religionists so far as Moslem representation on local bodies is concerned, but his plea that each Province should be left to press this claim or not, according to its own choice, makes us think that he is still under the impression that he represents Behar. We have not the faintest doubt that Behar Moslems are every whit as anxious as their co-religionists elsewhere to secure adequate and effective representation on local bodies, and we would suggest to Mr Mazhar-ul-Haque that he should face the situation boldly and give the Behar public a chance of acclaiming him as its accredited representative in this matter or denouncing him as vigorously as he is at its times anxious to denounce others. This is a fair challenge, and Mr Mazhar-ul-Haque should be the last to hesitate to accept it.

As clearly anticipated, the League dealt in a series of resolutions with the British foreign policy and pleaded for the lives of the men and children and the honour of the women of Turkey in the Balkan War. Nor were Indian questions of great pith and moment, such as the reparation of the Executive and Judiciary, and the necessity of devising a system of recruitment for the Indian Civil Service more equitable and equally suitable for the various sections of His Majesty's subjects in India and in Great Britain, neglected by the League. But these are not days when the voice of the few, no matter how able and well-placed, can be respected and prove really effective, and no one is more anxious to share the prestige and influence due to the community than the middle classes among the Indian Mussalmans. Of late they have been anxious to dethrone those whom they had themselves enthroned only a few years ago, and there is a general resentment, which we hail as a sign of progress, against the desire of a few to retain all power that belongs to the community in their own hands. But we ask whether the Moslem community in general has devised any scheme for the communal government when the despots and the oligarchs of to-day have been deposed. To our mind an interregnum and anarchy are worse than despotism; but no one would take a community seriously that talks so loud as the Mussalmans are doing to-day, and yet seeks every nook and corner for refuge when the time for

action arrives. What had happened to close upon 300 members of the League that did not deign to come to Lucknow even at such a juncture, and why is it that out of 350 members of the League only 150 have been paying the modest sum of Rs. 20 even by easy instalments with any regularity. Only another hundred wake up from time to time to pay this modest sum for participation in the political councils of the community. No less than a hundred have never paid their subscriptions at all, and have no business to be counted as members of the League, and should have no voice in its deliberations. For financial reasons more than anything else has the League decided to enlarge its Council of 30 or 40 into the 150 that have paid their subscriptions regularly, and for the rest the League has provided a royal road on which they can creep at a snail's pace by paying Rs. 6 a year. We would invite the attention of our Urdu contemporaries owned and edited by the New Patriots among the Mussalmans to see that next year at least the League's meetings have an attendance of a few thousands out of the 70 millions which are trotted out on every occasion. We do not despise the 70 millions, for we know that their heart is in the right place. But they need the guidance and stimulus that revive and not the flattery that kills. If the League is to be made financially independent of individual support, if its deliberations are to bear the stamp of democracy and if the voice of the community is not only to be heard but also to be respected in the chambers of the great, then something more than wild talk and bombast is necessary. When it comes to speech-making we can all talk in 'Ereles vein; but it is not talk that decides but action, and in that the New Patriots have not proved themselves as ardent as we should have desired. We have no wish to sermonise, but a few bitter truths are sometimes necessary, for we have had a surfeit of sugared democracy ourselves and we cannot afford to let our reputation be ruined in this manner. We intend to request the Secretary of the League to publish every month a statement of the number of District Leagues formed in every Province and the fees realised by him for membership of the All-India Moslem League, and we hope our friendly challenge to our vernacular Moslem contemporaries would be accepted by them, for we wish for nothing better than a conversion of their paper currency into minted gold.

The Storm on the Stage.

I.

It is quite clear that there has been considerable disturbance of public feeling during the last six or seven weeks over the question of the Committee appointed to negotiate with Government as regards the scope and constitution of the Moslem University, and, although this has given another proof—if proof was needed—that a single honest leader can wield more influence over the community than a score of others, it has also proved how easily the Moslem community can be gulled by a couple of charlatans. It is, indeed, unfortunate that the exhibition of the spell which the name of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk exercises over the Moslem mind should assist in the undoing of the work for which he had toiled so unceasingly and with such singleness of purpose, but those who have used his name as a stalking horse for striking the Moslem University down must be proud of their handiwork to day.

On the 27th of December last, as our readers are aware, a meeting took place at Lucknow to deal with the Moslem University and its future. After an interval of a day the deliberations of the meeting were resumed and lasted till noon. We have always been prepared to accord to this Lucknow meeting all the respect due to a gathering in which some of the most notable Mussalmans of India took part, but it would be wholly unjust and misleading to call it, as it has been called by most people, including Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself, a meeting of the Foundation Committee. Few communities in India have yet learned to proceed with communal work in a regular and constitutional manner, and no community is a greater sinner in this respect than the Mussalmans of India. When at the suggestion of the Editor of the *Comrade*—he must be pardoned if after all these efforts to discredit him he claims some credit for himself for the work—it was determined to take a deputation under the leadership of H. H. the Aga Khan to the chief centres of Moslem population with a view to collect funds for the Moslem University, the scheme of which was lying in a moribund condition, it was not any properly constituted body of the Mussalmans of India like the Central Standing Committee of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, or the Board of Trustees of the Aligarh College, that formed the Committee for carrying on the work of the University Fund. It was some sort of a Convention composed, for the most part, of men at Aligarh who formed the Moslem University Foundation Committee, and so eager were these gentlemen for the assistance of every latent worker in this cause that they gave to the Foundation Committee a constitution the catholicity of which must be unexampled.

It includes all the Trustees of the Aligarh College; all the members of the Central Standing Committee of the Conference, all the members of the Aligarh Old Boys' Association, all the Aligarh staff; all the members of the Central Standing Committee of the Shia Conference, all the Editors of Moslem journals, all the members of the Managing Committees of the Nadwat-ul-Ulama, the Deoband Madrasa; the Madrasa-i-Ilahiah, Cawnpore; the Tibbiya Conference, Madrasa-i-Tibbiya and Madrasa-i-Daiyyan, Delhi; the Madrasa-i-Takmil-ul-Tib, Lucknow, the Ahmadiyah Conference, Qadian, the Anjuman-i-Humayuni-i-Islam, Lahore; the Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay, the Anjuman-i-Mafid-ul-Islam, Madras, all the staff of the Islamia College, Lahore, all the members and Head Masters of Islamic schools and Arabic Madrasas; all the office-bearers of all Islamic Anjumans; all the Mussalmans members of the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils; all the Muhammadan members of the District and Municipal Boards; all Muhammadan Baristers, Vakils, Mukhtars, Zamindars and Merchants and all the Sunni and Shia Ulama, Mashayikh, and Sajjadanashins.

When in August last the Constitution Committee replied to the letter of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler containing the views of the Secretary of State, it was expected that the Honorary Secretaries of the Foundation Committee, namely, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Mozamul-ullah Khan, would convene a meeting of this Committee which included practically every Mussalman in India and refer the decisions of the Secretary of State to that meeting as the Constitution Committee had informed the Government. No doubt there is no hall in the world that could hold all the members of the Foundation Committee if they had all chosen to attend. But not all of them had chosen to contribute even the widow's mite to the University, and unless we were to presume that the present temper of the Mussalmans was to exhibit itself six months earlier, those who have been slow to pay being the most forward to have a say in the matter we could not expect a gathering at the meeting of the Foundation Committee of so many members that they could not all be seated in a large *pardal* such as the Conference constructs every year. But no meeting was called, and we have a right to ask why the claims of the community to be consulted in the matter were ignored. We do not know that any of the vernacular papers whose columns are filled with the iniquities of the Committee appointed last December ever pressed for an early holding of the meeting of the Foundation Committee, but we know that we brought the matter to the notice of both the Secretaries but to no purpose. As a great deal is being made at present of consulting the community, and the Editor of the *Comrade* appears to be the one individual cast in a narrow, oligarchical mould, we offer no apology for reproducing from our issue of the 21st December, 1912, the following remarks about the meeting of the delegates which was convened in the place of the Foundation Committee with its Manhood and even Boyhood Suffrage.

Times passed on, men whole hordes of the most vital moment to the welfare of the community were burning fire and those in authority sat snug and tight in their seats. Even a community exelling in the virtue of patience and not a little enamoured of mediocrity was at last driven into disgust and despair by the tactics of masterly inactivity so beloved of its 'leaders.' Events in the Balkans however, intervened at this stage and naturally began to claim the most anxious attention of the Mussalmans. The University question came consequently to be left in abeyance. It was at this juncture that the officiating Hon. Secretary of the Moslem University Foundation Committee found his opportunity. He had on an earlier occasion shirked the responsibility of summoning a meeting of the Foundation Committee, because he desired that the initiative in this matter should be taken by his predecessor in office. Some sudden inspiration seems to have urged him later on to assume responsibility with a vengeance. On his own initiative and without apparently consulting the Central Committee of the Moslem University Foundation Committee he sprang on the Moslem public a novel scheme, modelled in conception clumsy in method and unworkable in practice. He found out towards the end of October that 'the constitution of the Foundation Committee was so vast that it is practically impossible to hold a meeting at one place in which thousands of the members of the committee could take part.' He, therefore, laid down the law that 'instead of trying to call together upwards of 25,000 men from every part of India, the best method of achieving the object seems to be that the members of the Foundation Committee in every district in India should hold meetings to elect two delegates from amongst themselves who could take part in a big general meeting as the representatives of the members of individual districts. All those committees and anjumans that are members of the Foundation Committee in their corporate capacity are requested to nominate one representative each. In addition to the districts the members of the Foundation Committee in the cities that have a population exceeding 25,000 should hold similar meetings and nominate one representative each for the forthcoming general meeting of the Foundation Committee.' The secretarial writ summoning the representatives of the Foundation Committee to meet at Lucknow provides a loose electoral system and bristles with pathetically childish devices. True, the Foundation Committee contains as miscellaneous an assortment as Noah's Ark. But that has been the usual device of Aligarh. The door of membership is thrown wide open when Aligarh needs funds. But when the time for decisions comes every care is taken to exclude those from its councils who can be excluded without much ado. In every communal affair, big or small, it is an oligarchy that rules the roost. The greatest and most momentous educational problem of the community is now to be decided according to the impromptu device of the Hon. Secretary of the Moslem University Foundation Committee, a scheme that is like unto the wind of which Christ said that it bloweth where it listeth and nobody knows.

whence it cometh and where it goeth. Districts, Native States, Committees, Anjuman, Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, members of District and Municipal Boards, Barriers, Vakils, Mukhtars, Zemindars, Morchmas, Munis and Shia Ulama, Mahabib and Najadanshins have all been buddled together into a huge electoral system with myriads of electoral colleges opening and re-opening, another which lend themselves to endless shuffling by the simple process of permutation. There is no knowing who will represent whom, and by what method, and whether one individual will represent twenty separate electoral colleges or twenty individuals will represent practically one body of electors. How is one to be sure of the delegates being the true representatives? By what method is to be ascertained that elections have really taken place and in every part of the country? We are afraid in the end it may come to pass that the nominees of a few committees and gentlemen will swamp "the big, general meeting" to be held at Lucknow in Christmas week, and decide the fate of the Modern University. The Modern community has already expressed through the Press its verdict on the questions awaiting solution in regard to the University project in no uncertain voice. If the Lucknow meeting decides against the wishes of the community, the Mussalmans would be justified in repudiating alike its decisions and its *hona fides*. Those who think the University question can be hustled through in this fashion are very much mistaken. Let them do what Mr. Anjath once said, but failed to do—wait and see!

This was what we thought and still think of the system of delegation proposed, as we then believed, by Nawab Mozamul-ullah Khan. But we learn from the letter of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, published in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* of the 5th February, that if Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk did not suggest this plan he was in no way opposed to it, for he insists in this letter on calling the proposed meeting of the delegates a meeting of the Foundation Committee. We have great respect for the democratic views of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, but no reverence for him can make us for a moment believe that the proposed step was in any way democratic or sensible. We had also stated in the issue of the 21st December last that "we presume the 26th and 27th (December) are reserved for the packed meeting of a manufactured committee to register the decree of the Secretary of State on the subject of the Modern University. We expect the show of much loyalty and—empty benches!" These were our sentiments on the 21st December and those who would have the world believe that we took a somersault on the fateful 29th will do well to read the *Comrade* of the 4th January—when the nefarious plot in which the arch conspirator was the Editor of this journal had succeeded—for we were still of the same opinion. We said:

A plan was improvised whereby instead of the Foundation Committee declaring its opinion itself a small body of delegates was invited to do so vicariously on behalf of the Foundation Committee. But it is easier to improvise such electorates than to make their elections practicable, and we have no means of knowing whether even in a single instance a delegate was returned by these hastily improvised electorates in what we can call a reasonably regular manner. It is, however, certain that a very small minority of the District Committees and Associations returned a delegate, and although they were not sufficient to falsify our prophecy of empty benches, even they were sufficient to falsify our predictions of a "show of loyalty." In view of this, no less than of the clamour of those who had not been sent as delegates but felt they had much to say about the future destiny of the Modern University, the powers that be tore into shreds their own hastily improvised constitution for a committee of delegates, and granted to the Mussalmans then present at Lucknow something even more radical than a *Manhood Suffrage*.

Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk does not say in his letter who upset the scheme of Nawab Mozamul-ullah Khan and why, and how it came about that on the morning of the 27th December last it was not a meeting of a dozen ill-assorted delegates, but of several hundred Mussalmans then present in Lucknow that discussed the programme prepared overnight. The Editor of the *Comrade* reached the meeting place when the first resolution was being moved, and he has, therefore, no knowledge of what took place before, but whatever the motive for this step it cannot be said that merely by permitting everybody who cared to saunter into the Baradari to take part in the deliberation the Lucknow meeting became a meeting of the Foundation Committee. As we have shown above, the Foundation Committee is probably the most catholic body ever brought into being, and if the Lucknow meeting was to be a meeting of the Foundation Committee some public notification at least of the time and place of the meeting was necessary, and such a notification should have been issued sufficiently in advance of the dates of the meeting to give such members of the Foundation Committee as cared to exercise their right as members time to be able to attend the meeting. No such notice was given, and the Editor of the *Comrade* was the one individual who declared in the meeting that he did not recognise it as a meeting of the Foundation Committee. Whatever Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk may say, a notice issued locally, and perhaps even then not in writing, cannot convert a meeting called for the deliberation of some delegates into a meeting of the Foundation Committee. We invite the attention of our readers to the proceedings published in the *Comrade* of the 4th January last, in which we state that the resolutions published were passed "at a meeting of the Mussalmans held in Lucknow." In the resolution itself which the Editor of the *Comrade* moved on the 29th December appointing the much maligned Committee, the words "this meeting" and not the words "the Foundation Committee" were used throughout. And in the entire article which we wrote immediately after the meeting under the heading of "The Blank

Cheque," we never even once called the meeting held at Lucknow by the name of a meeting of the Foundation Committee. When the Editor of the *Comrade* is being suspected of every subterfuge dear to the heart of the despot, we hope it will be accounted unto him as righteousness that, even when Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself defied all procedure and constitutionalism in usurping for the Lucknow meeting the designation of a meeting of the Foundation Committee, he called it and considered it no better than a meeting of some Mussalmans held at Lucknow. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk is in a deplorable condition of health, and we have no desire to cause him pain by anything that we may write; but we trust those who have used him as a stalking horse, and those who have been stalked in their guilelessness, would ponder over the matter and tell us what they think of the respect of the Editor of this journal for regularity and constitutional procedure.

Now to come to the meeting itself. How far the Editor of this paper sold himself to the oligarchs on the eventful night preceding the meeting of the 28th and the 29th would be apparent to anyone who cared to read the *Comrade* of the 4th of January in which the "leaders" have been handled rather roughly. We do not choose to cover the same ground again, but invite everyone who is inclined to malign the Editor of the *Comrade* to read the abovementioned article; and, if our Urdu contemporaries that have been writing columns upon columns of malicious falsehood wish to retain the least vestige of honesty and journalistic fairness, we challenge them to translate that article for the enlightenment of their easily-guided readers. We have never refused any reasonable offer for the exchange of the *Comrade* with our Urdu contemporaries, and before this few of them have declined to borrow lavishly from the *Comrade*. It must, therefore, carry its own significance if, while embroddering with artistic monodactyl the letter of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, they refuse to accept our challenge and give their readers an opportunity of judging their honesty of purpose and veracity of statement by reading our article of the 4th January.

Before we enter into a discussion of what happened on the 29th December or on the previous night, we should like to state one fact to which sufficient publicity has not been given. On the 27th of December Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami moved a resolution protesting against the Constitution Committee's compromise which gave the Viceroy-Chancellor the last word in all matters relating to the internal management of the University. Considerable discussion took place, and it appeared to be the view of a large number of people attending the meeting that this resolution should be passed. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk also denied on the 28th December that on the following day Major Bilgrami's resolution should be put to the vote and carried. Those who were present at the meeting of the 27th would remember that the Editor of the *Comrade* did not speak a word for or against the motion, but reserved his right to do so at a later stage. He, however, pointed out under what circumstances the Constitution Committee had agreed to modify section 41 of the Rules and Regulations of the Trustees of the Aligarh College and to embody the modified section as clause 5 of Chap. III of the Statutes of the Modern University. We are now compelled to state that this modification was proposed on the 23rd September, 1911, by the Hon. Sir Harcourt (then Mr.) Butler in a conference held at Simla between him and the Hon. Mr. Sharp, as representing the Government, and the members of the Constitution Committee. On the 24th September this proposal was considered by the Constitution Committee, and on the 25th, when the adjourned conference was resumed, Government were informed that the Constitution Committee accepted their proposal. We hope we are betraying no secrets when we say that Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk never dissented, and, as a matter of fact, he heartily approved of the modification of the Constitution to which he now objects. In fact, on another important point in connection with the powers of the Chancellor with regard to the appointment of professors, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk did not support the minority composed of Sahibzade Aftab Ahmad Khan, the late Mr. Aziz Mirza, Mr. Nabi-ullah and the Editor of the *Comrade* who were opposed to the necessary a previous sanction of such appointments by the Viceroy-Chancellor. We do not for a moment suggest that in accepting these terms Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk was moved by any considerations other than those of the communal good; but is it not unfair to others if an impression is created that all the others have at all times been ready and anxious to sell the birthright of Indian Mussalmans for a mass of pottage for themselves? It is unfortunate that the Nawab Sahib has suggested many things calculated to harm the reputation of those who did not agree with him on one or two very minor points, but we know him too well to think that when convinced of this injustice he would hesitate for a moment to withdraw his regrettable suggestions.

We regret that the foreword has taken so much space that our comments on what took place on the eve of the meeting of the 29th and in the meeting itself must be held over for the next issue. But we have remained silent so long that our readers will not, we presume, think that we are overdrawing our account. It is not possible to devote the whole of this issue to this and that, what was at one time, futile controversy, and we trust our readers will patiently wait for the next issue.

CORRESPONDENCE



Hindu and Moslem Moral Obliquity.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—May I request you to very kindly publish the enclosed correspondence in an early issue of your widely circulated paper.

AGRA.

ALLAHABAD.
ALAY NABI,
KHAH BANADUR.)

Agra, 27th Feb., 1913

DEAR MR DURRANT,—I felt very much aggrieved to read your remarks, the other day, made by you in your Government House speech at Allahabad published in the *Pioneer* of 20th February, 1913, where you say "Whether or not there is any real distinction in the mind of Hindus and Muhammadans between right and wrong, the conclusion I have come to, . . . is that long long generations during which the stress has been laid upon ceremonial offences rather than moral offences has brought about a moral obliquity in the mind of the Hindu and Muhammadan which is nothing less than deplorable."

The experience which according to what you say has qualified you to make those remarks was apparently gained by you during the term of your office in St. John's College, and had I had not the honour of belonging to that College and had I not been convinced that the remarks made by you were likely to damage the popularity and reputation of the College and the *alumni* of the College alike, I would not have cared to write to you about it. As it is I feel bound on my own behalf, and on behalf of almost all those belonging to the College, to try to raise our voice of protest against those remarks, but before doing so we would like to be sure that our reading of them is correct.

I would, therefore, respectfully ask you whether your above remarks are applicable to all, and whether you meant to condemn wholesale the Hindu and Muhammadan inhabitants of this vast country.

Yours Sincerely,
ALAY NABI.

From

The Rev. H. B. Durrant, M. A.,
Principal.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
Agra, 27th Feb., '13.

DEAR MR. ALAY NABI,—Thank you for your letter of this morning. The account of the speech published (wholly without my knowledge and to my regret) gave the impression that I was attacking my Hindu and Muhammadan students. Nothing was further from my thoughts. I was speaking of what seem to me, rightly or wrongly, *certain tendencies of certain doctrines*. I should be the very last to deny that I know many Hindus and Muhammadans of the highest probity and honour and am proud to number them among my friends.

Yours Sincerely,
H. B. DURRANT.

P. S.—I had hoped that 16 years work in this College and countless friendships with Hindus and Muhammadans would have counted for some thing in estimating the intentions of a speech such as I made at Allahabad, and I take your having kindly written to me about it as a proof of this.

British Red Crescent Fund.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I desire to report, for the information of the subscribers to the British Red Crescent Fund, that we closed the hospital at Santari on the 23rd of January when the base hospital was removed to San

Stefano, and a mobile field-hospital was formed, consisting of Doctors Haigh, Calthrop, Barton and Mellor and six orderlies, to go to the front immediately on the resumption of hostilities. At San Stefano Dr. Baynes is in charge of two hospitals with 120 beds in each. The war having recommenced the field-hospital has moved forward, and the wounded are reported to be coming in in large numbers.

At the base hospital besides Dr. Baynes the officers in charge are Dr. Bayliss and the following nurses: Superintending Sister Stewart, Sister Mackenzie, Dryhurst, Warriner, Obee, Park, Haswell and orderlies Angus Macdonald and Flashman.

Besides the three hospitals (including the Sanitary Board's Hospital in Dr. Baynes' charge) at San Stefano the Society is anxiously engaged in the relief of the refugees in Asia Minor and of the widows and orphans of the martyred soldiers.

The administration of this relief is entrusted to Colonel Surtees, the Director of the British Red Crescent Missions, assisted by Sister Wheatley and some Turkish officials. Sister Wheatley has shown considerable capacity in the administration of the relief, distributing British Red Crescent charity everywhere with her own hands in the shape of food, clothing and fuel.

We have spent so far £3,000 in the work of relief in Asia Minor, besides sending another £2,000 to His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha's Committee for the same purpose.

In view of the appalling destitution among the refugees and the widows and orphans, and the immediate need for help to save their lives from death by starvation and exposure, we have come to the conclusion that it would be better to keep in abeyance the building of the villages which the Committee had recommended, until we receive further adequate funds, and to devote ourselves in the meantime to supplying the afflicted people with warm clothing and food and fuel. In this view the Constantinople Committee have concurred; and we have, therefore, decided to apply £1,000 weekly for relief purposes. We propose to increase this amount if Colonel Surtees and Miss Wheatley report more is needed.

In Salonica there have been thousands of terribly destitute refugees. We have up to date sent £18,000 through the Foreign Office to the British Consul General there, to be applied to the relief of the Moslem refugees. Out of this sum £4,000 has been given to Sister Augustine, an English Sister of Charity at one of the French hospitals, who has two large soup kitchens for feeding the starving. We propose to send there also some further help.

At Monastir we have given £550.

I would like to add that Colonel Surtees, our Director, has organised local Committees consisting of Turkish notables in the various places he has visited, for the administration of our charity. These local organisations work in co-operation with His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha's Central Committee.

At Broussa the British Vice-Consul and his sister are assisting our party in administering the relief.

At Konia Dr. Dodds, an American gentleman, is helping us in the administration of our charity.

I am afraid Turkey's needs are not yet over; I would therefore advise the Indian Red Crescent Societies to place themselves on a permanent basis. I consider it, however, essential that the work of relief should be carried out in co-operation and co-ordination so as to obtain the best results.

41, Sloane Street, S. W.
20th February 1913

AMEER ALI.

Verse.

Calm in Storm.

When raging tempests sweep across the skies,
And seething billows, with terrific roar,
Tumultuous move and lash the trembling shore;
While overhead the lurid lighting flies,
And thunders roll above the Earth which lies
Prostrate and shudders to its very core;
E'en then, all calm and peaceful as before,
The mountain peaks in solemn grandeur rise!

So thou my soul, serene in faith and love,
Disdain the ills around, and rise above
The tumult of the passions and the strife
Of selfish motives, which the heart o'erpower;
And seek, upon the loftier slopes of Life,
The Peace ordained by Heaven's benignant power.

NIJZMAT JANG.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Mar. 15.

A Sofia message says that the reply of the Allies to the Powers' Note accepts mediation on the following conditions:—

Firstly,—The cession of all territory westward of a line between Rodosto, Care and Malatra excluding Gallipoli, but including Adrianople and Scutari.

Secondly,—The cession of the Aegean Islands.

Thirdly,—The cession of Crete.

Fourthly,—The payment of an indemnity the amount of which to be fixed when peace is definitely concluded. Compensation of private parties. The Allies to participate in the deliberations in connection with the indemnity.

Fifthly,—The Allies reserve the right to settle by treaty the treatment of their subjects' trade in Turkey and other questions of an ecclesiastical nature.

Sixthly,—Hostilities to continue.

All the Constantinople newspapers declare that the new peace conditions are unacceptable and that it is preferable to continue the war. Government has made arrangements with the council of the Ottoman debt whereby the latter advances £200,000 sterling immediately and a further £200,000 sterling up to June.

A Cetinje message says that the Powers asked Montenegro to allow the civil population to leave Scutari. Montenegro replied that she can only allow foreigners to leave.

An Athens message says that the Turkish warship *Hamidiyeh* in her raid in the Adriatic engaged three Greek steamers used as Servian transports, burning two and sinking one. Two other similar transports in the service of Servia were struck by shell, four seamen being killed.

The Peace terms of the Allies are generally regarded as complicating the situation as they are unacceptable.

London, Mar. 17.

It is semi-officially stated in Constantinople that the Allies' terms are not acceptable to the Porte which will await the receipt of the them from the Powers. Meanwhile military operations are being actively continued.

A Sofia telegram says that in the Chamber yesterday the opposition criticised the Government's policy regarding the Allies alleging that the Greeks and Servians were persecuting the Bulgarians and had occupied territories with a view to denationalising them and that the Balkan nation was endangered by the territorial ambitions of Greece and Servia. Some speakers claimed that Salonica should be given to Greece.

A later telegram says that the Minister of Finance, replying to the opposition in the Chamber, declared that the war was still unfinished, therefore the criticisms of Government were premature. The policy of Government should be judged by results. Government appealed to the opposition not to withdraw its support because although Bulgaria might be confronted by enemies and rivals, the unanimity of the Chamber would enable the country to realise its desires.

An Athens telegram says that the Greeks have occupied Samos. They were given an ovation by the islanders.

The Turkish warship *Hamidiyeh* has arrived at Alexandria.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin) says that the demands of Allies need a searching examination. Thus the hope of peace which is universally cherished will be submitted to yet another test of pitting. "But," the journal adds, "we still cling to the hope that the difficult task of European mediation will be happily accomplished." The journal also regrets the useless loss of life entailed by the operations at Scutari since, it says, whatever its fate in the war it will remain a part of future Albania. The *Norddeutsche* heartily endorses Mr. Asquith's remarks on the subject of the improvement in Anglo-German relations.

A Constantinople message says that a telegram from Esad Pasha, the Turkish commander at Janina, states that the Turks only surrendered after accomplishing their duty and doing everything to safeguard their honour and prestige.

An Athens telegram says that during the pursuit of the Turks in the north of Epirus the Greeks attacked and routed their rearguard, capturing thirty officers and 1,570 men.

In the Greek Chamber M. Venezelos, Premier, said that Greece had to renounce Thrace not because it was occupied by the Allies but for

geographical reasons. Greece would have to insist on strict guarantees of freedom for the national religions of the different peoples.

Alluding to the relations between the Allies M. Venezelos said that the difficulties in regard to territorial annexation must appear, for the feelings of national exclusiveness were always strong; but he hoped that in spite of everything the difficulties would be surmounted. He was confident that the Governments would have enough patriotism to appreciate the importance to the Balkans of continuing a line of policy which would have results very different from those of the former antagonism.

A Salonica telegram states that large bodies of Greek troops liberated by the fall of Janina are expected there. They will be sent to strengthen the Greek occupation of the region between Salonica and Serres in view of the recent Bulgarian aggressions.

A Sofia telegram states that the Bulgarians on Wednesday captured a redoubt near Akastan outside the Tchataldja lines. The Turks attempted to recapture the position, but were repulsed leaving three hundred dead and wounded. The Turkish troops at Adrianople are deserting and surrendering at the rate of fifty to sixty a day.

It is stated in Belgrade that the relations between the Greek and Servian Cabinets have become most intricate and it is even reported that they have concluded a defensive treaty. Anti-Bulgarian press articles are becoming most common. Though official relations between Servia and Bulgaria are quite normal reports from military headquarters state that the Turkish warship *Hamidiyeh's* bombardment of towns on the Adriatic coast has caused the loss of 119 lives beside damage to supply transports.

A Loheia telegram states that the Albanians among the force concentrated on the borders of the Idrisac country have intimated and demand to be allowed to return to their homes.

London, Mar. 1.

The reply of the Powers to the Allies agrees to mediate and proposes that the frontier line be drawn from Enos to Midia instead of from Rodosto to Midia. The reply refuses to entertain the idea of an indemnity and states that the question of the Aegean Islands and Albania is in hand of the Powers.

Ten thousand Servians with forty guns arrived at Scutari and combined with the Mont-negrins in resuming the bombardment on the 15th instant.

The Greeks have occupied Klisura after a severe fight, losing 13 killed and 40 wounded. The Turkish casualties were heavy.

Rumours of ententes between Greece and Servia and Greece and Turkey are semi-officially denied in Athens.

It is reported in Vienna that a British naval officer in Turkish service was responsible for the raid of the *Hamidiyeh* in the Adriatic.

The Turkish warship *Hamidiyeh* has sailed northward from Alexandria.

An Athens telegram states that after defeating the Turks the Greeks have occupied Agyrocastro amid the enthusiasm of the inhabitants.

London, Mar. 18.

A Salonica telegram states that the King of Greece was assassinated yesterday afternoon.

The King was walking in the street when he was shot from behind by two men. One of them named Schinas is said to be deranged.

His Majesty died in half an hour.

King George, who is at Windsor, learned officially late at night that the King of the Hellenes had been fatally shot by an assassin only two yards away. Queen Alexandra was not informed of the assassination of her brother until the receipt of the official confirmation. Her Majesty was quite prostrated by the news.

The murderer is a Greek degenerate named Aleko Schinas. He used a pistol loaded with seven slugs. He was immediately arrested.

Prince Nicholas summoning the Army officers, administered the oath of fealty to King Constantine who with Queen Olga is now at Janina. The order is perfect.

Schinas is forty years of age. He refused to explain the motive for his act and when asked by an officer if he had no pity for his country he replied that he was a Socialist. His demeanour throughout was most impassive.

The King was shot through the heart and died on arrival at hospital.

Later.

King George left the palace with his son Nicholas in the afternoon accompanied by an aide-de-camp. He was just terminating his customary walk when a man fired point blank. The bullet passed through the King's body and he fell into the arms of his aide-de-camp.

His Majesty was placed in a carriage and taken to an adjacent military hospital, but died before arriving, the bullet having penetrated the heart. The authorities and Army officers hastened to the hospital where amid impressive silence Prince Nicholas announced the King's death.

Prince Nicholas then administered the oath of fealty to King Constantine, all present shouting: "Long live the King."

Prince Nicholas was the only member of the royal family at Salonica. The widowed Queen arrived at Athens in the evening, but left at midnight for Salonica on a Russian cruiser.

It is announced that King Constantine will return from Epirus as soon as possible.

A *Times* message from Salonica says that the King was in the habit of going for a walk in the afternoon with a single attendant, refusing in spite of the request of his entourage to permit the presence of guards.

Yesterday His Majesty was walking happily, the war with its success for the Greeks being a fitting climax to his reign. His Majesty said to his companion: "To-morrow I pay a formal visit to the Dreadnought *Göeben*. It fills me with happiness and contentment that a German battleship should honour the Greek King at Salonica."

These proved to be his last words. At that moment a shot rang out. The King's aide-de-camp, Colonel Frangoulis, seized the hand of the assassin which was poised for a second shot and covered his royal master with his body. Colonel Frangoulis grabbed the assassin by the throat and held him fast till passing soldiers ran to his aid.

The English public is profoundly affected by the tragedy, which is an additional bereavement for Queen Alexandra. Many references were made to the assassination by public men at meetings yesterday evening and the papers publish pages of tributes to the late King.

Eye-witnesses of the tragedy state that the King was crossing the corner of Agiathias Street near the police headquarters when the assassin rushed from his hiding place and fired a big revolver at close quarters. Colonel Frangoulis, aide-de-camp to the King, drew his revolver whereupon the assassin turned on the Colonel and fired twice. Two Cretan gendarmes dashed up and arrested the man, who made no resistance. Some non-commissioned officers and men also offered assistance.

Colonel Frangoulis then turned to the King thinking that he had not been hit, but found that he had fallen to the ground half conscious. He raised the King in his arms. His Majesty did not speak again. Some notes and cartridges were found on the assassin who refused to speak except to say that he would speak in the courts.

Reuter learns that the Bulgarian headquarters regard the proposals of the Powers as almost impossible.

They consider that a frontier line from Rodosto to Midia is urgently necessary both from trade and military points of view. The new boundary would give Turkey battlefields in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica and would menace the Adrianople-Pedagogatch railway, Bulgaria's only means of access to the Aegean.

The Bulgarians believe that the purely strategical objections to the Rodosto-Midia frontier could be overcome if Bulgaria agreed not to maintain a fleet in the Sea of Marmora.

Official war bulletins which have been issued in Constantinople show that there is now almost daily skirmishing in front of the Tchataldja lines, but there is no indication of any operations on a large scale. Nothing is happening at Bulair.

The Greek announces a complete occupation of Epirus, the Turks having fled to Albania.

London, Mar 20.

An official Turkish despatch claims that a victory has been won at Tchataldja after a desperate infantry battle. The despatch adds that the Turkish forces are engaging the enemy along the whole line.

Vienna newspapers give prominence to reports of damage to Austrian property at Scutari by the bombardment though it is admitted that it occurred a fortnight ago. It appears also that some Austrian ship has been searched or interfered with at San Giovanni di Medua.

Despite reassuring statements in high quarters in London it is an undoubted fact that the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Cetinje has been ordered to remonstrate concerning the alleged forcible wholesale conversions of Catholics at Djakova to the

Orthodox faith, the seizure of the Austrian steamer *Skodra* at San Giovanni di Medua, and the damage to Austrian property at Scutari.

A Sofia telegram says that five divisions of Turks at Tchataldja with artillery and cavalry attempting to advance with the support of warships were routed with heavy loss.

Two battalions were isolated and driven to the seashore where a portion escaped in ships at night.

The Vienna papers report that the Austrian Consulate, an Italian convent, an Austrian orphanage, and a Franciscan monastery were nearly destroyed and other Austrian establishments were damaged during the bombardment of Scutari, Italian nuns serving as nurses were killed and wounded.

The papers also report alleged Montenegrin excesses on the Albanians which they describe as intolerable.

A message to the *Times* from Salonica states that an armada of sixteen Greek and Servian transports conveying thirty-six siege and other guns and thirteen thousand Servian infantry with a divisional staff sailed on the 17th instant for San Giovanni di Medua.

Importance is attached to the sailing of the Austrian fleet from Pola.

The move is officially described as being for the purpose of manoeuvres, but it is believed to be in connection with the searching of an Austrian steamer at San Giovanni di Medua and claims arising out of the bombardment of Scutari.

A Sofia telegram states that further severe fighting is reported from Tchataldja. Two Turkish divisions attacking the Bulgarian left and centre were repulsed and left five hundred dead and wounded on the field. The attack was renewed on the left in the evening, but the Turks were again repulsed.

Vienna newspapers state that Austria has demanded from Montenegro that non-combatants shall be allowed to leave Scutari. Austria has also demanded an enquiry in the presence of the Austrian consul into the assassination of a priest near Djakova, the immediate discontinuance of forcible conversion of Catholic Albanians to Orthodoxy and full satisfaction for the forcible employment of the *Skodra* in landing Servian troops at San Giovanni di Medua.

It is semi-officially denied in Rome that Italy is joining Austria in the naval demonstration on the coasts of Montenegro and Albania.

An Athens wire says that the Greeks have occupied Topolini seventy-five miles south-east of Durazzo.

London, Mar 22.

Austria-Hungary has notified the Powers that in view of the attitude of Montenegro and the position of the Catholic community in Scutari she has decided in the interests of the community to lodge a protest at Cetinje and send a squadron to cruise off the Albanian coasts.

It is announced in Vienna that Montenegro has refused to allow non-combatants to leave Scutari though Montenegro promises that in future fire shall be directed only at fortifications and not at buildings. This is regarded as an inadequate reply and equally unsatisfactory with reference to the other demands.

The Montenegrins have refused to allow the Austrian consul to take part in the enquiry into the murder of a priest named Palic at Djakova and alleged coercive conversions of Albanians to the Orthodox faith and have evaded the demands for punishment of officials in connection with the *Skodra* affairs.

Accounts of the murder of Palic published in Vienna recall medieval martyrdoms. Palic and three hundred others were bound with cords. An Orthodox priest, pointing at the soldiers' rifles, then said: "Either sign this document showing that you have embraced the only true faith or these military missionaries will send your souls to hell." All signed except Palic whereupon the soldiers tore off his habit and beat him with their rifles till he fell with limbs and ribs broken. He still refused to apostatize and a bayonet through his lungs ended his sufferings.

A message received direct from Adrianople to-day says that the town is holding out heroically. The forts are intact and perfect order prevails. The authorities are distributing provisions. There are reports of dissensions among the Allies, the Servians staying passively in their lines.

London, Mar. 24.

A Sofia telegram states the representatives of the Powers have separately handed to M Guechoff, the Bulgarian Premier, communications laying down the basis of negotiations for Peace, namely, that Turkey shall cede to the Allies all territories west of the Enos and Midia line except Albania, the delimitation of whose frontiers will

be fixed by the Powers, who will also settle the future of the Aegean Islands. Turkey shall abandon Crete, while the Powers will veto an indemnity. The Allies will be permitted to participate in the discussions of the international commission in Paris for an equitable settlement of their share in the Ottoman debt and the financial charges of the districts ceded them. Turkey will also participate in the discussions of the Commission. Immediately these bases are accepted hostilities shall cease.

M. Guethoff has replied that he must consult the Allies.

The semi-official *Fremdenblatt* (Vienna) emphasises that as Montenegro's answer to the Austrian representations with regard to the bombardment of Scutari was not satisfactory representations will be renewed.

Montenegro has telegraphed ordering a strict enquiry into the compulsory employment of the Skodra and declares that she will do all in her power to facilitate Austrian navigation at San Giovanni di Medua. Montenegro contends that the priest at Djakova was a rebel and was shot while fleeing, but Austria insists on being represented by the Archbishop of Prizrend and a consular official in an enquiry on the spot.

The last difference between Austria and Russia has been removed by Austria's agreeing to the cession of Djakova to Serbia and Russia's assenting in return to the inclusion of Scutari in Albania.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin) says that the Powers are entitled to expect an answer to their offer of mediation (as representing the will of Europe). The paper says that if Austria is resolved to call Montenegro to account for illegal proceedings she will only be acting in defence of her injured rights and interests.

A Cetinje telegram states that Austria-Hungary on Sunday presented an ultimatum demanding the cessation of operations at Scutari until all civilians have left.

If the ultimatum is not complied with Austria-Hungary will employ military force.

A Belgrade message says that Serbia's reply to the communication of the Powers is similar to that of Bulgaria.

Simultaneously with the presentation of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Montenegro long messages from Scutari, dated the 5th March, were semi-officially published in Rome saying that the Christian quarter was especially suffering by bombardment though Christians were not taking part in the fighting. The messages gave details of cases where shells had been aimed at buildings flying the Red Crescent and foreign flags. Consuls had vainly endeavoured to secure from the Montenegrins permission for foreigners to leave and had made representations to the Turkish commander with reference to the sufferings of the populations. The Commander had replied that he had done his best to distribute the food but that it was impossible to touch the reserve of provisions for the troops.

A Cetinje telegram states another Austrian note, also of a threatening tone, has been received demanding that all conversions of Catholics and Muhammadans in Djakova district to the Orthodox faith since the Montenegrin occupation be cancelled.

Montenegro with a view to proving that the conversions were not compulsory replied proposing that a commission of enquiry be appointed on which Austria and Italy would be represented, but refusing to allow the Austrian authorities to exercise sovereign rights over the territory occupied by Montenegro.

The Austrian Legation has refused to accept the answer on the ground that the wording is unseemly.

An Austrian Lloyd steamer is preparing to leave Trieste with provisions, tents and blankets for civilians in Scutari.

A Cetinje message says that Austria's ultimatum has caused a painful impression in official circles there. It is regarded as a violation of neutrality in the operation against Scutari. Montenegro has informed the Allies of Austria's action.

London, Mar. 25.

Reuter learns that the Powers have agreed upon the boundaries of northern and north-eastern Albania.

Hence further military operations are unnecessary as the result will in no way affect the decisions of the Powers. With this thorny question settled there is little anxiety as to the outcome of the Austro-Montenegrin incident.

It is declared that the Austrian warships which are still in Albanian waters do not intend to interfere with Serbian transports.

A Cetinje telegram says that Djavid Pasha with an army of fifteen thousand surrendered to the Serbians at Staumbi river in Albania between Durazzo and Monastir.

A circular Note to the Powers from Montenegro complains of the action of Austria-Hungary with reference to Scutari which Montenegro regards as a breach of neutrality. Montenegro will, however, take steps with a view to the departure of the civil population from Scutari. The Note has also been handed to the Austrian Legation informing Austria of Montenegro's decision and of her protest to the Powers.

Reuter states that Austria has presented to Montenegro altogether four Notes, the first with regard to the treatment of the Captain of the Skodra, the second in connection with the murder of a priest, the third regarding the forcible conversions to the Orthodox faith and the fourth with reference to Scutari. All the Notes were strongly worded and demanded satisfaction without delay, including the re-conversion of converts by the Catholic Archbishop at Prizrend.

Montenegro replied promising an investigation into the matter of the Skodra and agreeing to an inquiry by the Archbishop of Prizrend into the alleged murder of the priest. She, however, disagreed with the proposal that the Austrian Consul should take part therein and proposed a mixed commission of Austrian and Montenegrin civilians to investigate the conversions. She has refused so far to reply on the subject of Scutari.

Austria accepted the reply on the first and third points, but rejected the reply with regard to the murder of the priest.

A Sofia telegram states that a general attack upon all advanced positions at Adrianople this morning resulted in all the fortified points on the eastern side being carried by assault.

London, Mar. 26.

In the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey made a brief but important statement regarding the Balkans.

Sir Edward Grey announced that the Powers had arrived at an agreement regarding the northern and eastern frontier of Albania, and said that the outstanding questions for the Powers might be troublesome, but were not such as to cause anxiety. The result of the agreement should be the cessation of hostilities in what was to be Albania. He strongly counselled Montenegro to desist from purposeless bloodshed involved in the re-attacking of Scutari.

Sir E. Grey hoped that if the decision of the Powers were not respected there would be no separate action by one Power, but united pressure by all. He also strongly counselled Turkey and the Allies to accept the terms of mediation. He discouraged the idea of an indemnity from Turkey.

Mr Asquith hoped it would now go forth as the opinion of the House and Government that hostilities should cease.

A Sofia telegram states that the Bulgarians at one o'clock in the morning began a general simultaneous attack on the advanced positions at Adrianople. At 3-50 in spite of desperate resistance they charged with the bayonet and captured all positions on the eastern front including all fortified points on the ridge immediately east of the line of forts, together with twelve guns, four quick-ficers and three hundred prisoners. The Bulgarian outposts are now occupying Sorwandere about a kilometre from the line of forts. The Turks have also been driven from their positions on the western and southern sides.

The Bulgarians have advanced their position at Tchataldja, driving back the enemy all along the line. The Bulgarians now occupy a line between Osmanli and Epirus.

An Athens message says that the Greek destroyer *Jerut*, having picked up a warcomgram intended for the Turkish war ship *Hamitieh* from the German steamer *Irmingard* saying that the *Irmingard* was in a certain latitude and longitude with stores, coal and ammunition for the *Hamitieh*, answered the warcomgram and promptly proceeded to the spot indicated where she captured the *Irmingard*.

A Cetinje telegram states that the Montenegrin envoys have been sent to Scutari to notify Essad Pasha that civilians will be allowed three days in which to leave the town.

It is expected in Vienna that the Powers will shortly make representations at Belgrade and Cetinje with a view to securing a speedy evacuation of the territory they have assigned to Albania, including Scutari. Hence the departure of civilians from Scutari will be superfluous.

A Constantinople telegram states that the fighting at Tchataldja was continuous throughout Monday and was resumed on Tuesday, the Turks rushing up reinforcements to withstand the attacks.

It is announced in Sofia from a well informed private source that the Bulgarian cavalry have entered Adrianople.

A Sofia telegram states that the Bulgarians at dawn to-day made a bold attack in which they captured the whole of the eastern front of Adrianople including six forts with all batteries.

London, Mar. 27.

A Sofia telegram states that the Turks yesterday set fire to all stores, the arsenal, the artillery depot, barracks, hospital, and northern quarters in Adrianople. Flames are devastating many points and the population are widely fleeing in all directions.

A Sofia telegram states that Adrianople is now entirely occupied by the Bulgarians. The Commandant, Shukri Pasha, surrendered to General Ivanoff at 2-0 in the afternoon.

The Bulgarian legation announces that Tchataldja has been captured after two days' desperate fighting.

The news of the fall of Adrianople led to remarkable scenes in the Duma. Deputies and the public in the galleries cheered till they were hoarse. The debate was suspended.

Dr. Daneff, President of the Bulgarian Subrange, and the Bulgarian Minister in St. Petersburg happened to be in the House. The deputies carried them round shoulder high, the procession being followed by the President and Vice President of the Duma. The deputies sang the Russian and Bulgarian national anthems, while the Duma chaplain chanted the *Te Deum*. Thereafter the deputies escorted the Bulgarians to their hotels.

The Turkish commandant at Scutari has replied to the Montenegrin envoys refusing to allow non-combatants to leave the town.

A Sofia telegram says that details of the assault on Adrianople are now to hand. It appears that herds of cattle were sent on in front to avert the dangers of mined trenches and that soldiers clad in mail and provided with bucklers cut the wire entanglements surrounding the forts, whose bastioned walls were cut out of rocks forty feet high. These were stormed at the point of the bayonet.

At the beginning of the final attack the Bulgarian troops were mown down and entire companies were destroyed before the Turkish positions were reached when the Bulgarians turned and captured the cannon of the Turks. Terrible carnage followed this, increased by the explosion of the powder magazines.

It is semi-officially stated in Sofia that the Serbians to the north-west of Adrianople fought most bravely though it was not their task to carry the forts. It is stated that one Serbian and one Bulgarian regiment were blown up. Shukri Pasha, Commandant of Adrianople, had wired to Constantinople on the evening of the 26th instant saying: "I shall leave the enemy a heap of smoking ruins." King Ferdinand with his sons and attachés and war correspondents have left for Adrianople.

A Sofia telegram says that the streets were thronged last night with large crowds. There were continuous rejoicings while enthusiastic demonstrations were made outside the British, Russian and French legations.

The Bulgarian Government has decided to distribute among the poor of Adrianople a hundred thousand francs worth of flour and twenty thousand francs worth of sugar, salt and other foodstuffs. General Ivanoff telegraphs that the Commander-in-Chief received the surrender of Shukri Pasha and appointed a commandant of the city who will maintain order.

General Ivanoff will enter Adrianople to-morrow. A requiem for those who fell in the siege will be celebrated and the *Te Deum* sung for the victory throughout Bulgaria to-morrow.

The Rights of the Conquered.

THE Ambassadors at Constantinople have received a memorandum from a committee for the defence of the rights of Moslems, Israelites, and Kutso-Vlachs, pointing out that the Note of the Great Powers of January 17, while promising full protection for the Moslems at Adrianople, made no mention of the rights of the Moslems elsewhere. The memorandum draws attention to the fact that Macedonia is not populated only by Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks, but contains also a large number of Kutso-Vlachs and Israelites, while the Moslems form, it not a majority, at least a very strong minority. Considering that the war was undertaken in the name of "national rights," the signatories submit that Macedonia ought not to be partitioned but constituted an independent State, where each nationality and creed would be able to lead a secure existence. The memorandum points to the atrocities which have been committed on the Moslem population as a proof of what the latter may expect under the rule of the Allies, and appeals to Europe in the name of justice, humanity, and civilisation to listen to its plea.

An Interview with Kiamil Pasha.

(By OUR CAIRO CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, Feb. 24.

As your readers are aware, Kiamil Pasha, the Turkish ex-Grand Vizier, who was recently removed from office by the Committee

of Union and Progress, is on a visit to this country. The opportunity of being able to obtain for the *Near East* the views on the present situation of this celebrated Turkish statesman was too good a one to be missed. So this morning I waited upon him at the Semirama Hotel, where he is staying as the guest of the H. H. the Khedivah Mother.

I was at once ushered into a comfortable room on the first floor. I had never met Kiamil Pasha face to face before, although I had on several occasions seen him at a distance—usually in a carriage. I was, therefore, naturally very curious to see what Turkey's "Wise and Strong Old Man" was like. I found myself in the presence of a venerable white-headed man, who bade me welcome in the most perfect English. Looking at the frail, slight, bowed figure before me, I could scarcely believe that this was the man who had but recently so wisely directed the destinies of the Turkish Empire in the teeth of such strong opposition. Yet every now and again during our conversation the piercing dark eyes set in that ascetic face sparkled, and I had glimpses of the strong personality which was encased in that frail frame, and which had enabled him in the past to carry all before him.

It was exceedingly difficult to get the ex-Grand Vizier to express an opinion on the present situation or on past events. Asked as to the motives which underlay the action of the Committee of Union and Progress, he replied that their action was certainly prompted by personal considerations. In view of the many rumours that have been in circulation as to the manner in which Nazim Pasha was killed, I endeavoured to get the true version of the scene from Kiamil Pasha, but he evaded the question by saying that he had been in another part of the building at the time. He seemed to feel very much any allusion to the incident.

With regard to the trend of hostilities Kiamil Pasha was hopeful, but he did not think that any more favourable terms than had been negotiated during his Grand Vizierate would be obtained. In fact, he appeared to fear that even more territory would be taken from Turkey in Europe. Every thing, he said, rested with the Great Powers. On one point, however, he was most emphatic. Even in the worst event, Constantinople would, in his opinion, not be taken from Turkey.

I referred to Hakkı Pasha's mission to London and also to the Cretan question, and the Bulgaro-Romanian conflict; but the ex-Grand Vizier declined to be drawn, declaring that in regard to the two last questions it would be unprofitable to discuss accomplished facts.

I mentioned finance and Kiamil Pasha at once interposed with the remark, "Al! therein lies Turkey's greatest difficulty." He gave me to understand that he feared that the territories taken away by the Allies would be a serious pecuniary loss to Turkey. No compensation would certainly be paid for them, and the great question was whether in addition an indemnity would be demanded from the Porte in view of the continuation of hostilities. With regard to the future, Kiamil Pasha was inclined to think that once peace was declared there would be little difficulty in raising money and he agreed with me that Turkey in Asia possesses resources as yet untapped, which when developed will be of very great value to the Empire.

I showed him the recent proclamation made by the Superior Committee of the party of Ottoman Administrative Decentralisation and asked him for his views thereon. He said he had heard about the proclamation, although he had not actually seen a copy. It was an excellent idea, and one that he had long had in his mind. Some such scheme was absolutely necessary for it was impossible to govern the many different communities which made up the Empire from one centre. Each vilayet must receive special treatment.

I asked Kiamil Pasha whether the present Government was what one might call a popular one. He replied in the negative; but added, in answer to a further question, that even if the Committee received a setback by the imposition of less favourable peace terms, its leaders would not relinquish power unless forced so to do. "In other words, another *coup d'état* would have to take place?" I remarked, and the ex-Grand Vizier made an expressive gesture in response.

Kiamil Pasha told me that he intended to remain another three weeks in Egypt, and that he would then return to Constantinople. He would, however, give no indication of what his plan of action would be after his arrival in the Turkish capital; and when at parting, after thanking him for his kindness in receiving me, I expressed the hope that he would soon be at the head of affairs once again, he remarked that unless he could be sure of being of material use to his country, he would most certainly not take office again.

Throughout the interview I was impressed with Kiamil Pasha's great concern for his country's plight, and was much struck by the great confidence he appeared to repose in the Great Powers.

I came away from the hotel convinced that I had been in the presence of one of the shrewdest, most strong-minded, and enlightened Orientals it has been my privilege to meet—one whose astuteness, broad-mindedness, caution, and determination should prove of priceless assistance to a country which, like Turkey, is passing through such critical times. The pity is that he should be exiled from power at the present serious juncture, when his presence might have such a beneficial influence on the course of events.—*The Near East*.

The Albanian Conference.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Mar. 3.

A number of Albanian leaders have been assembled for the last three days in conference at Trieste. Their principal achievement has been the despatch of telegrams to the Marquis di San Giuliano and to Count Berchtold, both of whom have sent suitable replies. Enthusiasm was aroused by a letter from Cattaro saying that the Albanians in Scutari slew 600 Servians on February 26, and that the Mirdites have obtained ten machine guns with ammunition from the garrison of Scutari in order to begin a Guerrilla war. The President of the conference, Faik Bey, demanded that the Albanians take up arms in support of the efforts of Italy and Austria-Hungary to create a big Albania. A letter was read from Kroya stating that 10,000 armed Albanians are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Aloundo and Kroya, and that the struggle for the liberation of those places has already begun. The attempt of one speaker to discuss the personality of the future ruler of Albania was shouted down. This evening's report of the proceedings states that in his opening discourse the President of the Conference, Faik Bey, alluded to the Emperor Francis Joseph as the "Emperor Liberator."

Vienna, Mar. 4.

Yesterday's proceedings in the Albanian Conference at Trieste were marked by dramatic incidents. Ivanai Bey, whom the president had silenced yesterday, demanded satisfaction to-day for the presidential threat to have him removed by the police. As the satisfaction was refused Ivanai Bey sent his card to the president and demanded personal satisfaction. Seconds were appointed by both parties. After much mediation and persuasion the incident was settled without recourse to arms.

A delegate named Cosarigi then demanded for Albania the vilayets of Scutari and Janina, and also Djakova, Uskub, Prizrend, Priştina, Katchanik, and Ipek in the vilayet of Kossovo, and Monastir, Elbasan and Dibra in the vilayet of Monastir. He proposed that the conference present a memorandum to the Ambassadors meeting in London and call upon the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Governments to break the Greek blockade of the Albanian coasts. Should the Great Powers permit the maintenance of the blockade the delegate proposed that the conference proclaim a general insurrection for the defence of Albanian territory. "An Albanian," he continued, "never forgets his vendetta. Let those who are with us raise their hands and solemnly swear the Bessa." All present sprang to their feet, raised their hands, and swore.

A professor named Iriani brought the greetings of 15,000 Italo-Albanians and 1,000 Albanians from New York. He called for cheers for the Triple Alliance. A giant named Beyram Duklam, of Djakova, then spoke and denounced Servian cruelty towards the Albanians. He assured the conference that there would be an inexorable settlement with the Servians next spring, when he added, "we shall turn Kossovo into a Servian graveyard."

A Near View of War.

Cetinje, Montenegro, Feb. 18.

Folk at home receive their war news all compact in daily paragraphs. At Podgoritsa, with the dull thud of heavy guns audible, news comes in scraps, rumours wild and various, whispers, official contradictions. All the winter Montenegro has talked of taking Scutari. And on Thursday, February 6, we were told that active steps were to be taken. "We should have taken Scutari three months ago," said an official, "had not we wished to be merciful and give it a chance of surrender." We heard the distant boom of guns. On Friday morning the Prefect announced "A great victory. Bardanyolt is taken. We shall be in Scutari on Sunday evening. You will be able to go there Monday or Tuesday!" I said nothing. For I had been quite similarly addressed early in October. Saturday dawned, and any ominous silence settled on Podgoritsa. Albanians, whose dearest wish is that their capital, Scutari, may never fall into Montenegrin hands, whispered that in place of victory for Montenegro was disaster.

Still no official news. But rumours of battalions cut up. Then telegrams asked for transport of wounded, and four carriages, piled with stretchers, left for the border of the lake to meet the steamer. "Are there many wounded?" "Forty-eight" was the reply. Saturday night was a grim one. Backwards and forwards hummed the motor-lorry and every available carriage, and a continuous stream of wounded poured into the town. And there was no accommodation for them. Just as at the beginning of the war, in October, Montenegro did not calculate on wounded, so now. Four months' war had taught Montenegro—nothing. A large part of the hospital accommodation now, moreover, is blocked with enteric.

Every wretched café, inn, every empty house was hastily commandeered. We began clearing the bottles and litter out of one at 10 a. m., and at 11, before there was time even to sweep the floor, 45 wounded were poured into it. Not a mattress, not a blanket (save a few still over from those sent from England) was ready, let alone a shirt or underclothes. The men, whose clothes were sickly with stale blood, lay on the bare boards and begged for food. They had been wounded on Friday. It was now Monday, and in the interval they had been nearly foodless. And this was repeated in every other commandeered house in the town.

Nor could any man tell what had occurred, save that the ground was thick with dead, that he believed his battalion was all cut up; that he had been under artillery fire; and that he did not know if the positions had been taken or not. Here in Podgoritsa we have now 2,000 sick and wounded, and the carriages are still rumbling in with more. Cetinje is also full: so is Rycka, so is everywhere, says report. The killed and wounded, number 6,000—some say 7,000. The black crowd of desperate women rushes at each carriage in search of husband, son, or brother. A long black line of women awaits, shivering in the bitter gale, all along the street where the carriages arrive. A rumour spreads that of the Kutchki and Bratnotchich battalions only a few hundreds survive. The women hurl themselves at the hospital doors—the hospitals are the tobacco factory and the barracks,—and strive to force a way into the inns full of wounded. But the men are all on the floor and must be "dressed" at once, for the wounds are three or four days old. And the rushing crowd would trample on the prostrate forms. Sternly the door is locked, and women smash the window and thrust their heads through in turn, crying for "Marko! has anyone seen my Marko? Kutchki battalion?" "None of 'em here. Go away!" and her place is taken by another with more futile cries.

Six thousand, at least, killed and wounded. And what has been gained? Herditsa is not taken, and of Bardanyolt only one of the heights. A small hill has been thus dearly bought. The officials stated at the beginning that they were prepared to pay 5,000 livras for Scutari. This, when it is remembered that the Montenegrin army consists only of some 50,000 men, is a criminal sacrifice of life. For the town for which all this blood is to be shed is not a Serb town to be freed from the Turkish yoke, but a purely Albanian town which is to be enslaved and forcibly Slavised. Were it in a good cause it would be terrible, but admirable. As it is this offering of life and limb is being made on the altar of greed.

The war which began with the avowed intention of liberating Slav and Greek is now being carried on, on the western side of the campaign, in order to exterminate the Albanians—destroy Albania. Montenegro has failed hopelessly to take Scutari single-handed, and now calls for great Serb reinforcements. In the name of justice and humanity it is time that these massacres should cease; that a halt should be called, and the rights of Albania to a national existence and to her capital town be recognised—"E." in the *Manchester Guardian*.

Pierre Loti in Constantinople.

PIERRE LOTI, the distinguished French writer and naval officer, has just published a charming volume through Macmillan's (4s. 6d. net), which gives some splendid glimpses of that Oriental life which he so loves to paint. The many purple patches in this little book are good samples of those larger canvases which have won him fame.

"THIS PROUD, DREAMY RACE."

Pierre Loti calls his book "*Carmen Sylva*," because the first few pages are devoted to his visit to the Queen of Roumania. Other chapters are devoted to the women of Japan ("Madame Ohrysanthe" and her sisters). But we pass by his compliments to the Queen of Roumania and his charming pictures of Japanese women, and turn to his vivid glimpses of Constantinople, which he has known for so many years.

"The more I live the Turkish life," he says, "the more I become attached to this proud, dreamy race." And when he had to leave Constantinople he says that "profound was the melancholy which came over me one pure March evening, on the Sea of Marmora, as I watched the outlines of the city gradually fading away and finally disappear from view."

A DREAM ON DISTANT SEAS.

"When everything else was dim and almost out of sight, the great domes and minarets still appeared above the cold sea mist, and the lofty, stately contour of Istanbul was the last to vanish. This final image symbolised all the bitter regrets I was leaving behind, all that dear Turkish life for ever ended, that one silhouette was graven on my memory, never again to be effaced. During the wandering years that followed, especially when travelling, on distant seas, often have I seen in dreams that city of domes and spires outlined on the grey imaginary horizon of my slumbers, each time bringing with it an impression of sadness, as of a dear, lost fatherland.

"It seems to me as though the streets and squares of Constantinople belong to me in some degree, and that I also belong to them. I feel a grudge against all these boulevard loungers, deposited here in crowds by the Orient express, for I cannot help regarding them as trespassers profaning a domain dear and sacred to me, and feeling nothing of the admiration and respect that old Istanbul still commands."

Special permission was given to Pierre Loti to visit the royal palaces on the Bosphorus, and in one of them he saw an amazing sight. "Far beneath our feet the Bosphorus rolls on, dotted with steamers and catques. Opposite is Asia, the last remnant of morning mist giving it a bluish tint; Scutari with its domes and minarets,—its immense cemetery and forest of gloomy looking cypresses. . . . How well-chosen the place was for dominating and overlooking this land of Turkey in its proud position on two of the world's continents!"

AN ALI BABA'S CAVE.

He goes into the Treasury. "No Ali Baba's cave ever contained such wealth! Here, for eight centuries, have been stored the rarest of precious stones, the most astonishing marvels of art. Gradually, as our eyes grow accustomed to the dim light within after the glare of the sun, we see diamonds sparkling all around. Priceless objects, of unknown antiquity, are classed in order on shelves, along with weapons of every period, from Genghis Khan to Mahmud; all of silver or gold and sparkling with gems. There are collections of gold caskets of every style and size, some covered with rubies, others with diamonds, and others again with sapphires, some of the emeralds being as large as an ostrich egg.

"In the last room of all, behind glass windows, an immovable, terrifying company awaits us: twenty-eight death puppets, of the size of human beings, standing erect, in military file, and with elbows touching. They all wear that high, pear-shaped turban which has been out of fashion for over a century, and is never seen nowadays except on the catafalques of defunct persons of importance, in the dim light of funeral kiosks, or else engraved on tombstones, to such an extent is this the case that it is inevitably connected, in my mind, with the idea of death. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, whenever a Sultan died, there was brought here a puppet, dressed in the gala garments of the deceased sovereign; marvellous weapons were fixed in its girdle, and on its head were set his turban and a magnificent slyette of precious stones. Thus it remained for all time, covered with this eternally buried wealth.

24 SULTANS IN ONE ROOM.

"The twenty-eight Sultans, who have succeeded one another from the capture of Constantinople to the end of the eighteenth century, have in this room their standing simulators, in parade uniform: by slow degrees the sombre though sumptuous assembly has grown, the new puppets coming one by one to take their place in a line with the old ones which have been awaiting them for hundreds of years, certain that they would come at last. And all these phantoms are touching one another, figures that have reigned at centuries of intervals, though remorseless time has now, brought them together in one sad and pitiable state of non-existence.

"Their long robes are made of the strangest brocades, of large rious patterns, though time has destroyed their colour, precious daggers, with wide pommels consisting of a single precious stone, in spite of every care, grow rusty in the silk of the girdles; it would even seem as though the enormous diamonds composing the slyettes had, after the lapse of centuries come to glow with a yellow and worn-out sort of brilliancy.

"How bad to behold is all this unheard-of luxury, with its thin covering of dust. Of fabulous magnificence are the puppets with their lofty coiffures, objects of so much human covetousness, guarded there behind double iron doors, alike useless and dangerous. They witness the passing of years and centuries, kingdoms and revolutions, in the same immobility and silence; during the day feeble rays of light finding their way through the old, barred windows, and in utter darkness after sunset. Each has its name, written on a faded label like any ordinary word, names still famous, and in bygone days terrible to hear: Arghun, the Conqueror, Suleiman the Magnificent, Mohammed and Mahmud. I do not think there is anything that gives me a more awe-inspiring lesson on human vanity and frailty than do these puppets. —Public Opinion.

The Case for the Turk.

By "TURKOPHILE."

("Who believes himself to be less a friend of the Turks than a friend of justice".)

LET me begin by asking those who read these lines to consider briefly what have been the salient events of the last five years, in order to appreciate what the average Turk must think of the sincerity of Europe. In 1908 the tyranny of Abdul Hamid was broken in a night. The Young Turks were hailed as giants who had smashed a fortress of granite, and when they added Constitutionism to their virtues they were acclaimed almost as saints by the Liberals of the West. In the twinkling of a political eye they convoked their Parliament. If this country abolished its present Constitution, and, at a moment's notice, convened an Imperial Council drawn from all the inhabitants of the Empire—composed of Zulus as well as Englishmen and Australian aborigines as well as Australians—the result would probably be chaos.

The result in Turkey to a large extent was chaos, and, thanks to the docility of the Turks, it was a reign of bloodless anarchy. Turkey was swiftly punished for her reforms by the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by the declaration of independence of the Tributary States. These assaults upon the integrity of the Empire weakened the confidence in European morality, which was professed by the Young Turks. England, however, took no advantage of the situation and, in consequence, received the gratitude of the Mussalman world. A reaction occurred: Abdul Hamid attempted to seize the reins of power amid a chorus of delight from the Great Powers. He failed, was dethroned, and the Young Turks set themselves the task of putting their house in order. This task entailed the destruction of a number of parasites, an operation which was naturally displeasing to the parasites and to their friends.

THE EFFECT OF A REFORMED TURKEY.

Europe, at one blow, was deprived by a reformed Turkey of sanctimoniousness and concessions. The preacher and the financier were both in danger of losing their employment. It was then that Europe made the discovery that the Young Turks had not been giants who had destroyed a granite fortress, but merely conjurers who had broken a House of Cards, doomed, in any case, to collapse. Diplomats objected strongly to the secrecy of the Committee. Are there no secret party funds in England? The English public informed that the rulers of Turkey were chiefly Jews. This was not true, and even if it had been true, it is not obvious why we should repudiate for the Turks what we accept placidly for ourselves.

In their work of reform the would-be regenerators of Turkey were faced with this problem. They had either to allow the various wild tribes of the Empire to continue in a state of lawlessness or they had to impose a homogeneous and a consistent discipline from Constantinople upon them. To adopt the first course was to be told that they were not sincere; to adopt the second was to lay themselves open to the accusation of cruelty and militarism. The choice lay in allowing the Kurds to continue to be the masters, good or bad, of the Armenians, or to restore order in Kurdistan by bringing the tribes under the control of the Central Government. No real Government could acquiesce in the opposition of the Arabs of the Hedjaz to the railway which was to bring safety to the pilgrims, and consequently loss to the Arab pirates of the land. In fact, the policy of *laissez-faire* was condemned by Europe as the same incompetency which was at core and rind the Old Régime. When, however, the reforms, many of which were premature and most of which were ill-considered, were put into execution, the Young Turks were told that they were moving impossibly fast. The Christian subjects of the Porte liked the idea of equality when it meant that the Moslem was to step off his pedestal, but equality appeared a very different thing when it entailed any surrender of Christian privileges.

A STRONG, CLEAN TURKEY NOT WANTED.

The Powers without, and the Christians within, did not desire a strong, clean Ottoman Empire. When Turkey was unreformed, Greek, Serb, and Bulgar were content to kill each other; but a reformed Turkey meant a Turkey that needed no physician, and that could even possibly get on without heirs. Consequently the Christians of Macedonia drew together, abandoned their quarrels, and decided that it was better for each to lose something to the other than to risk the surrender of the heritage of their dreams. The Albanians, who had been bereft of their independence, revolted. Italy annexed Tripoli.

I was once at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem on an Easter morning, and finding myself in the centre of a quarrelsome crowd of pilgrims, I broke through the line of Turkish soldiers and sat down and talked to a Turkish officer whose face was scarred and who had lost one eye. He told me of various fights and I asked him how he had lost his eye. "That," he said, "was not a glorious quarrel. It was a fight between two sects of Christians, and an old priest was being killed. I interfered, and had my eye struck out by a cross which was being used as a weapon."

The Turk is not intolerant ; he is, on the contrary, a very gentle man. His misfortune is that many of his co-religionists in Asia are turbulent, fanatical, and treacherous, and that crimes in every land and by every race over which the Sultan rules are attributed to him. An Englishman would appeal to justice if he were accused at the same time of the extravagance of the Irishman and the economy of the Scot. The Turk bears on his shoulders the faults of the Laks, Circassian, Pomak (Bulgarian-Moslem), Arab, and Kurd. He is in reality a very simple man, who would live contented and peaceful and die happy if he had decent rulers and if the financial blood-suckers of Europe did not find their most convenient prey in his country. The Turk is the most docile of men. I shall be answered that he has been an executioner upon a terrific scale. At least he has not done more than obey orders. He has never had the fendish political campaign of torture and extermination that must for ever disgrace the pages of Bulgarian history.

Within the limits of this space I have found it difficult to write what I desire. I will summarise the past events by saying that Turkey was not allowed to reform. That when she tried, war was forced upon her. That when the Peace Conference took place in London the difficulties of the Turkish delegates were increased by the arrogant interviews which Dr. Daneff accorded to the newspapers in this country. Negotiations can hardly be said to be negotiations when one side is asked to give up everything and the other side refuses to discuss any modification of their terms. The peace negotiations failed, not because it was not possible for both sides to come to an agreement, but because Dr. Daneff was more anxious to put forward a demand than to accomplish the mission for which he was sent.—*The Morning Post* (London.)

Ottoman Red Crescent Society.

The following is the list of Indian subscribers to the **Ottoman Red Crescent Society**, which has been forwarded to us by the **Society** for publication and published here without any alteration.

List of the Indian Subscribers and Donors.

Received through the Editor of the <i>Political Bazaar</i> ...	Piastre.
" " Mr. Haje Mohammed Iushanliah, Editor of the <i>Mashurret</i> , Lahore ...	4,966
" from the Mohammedans of Hyderabad ...	4,459
" from the Red Crescent Society, Karachi ...	2,297
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy, in London ...	1,685
" from Messrs Haje Mohammed Pashah & Co., Madras, through the Ottoman Foreign Office ...	855,500
" from Messrs Haje Mohammed Asaf & Co., Madras ...	108,750
" from the brother of the same, Madras ...	84,216
" from the son-in-law of the same, Madras ...	3,682
" from the son of the same, Madras ...	3,682
" from the Mohammedan Jewellers of Bombay through Mr Haje Mohammed Fazel Hussain, Editor of <i>Al-Musker</i> , Bombay ...	7,264
" from the Mohammedans of India, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	55,000
" from Messrs Eljee Bakhsh & Co., Meerut, through the National Bank of India, Ltd. ...	9,408
" from the Mohammedans of India, through the Viceroy and Viceroy, Kumaon Pasha ...	687,750
" from the names of the donor and of the town (the names are illegible), through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	10,875
" from the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	45,750
" through Mr Ali Bakhsh, Editor of the <i>Vakil</i> , Amritsar ...	10,800
" from the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	109,786
" from the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	5,500
" from the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	27,500

* 100% of the total number of respondents

† Some papers in Canada will have been dropped, the Ottumwa Red Cross Society is holding a collection to get the full address of the newspaper and the correct name of the town. What has been obtained is revised this will be sent.

There is a man who desires to see Christian
unity held in sacred regard, but wishes services to be Orthodox
or Catholic, and are the Protestants to be completely ignored?

Piastres.

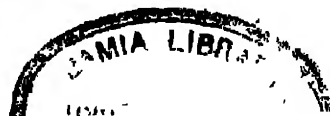
Received from the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	76,481
" from the Mohammedans of Karachi, through the Ottoman Foreign Office...	109,460
" from the Mohammedans of Moradabad ...	7,709
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay ...	10,918
" from Major Mamou, Bombay ...	163,875
" from the Mohammedans of Delhi, through the National Bank of India, Ltd ...	15,395
" from the Mohammedans of Madras ...	22,015
" from the Crescent, through Messrs. Hajee Abdullah and Adam, Cochin, Madras ...	109,875
" from Mr Abdul Hakim ...	5,760
" from the Mohammedans of Mandalay ...	88,000
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	550,625
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	440,500
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	550,625
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	330,000
" from the Mohammedans of Delhi, through the National Bank of India, Ltd ...	20,250
" from the Mohammedans of Calcutta, through the National Bank of India, Ltd ...	218,875
" from the Mohammedans of Delhi, through the National Bank of India, Ltd ...	10,981
" from Messrs. Elahce Buksh, Calcutta ...	21,950
" from Mr Quamar Shah Khan, Bareilly ...	59,015
" from Mr. Quamar Shah Khan, Bareilly ...	35,595
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay ...	72,600
" from the Red Crescent, Serampore, Calcutta...	74,182
" from Mr Haice Ismail Khan, Calcutta ...	28,383
" from the Anjuman Mohammed-ul-Islam, Calcutta ...	22,000
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay ...	198,000
" from " " " Delhi ...	21,837
" from " " " India ...	109,816
" from " " " Bombay ...	22,025
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr H C. Arif ...	95,355
" from the Red Crescent Society Calcutta, through Mr H. B. Arif ...	64,982
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr. H C Arif ...	220,221
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	550,000
" through the Editor of the <i>Political Bhowia</i> and through the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay ...	1,629
" from the Mohammedan Society (the name of the Society is illegible) ...	784
" from the Anjuman Khadim-ul-Islam, Thabon, Burma ...	551
" the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	25
" from the Young Men's Club of Kathiawar, through the Editor of the <i>Political Bhowia</i> ...	3,556
" from the Young Men's Club of Kathiawar, through the Editor of the <i>Political Bhowia</i> ...	1,911
" from Mr Mohammed Madani Allah, Calcutta ...	3,029
" from Mr. Mohammed Moustapha (the name of the town is illegible) ...	441
" from Mr. Muhammad Hajee Noor Muhammad Dhorajee ...	15,817
" from Mr. Quamar Shah Khan, Bareilly ...	8,792
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr. H C Arif ...	165,690
" from the Red Crescent Society, Haiderabad...	11,000
" from do. do. do. ...	11,000
" from the Mohammedans of Mandalay ...	128,620
" from Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal ...	164,681
" through Mr. Mohammed Inshaullah, Editor of the <i>Watan</i> , Lahore ...	11,087
" from Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Waziri, Khairpur-Sind ...	55,000
" from the Red Crescent Society, Karachi, through Mr. Hajee Abdulla Haroon ...	55,000

Piastres.

Received from the Secretary of the Bombay and Haiderabad Hedjaz Railway Committee, through the Alliance Bank of India ...	7,358
" from the Red Crescent Society (the name of the town is illegible) ...	17,610
" from the Red Crescent Society, Umballa ...	13,207
" from the Anjuman Zeynat-ul-Islam (the name of the town is illegible) ...	25,879
" from Messrs. Elahce Buksh, & Co., Meerut ...	6,184
" from the Mohammedans of Rampur, through Mr Quamar Shah Khan ...	121,191
" from the Anjuman Islam, Amritsar ...	11,000
" through Mr Mohammed Fazil Hussain, Editor of <i>Al-Nasheer</i> , Moradabad ...	8,800
" from Mr. Muzed-ul-Islam, Lucknow ...	110,000
" from the Red Crescent Society, Karachi, through Mr. Hajee Abdullah Haroon ...	33,550
" from Mr. Adam Khan Khosro, Jacobabad ...	4,950
" from (the name of the donor and of the town are illegible) ...	44,050
" through the Editor of <i>Watan</i> , Lahore ...	110,487
" from the Mohammedans of Multan, through Mr. Khan Bahadar Saheb Muhammad Said ...	188,793
" from the Muhammadans of Baranagor ...	1,984
" from " " " Delhi ...	15,461
" from Mr. Nawab Hassan Khan, Lucknow ...	14,790
" from the Mohammedans of Madras, through the Ottoman Consul ...	91,872
" from Mr. Mirza Khan, President of the Jehandar Nawab and the Anjuman Islam, Calcutta ...	27,399
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy, in London ...	885,000
" from the Mohammedans of Bombay, through the Ottoman Embassy in London ...	220,750
" from Mr Ibrahim Khan, Calcutta ...	77,350
" from the Red Crescent Society, Barisal ...	33,150
" from the Mohammedans of Delhi ...	11,006
" from Mr. Maher Mohammed Molesina, Bareilly ...	14,740
" from the Turkish and Arab Women's Society of Bombay, through Mrs. Munira Hanem ...	194,700
" from the Secretary of the Railway of Haiderabad ...	7,364
" through Ali Buksh, Editor of the <i>Wakil</i> , Amritsar ...	11,000
" from the Red Crescent Society, Haiderabad ...	110,312
" from " " " " Calcutta ...	8,658
" from " " " " Haiderabad ...	110,735
" from " " " " Matari, Haiderabad, Sind ...	77,000
" from Messrs. Ekroom and Mohammed Nafi, Delhi ...	67,650
" from the Red Crescent Society, Lucknow ...	110,000
" through Mr Ali Buksh, Editor of the <i>Wakil</i> , Amritsar ...	5,500
" through Mr Ali Buksh, Editor of the <i>Wakil</i> , Amritsar ...	7,370
" from Mr Khan Mohammed Umar, Bombay...	29,189
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr H C. Arif ...	220,729
" from Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal ...	184,857
" from the Turkish Relief Fund of Rangoon, through Mr. Ahmed Moola Daood ...	110,562
" from Mr. Allah Viridi ...	5,000
" from the Mohammedans of Bomba ...	1,090,000
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr. H. C. Arif ...	220,474
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr. H C Arif ...	219,725
" from the Red Crescent Society, Calcutta, through Mr. H. C. Arif ...	330,600

THE TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

We regret we are unable to publish this time our weekly list of contributions to the Turkish Relief Fund, as our Assistant Manager, who has been in sole charge of this branch of work, has been away on sick leave.—Editor, *Comrade*.



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All remittances and business letters should be addressed to the Manager. Subscribers of the *Comrade* are requested when writing to the Manager to quote their Register Number, but not L-805 which is the number of the paper in the Post Office.

If a Subscriber fails to quote his Register Number, the office will not be responsible for the delay in the change of address.

[By order Moulti Muhammad Junaid Sahib, Munsiff of Cawnpore. Process-fee has been levied into this Court.]

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order 5, Rules 1 and 5.)

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIFF AT**CAWNPORE DISTRICT.**

SUIT No. 90 OF 1918.

THE ALLIANCE BANK OF SIMLA, LTD.,

CAWNPORE

...

... PLAINTIFF,

versus

Haji Moniruddin Ahmad s/o Nasir-**UDDIN AHMAD, Resaldar, Supply and****Transport Corps, c/o Tehsildar****Mharajpur, District Cawnpore ... DEFENDANT.**

To

Haji Moniruddin Ahmed, Defendant

Whereas the plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs 564-8-9, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed, and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some persons able to answer all such questions, on the twenty-first day of April, 1918, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence.

Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 17th day of March 1918

(Signature illegible.)

*Munsarim, Munsiff's Court, Cawnpore.***NOTICE**

1.—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

2.—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court together with costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, Rules 1 and 5, Act V of 1908.)

REG. SUIT No. 378 OF 1918.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIFF, FYZABAD

(OUDH).

THE PEOPLE'S INDUSTRIAL BANK, LD., Fyzabad ... PLAINTIFF.

versus

BISHAMPUR DAYAL

...

... DEFENDANT.

To

Bishambar Dayal; father's name not known; Assistant Manager, Gorakhpur Bank Ltd., Gonda; Place of residence, at present Assistant Manager, Gorakhpur Bank, Ltd., Patna

Whereas the plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 135-7-8 principal and interest on the basis of a pro-*note* you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit or who shall be accompanied by some persons able to answer all such questions on the 6th day of April, 1918, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and you are directed to produce on that day all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence.

Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 11th day of March 1918.

*KASTURBAI KUMAR,**Munsarim, Munsiff's Court, Fyzabad.*

MAJOR BILGRAMI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

delivered at the Twenty
Sixth Annual Session

OF
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Educational
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The *Advocate of India* in its issue of the 1st April states:—"Although the situation in South Persia is generally calmer than it had been for some months past, the road from Bushire to Shiraz continues so infested with marauders as to be a perpetual menace to life and property. The Indian Marine vessel *Lawrence* left on Sunday with reliefs, and with regard to the forthcoming departure of the *Dufferin* of the same service in her should have gone 111 men of the 5th Grenadiers from Amargahel under the command of one British and two Indian officers destined as reliefs to the force at present at Shiraz, but orders to this effect were cancelled only today. On the 20th ultimo, it may also be recalled the B.I.S.N.

he continued, "with splendid hospitality characteristic of those brave men and women upon whose shoulders rests the heavy responsibility of a task of increasing demand. I was honoured with the confidence of British Indians and met the great leaders of Indian opinion as well as official. I can not sufficiently thank them for all they did for me. If I can show them that we at the India Office are anxious to appreciate the difficulties and problems of the Indian administration both from the British and Indian points of view in a personal sense as well as by despatch and replies to petitions, I hope to offer them some return for their confidence and welcome. Courage is the attribute of the Government of India which I would place first, courage and single-purposed strength begotten of confident belief in the humanity and essentiality of the British Government. What better example of this is possible than the splendid courage of Lord and Lady Hardinge at Delhi? I do not think that history records greater physical courage than was shown on that day or greater honesty of mind than was shown in the great speech I heard in January with which the Viceroy, still with pieces of the miscreant's missile in his back, announced his unflinching confidence in the people of India."

Education of Moslem Girls.

Lady Meston opened the Moslem Girls' School, Lucknow, on the 28th March which marks a new era in Moslem education there. This institution has been liberally endowed by the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad and Syed Karamat Hussain, and is under the guidance of Miss Pope, a talented Canadian lady, who has devoted herself to the cause of Moslem female education.

The "Near East."

The Hon'ble Mr. Stevenson Moore, in reply to Maulvi Fazulhaq, said the Government are not aware that the *Near East* is regarded by Mussalmans as an anti-Moslem paper, on the contrary it is understood that there has been a demand among Mahomedans anxious for a reduction of its price in order to read it, and it is believed that the news it disseminates is accurate, and its opinions are temperately expressed. The paper was selected for distribution by the Government of India, and this Government are not aware whether Moslem opinion was consulted by that Government. One hundred and fifty three copies are being taken for distribution in Bengal. They will be distributed to selected public reading room and libraries, educational institutions and Mahomedan associations.

The All-India Medical Mission.

Owing to a great pressure on our space we could not publish last week the letter received on the 22nd March from Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, General Manager of the Mission, from which some very interesting extracts are given below:—

Constantinople, Mar. 4.

Things have not moved very far this week, and we are as we were. You know the fiasco about the *Rashid Pasha*. I sent a long cable to Dr. Ansari, and in reply he sent me the following:—

"Enver Bey going Constantinople in *Rashid Pasha*. See him; arrange if he considers necessary for Omerli section Museum Hospital. This change necessitated by army movements.—Ansari."

Now there were so many proposals and counter-proposals: (1) Dr. Ansari to work at Chanak Kila, or Dardanelles, in the base hospital with a section of the Mission working as a Hospital-ship in the *Rashid Pasha*. (2) As suggested by the telegram, Dr. Ansari to work at Chanak Kila and Dr. Naim to work in Constantinople in the Museum vacated by the British Red Cross Hospital. (3) The repeated insistence of the War Office not to remove from Omerli.

I was in a fix and did not know what to do. *Rashid Pasha* and *Welling Pasha* had told me that they would consult Ali Ghalib Bey, the Inspector of Hospitals. After consulting him they had decided that we ought to remain at Omerli, as the centre of the war was going to be changed from Gallipoli to Tchataldja. I thought it best to leave the matter completely in the hands of Enver Bey.

The next morning early at 8 I went to Enver Bey's house. Our cards were taken in, and we were asked to sit in his room. I was on the tip-toe of expectation. At last steps were heard and I thought I was going to see Enver Bey once more. Who should enter but a bearded short gentleman, rather elderly, but the beard still black, with very pleasant face, and certainly attractive. He was Enver Bey's father. He said he knew nothing of Enver Bey's arrival, and that if during the course of the day he heard anything about him he would let me know of it by wire. I came back in a very dejected mood and went straight to the Hilal-i-Ahmar to request them to send somebody with me to obtain permission to remove the

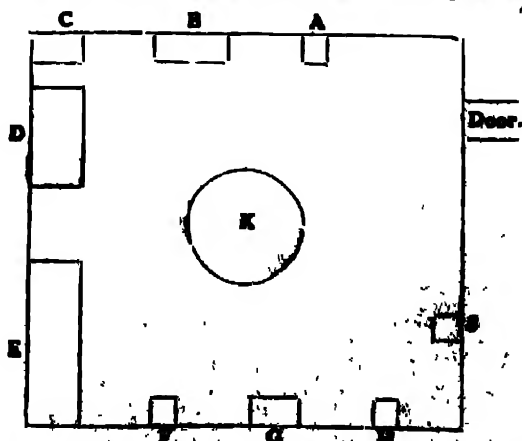
Omerli Hospital to the Museum. Dr. Akil Moukhtar, a member of the Central Committee and a famous professor of the great Medical College at Haider Pasha, promised to go with me. He made me sit for complete three hours and then I was told that he had gone away. In a very angry mood I drove straight on to the War Office. In the way I saw Ali Ghalib Bey. I jumped out of my carriage and went to him. He said he was coming from the War Office and that, as circumstances showed there was great likelihood of a great battle near Tchataldja, we would not be permitted to leave Omerli. That was the decision of the War Office. I said to him that we would bow to the decision of the Minister and the Sanitary Committee, but we must be promised many patients whenever they were obtainable. We had come at great expense, and we should not like to return with only 500 or 600 names in our register. He made me a solemn promise that he would send patients to us without fail. But I have now begun to understand the Turk a bit. He is so polite that, in order not to appear uncivil or rude, he would go the length of making any promises, possible or impossible. So in order to make assurance doubly sure I drove on to the War Office. On inquiring I was told that Enver Bey was there. I went straight to him, and put Dr. Ansari's telegram into his hands. He went to some authorities with the telegram and came back and told me that the *Rashid Pasha* could not be spared. The Government had already given the *Cambridge* to the Croissant Rouge and could not afford to give the *Rashid Pasha* also, as all possible ships would be required for the transport of soldiers and the Government was short of ships. He said that the other section should remain at Omerli. I said we would not get patients. He said he would particularly speak to some of the authorities to send us the wounded in great numbers. That is how the affairs has ended. I have written all this to Dr. Ansari and I am waiting for his final orders.

The Omerli people are working beautifully, and I am told Shoab is the soul of the work there. To-day there are 86 patients, who had been wounded in the skirmishes in the hills of Stranja. From this you can see that the Turks have advanced a good deal. The weather has been excessively cold lately. And it has been snowing in millions of tons. Naturally the army cannot move at all. When the snow stops the soldier has to fight mud. I never saw such mud in my life. It seems somebody has scattered gum in large quantities all over the country. It is impossible to walk in it, not to talk of carrying guns and ammunition and transport. If peace is not concluded before that the Turk is going to fight after March, I can safely vouchsafe for his fighting well then. For the time being he is awaiting his opportunity. After finishing arrangements at Gallipoli Enver Bey went to Tchataldja and has returned from there only to-day. His coming here and going to Tchataldja has a deep significance. Let us wait and see.

My sole informant is that hateful *Levant Herald*, and that does not give much information either. But rumour says that men belonging to the anti-Young Turk party had plotted to kill Mahmoud Shekhat Pasha. The plot was discovered in time. A Persian is the chief mischief-maker. This information has already appeared in the Turkish papers. There is no other news of importance.

Doctor Naim developed asthma from his bronchitis and has had to stay in the German Hospital for a week more. In his absence the boys at Omerli are working quite well. I propose to go there day-after-tomorrow, and after my return from there I shall go like a grand Inspector to Chanak Kila!

I don't know if you would like to read it, but I should like to give you a description of Enver Bey's room. I was very much impressed with the simplicity of the furniture and the dignity of it. It was a small room, perhaps 12 by 12 feet. I give a plan below.



1A. Relief map of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus and coast of Black Sea. Quite large in size. (Like the Base Model of India used in schools and colleges.)

B. Almirah.—On the top of it there were some German and other books and a copy of Turkey in Transition. In the other shelves there were heaps of papers.

O. Small Almirah with papers.


D. Table.—With rack for papers. An unframed photo of Sultan Salahuddin in the rack and a bronze statue of Napoleon about 10 inches in height.

Sofa.



G. H. J.—Chairs.

K. Round table with two frames containing photos of Prince Yousuf Izzuddin and Prince Abdul Majid Effendi, his younger brother.

Above J. there was a large enlargement of Enver Bey's father, and on the top of it was the photo of some Albanian Chief in his national costume. Above A. B and C were three frames. Above A. a frame contained a big enlarged print of Washington. Next to it was an equally large picture of Napoleon. And next to it was a frame containing three pictures—Enver Bey, some military friend and a child.

Above D. was a large photo of the Sultan Mohamed Reshad and a  in Arabic and on the top of these two was a shattered flag, but with the Crescent and Star intact. There was a Turkish carpet on the floor.

P. S.—Ghulam Ahmad Khan who has come to-day with the post of the members, tells me that it is terribly cold at Omerli. He says that the thermometer was at freezing point in the afternoon and much below it in the night. Oh! the snow is terrible, and so is the cold.

I completely forgot to tell you that there have been some changes in the personnel of the Mission. Dr Barry and Hasan Raza Beg are of course gone. Abdul Waheed, a good man and a very clever and hard working dispenser, developed pneumonia and pleurisy on account of the cold, and Dr. Nam told him that one of the lungs was affected and suggested that he should return to India, so he too has gone. These three have gone away out of the original lot that started from India. Dr. Syed Abdur Rahman, M. B. C. H. B., and Dr. Raza Khan joined us from Edinburgh. Mr. Syed Ali Imran, a student of Oxford who came here in the beginning of the war, has also joined us and he has been taken as a full member. Two doctors one for each section have been given by the Hilal-i-Ahmar to help us in arranging for things. They are both Egyptians and know English and Turkish well. Two more young men have volunteered and promised to help us as interpreters and nurses free of charge. Mahmood Mazhar is an Egyptian and is a student of the Commercial Naval Class. The other is a Turk, Kemal Effendi, and is related to Djemal Pasha, prefect of Constantinople. Both know English although not high class. We have engaged two interpreters, both Indians, one with each section. There are two cooks with each section and one in each is a Persian. He too serves as an interpreter. I give below a list of the two sections. Please publish it in the Comrade. Before I give the list I must mention Syed Ahmed Shah Jilani. He is a Sindhi gentleman and for the last 15 years has been in Cairo. He is a real  and has come to Constantinople to know of the fate of Islam. We found him and he found us. He has proved of immense value as it is he who has been buying all material for us in the way of food stuffs, etc. I don't think he has been included as a regular member, but I have got for him a  uniform and cap and he lives with me and dines with me, works day and night and charges no salary. He wants his name to appear in the Comrade.

The following letter was received from Dr. Ansari with the English Mail on the 29th March.—

Chanik Kila, Mar 10

I am very happy to tell you that two days after my last letter to you, that is to say, on the 6th March, we admitted 51 patients in our hospital. All of them are suffering from exposures to cold, namely, pneumonia, bronchitis, pleurisy and besides ten of them are suffering from gangrene of the feet due to cold.

All our men are very happy to have these patients to look after and are working splendidly. I must mention especially the extreme energy and zeal shown by Messrs. Qasi Bashir-ud-din, Noor-ul-Hak and Abdul Aziz whose work cannot be adequately extolled whatever extravagant terms one may apply. Dr. Abdul Rahman has been working ceaselessly and untiringly to make the hospital which I may, without any hesitation, call the best in this place. Our operating-room and dressing-rooms are very much admired by the visitors both for their equipment and aseptic arrangements.

Dr. Foad Bey's knowledge of the Arabic and Turkish languages is constantly in demand, and but for him it would be impossible to carry on the work. He is so good and kind that, in spite of continual demands from all directions for help, he never loses his temper. We are about to receive another contingent of some eighty to hundred

patients, and the Manager's wits are being taxed to the utmost how and where to accommodate them all. He has been busy making wooden beds for some forty-five patients, but the rest have yet to be provided for.

Our expenses here, although not even one-tenth of the British Red Crescent hospitals, are running up in spite of our care and economy.

The food of the patients costs a great deal. The average daily expenses, so far, have been between £4 to 5, and with the increase of the patients they are bound to increase. The Manager's rough estimate for the full month with the hospital full of patients is about £8,450 a month. We save a lot of money owing to the simple food of our staff and there being only the servant's pay to defray every month.

I am sending you a complete account prepared with great care and labour by our General Manager, Abdul Rahman Siddiqi. He has proved himself a mighty useful member of the Mission, achieving with his wonderful tact what others had entirely to do. His attitude of mighty disdain to the Turks when talking to his own intimate friends and a threatening and dogged behaviour towards them when he is trying to get some work out of them is most amusing. For all round utility he is unsurpassed and he is a great success also as a show man when it is necessary to create an impression. I hope you would appreciate his care and labour in preparing the accounts which I am sending to you.

I am also sending to you the account prepared by Khaliq-uz-zaman, the Manager of this section.

I have re-called Dr. Fyze from the directorship of the Bombay Mission as I sincerely believe Dr. Fyze's time was being wasted in patching up the incessant disputes and quarrels and the constant intrigues and counter-intrigues among the members of that Mission.

It grieves me greatly to remark that the men of the Bombay Mission are dissipating their energies in their private disputes and are not fulfilling to their best the onerous duties entrusted to them by the poor Moslems of Bombay. I endeavoured hard with the help of Dr. Fyze to introduce harmony and co-operation amongst them, but as long as good sense does not prevail amongst them no efforts in that direction can succeed.

Bassim Omar Pasha and many other members of the Croissant Rouge have made similar efforts, but all have proved fruitless.

After receiving Dr. Fyze's letter which I am enclosing for your perusal, it would have been unfair to him not to have re-called him at once. I am also enclosing copies of letters addressed to Bassim Omar Pasha, the members of the Bombay Poor Moslems Mission, and Dr. Fyze in this connection which would give you all the facts.

Accept the love and regards of the children to Abul Wafd.

Chanik Kila, Mar. 8.

To His Excellency BASSIM OMAR PASHA,

President, Croissant Rouge, Ottoman.

DEAR SIR,—I am very happy to be able to tell you that the second hospital of the All-India Medical Mission has been fully established and is in full working order at Chanik Kila. I have to thank you for your kindness and courtesy which has enabled me to attain the objects for which the Mission has come to Turkey.

At present there are 110 beds in the hospital which is established in a Greek school in this town. There are 51 patients in the hospital under treatment, and we are expecting to be full in a day or two. I have met with consideration and courtesy at the hands of all the authorities here and Dr. Tewfik Roshdi Bey, the Director of the Red Crescent Hospital, has been exceedingly good to me. But for his help it would have been difficult to find such a beautiful building for the hospital here. I hope very soon to be able to send you a report of the hospital together with the photographs of the staff and the wards.

I regret deeply to have to inform you that I am compelled to recall Dr. A. H. Fyze from the Directorship of the Bombay Mission owing to incessant dissensions, quarrels, intrigues and unpleasantness that exist in that Mission. With the help of Dr. Fyze I had tried very hard to introduce peace, friendship and smoothness in the working of that Mission. But Dr. Fyze informed me that it had been impossible to achieve this end.

Owing to the illness of Dr. Nam and the abovementioned facts Dr. Fyze will in future have no connection with the Bombay Mission. He will resume his post as the Assistant Director of my Mission and take charge of the All-India Medical Mission Field-Hospital in Omerli. With kindest and sincerest regards,

Yours Very Sincerely,

MUKHTAR AHMAD ANSARI,

M. B. M. S. (Edin.),

M. R. O. S. (Eng.),

R. R. O. P. (Lond.),

Director, All-India Medical Mission.

Chandik Kila, Mar. 8.

To the Members of the Bombay Poor Muslims' Medical Mission.

Dear Sirs,—Your repeated requests to help you in your troubles and the obvious dissensions and quarrels in your Mission had obliged me as an Indian and a Mussalman to try and smooth your differences and to help you in your mission of peace and mercy by lending you the services of Dr. A. H. Fyzee as Director of your Mission. But it has pained me beyond expression to find that my efforts have been in vain. You have neither succeeded in settling your disputes nor have you refrained from constant intrigues and quarrel amongst yourselves. I am compelled to recall Dr. Fyzee to resume his duties as Assistant Director of my Mission. I am afraid nobody can help you as long as you remain divided amongst yourselves and as long as you do not have the good sense to see that by your constant differences you are not only dissipating your energies in a wrong direction, but soiling the good name of the community which you represent and the country you hail from.

At the very longest only a few weeks remain for our stay in Turkey and I pray you even now to work with a united effort in the best interest of the cause entrusted to you by the Poor Muslims of Bombay.

Dr. Fyzee must, however, return to the All-India Medical Mission as I can not allow him in fairness to himself to remain any longer with you.

Yours Ever Sincerely,

M. A. ANSARI.

Chandik Kila, Mar. 8

MY DEAR AZHAR,—Your letter has really made me disgusted with the Bombay Mission. I feel sorry for having been misled to hope that anybody could reform them, and I am still more sorry that you should have been put to all the worries and trouble for the sake of those who least deserve it. I am afraid I have been the cause of all this trouble to you, but you know more than anybody else that it was done with the best intentions.

You must at once hand over the charge and come back home to us who will always respect and love you as our friend, philosopher and guide.

Please take charge of the Omerli Section of our Mission. You are very much needed there, as unfortunately our dear friend Dr. Naim has had an attack of severe bronchitis which would preclude him from remaining exposed to the rigorous climate necessarily prevailing under tents.

I do not know if Dr. Naim is as yet quite strong, and, if so, whether he intends going back to Omerli or coming down here to Chandik Kila. He has not yet written to me, but I have come to know of his illness from another source. Please convey to him my sympathy and regards when you see him and ask him to write to me.

I am glad to say we are installed here in a beautiful building with 110 beds, half of which are already full with patients.

I would like to name the five tents in our Mission by the following names—

1. Mohamed Ali ward tent
2. Aligarh ward tent
3. Asad Pasha ward tent
4. Mahmood Sherkat Pasha ward tent
5. Nazee Bey ward tent

Get these names written in large letters on cartboards or wood to be fixed to a post in front of these wards.

All the registers, led letters and reports must contain references to these names. Also please get Reza, the photographer, from Constantinople as soon as possible to take photographs of the staff, the wards, operating room, mess room, and the camp as a whole and prepare a report of the working of the hospital as soon as the photographs are ready under the following heads:—

1. The names of the staff.
2. Any volunteer working in your Mission.
3. Number of patients admitted to your hospital.
4. How many wounded and how many pathological?
5. The doctors treating them.
6. Results of treatment or operations.
7. Number of deaths.
8. Photographs.

Please prepare a weekly letter to the Editor of the Comrade of all your doings together with the accounts of the money spent to be sent to the General Manager a day or two before mail day.

All the members here join me in their regards to you.

Yours Most Sincerely,

MURTAZ.

TETE A TETE



Periodical literature in this country has been recently showing signs of rapid growth. Several new monthlies have been added to about half-a-dozen English magazines already existing in India.

The "Hindu Review."

The scope for the expansion of the monthly is practically unlimited in this country, and its value as an educative force and as an instrument for the study, discussion and development of the larger and more permanent intellectual movements of the people can hardly be questioned. It can not be a matter of surprise that India possesses few monthlies of outstanding merit, or that its periodical literature is for the most part halting and jejune. The Indian people are passing through a great moral and spiritual crisis, and it will be some time before constructive movements of thought supersede a period of doubt and destructive criticism. The growth of periodical literature is, at least, an indication that such movements will not take long to set in. The *Hindu Review*, a new monthly recently started from Calcutta, represents a deliberate attempt on the part of its publishers "to dispassionately study and faithfully interpret the larger and more permanent aspects of the thoughts and activities of our teeming and composite population." According to its Editor, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, it has twofold object: "(i) to interpret Hindu life and culture in the terms of what may be called the Modern Consciousness; and (ii) to examine, and if possible, to reconstruct what are called modern ideals and institutions in the light of the accumulated and progressive experience of the composite Hindu people." The ideal is, as the Editor himself is not slow to admit, somewhat ambitious, but that is no reason why it should not claim sustained intellectual effort. Mr. Pal recognises the need of a wider synthesis for the Hindus and he, therefore, welcomes free intellectual and spiritual commerce between the East and the West. However, in his learned dissertation on nationality he has not defined the Hindu nation in its physical aspect. If the Indian nationality is to be co-extensive with the Hindu religion it would leave out millions of different creeds whose influence on the Indian society as a whole has always been considerable and who can not be altogether left out of account. If, however, the nationality of Mr. Pal's aspiration is to be evolved out of the different races and creeds in India, the peculiarly Hindu culture and civilisation would cease to be the main source of inspiration for future advancement. A nationality finds tangible expression only as a State. In India the nation would be the synthesis of various races and creeds on the political and, to some extent, on the social plane. Perhaps Mr. Pal only means to preserve the communal individuality of the Hindus by revealing it in the mould of larger human experience. If this is his object it is eminently laudable. The first number of his *Review* leads us to hope the object will be pursued with ability, breadth of view and the zeal of conviction.

It is a gratifying sign of the times that public attention is being increasingly devoted to the development of the material resources of the country. Much discussion has in recent years been going on in the Press and on the platform

The "Wealth of India."

on the subject, and it is manifest that both the Government and the people have come to recognise the supreme importance of the economical problems that are awaiting solution. To sustain public interest in these questions and to initiate useful discussions every effort should be made to create fresh and well-equipped journals and periodicals specially devoted to the purpose. It is on this account that we welcome the appearance of the *Wealth of India* from Madras. It is a monthly magazine "of practical information and useful discussion." If the amount of energy and industry that have been spent on the issue now before us continue to be applied to its future production,

we are sure the Monthly will prove of considerable value and play a useful part in the industrial regeneration of the country.

We congratulate Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, B. A., LL. B., on the enterprise that he has shown by issuing *Muslim India* from England. This magazine has been launched into existence to supply a very great need, i.e., to faithfully interpret the thoughts and feelings of the Indian Mussalmans to the British public. As the Editor rightly observes, Mussalmans are the greatest sufferers of all other communities through misrepresentation in Europe. "It is not a clergyman only," we read in the Foreword, "but a politician of a particular type as well, who deem it necessary to calumniate us in all possible ways. In order to poison the honest English mind against Turkey and prepare it to act against the old traditions, the wire-pullers of anti-Turkish movements took more than two score years to circulate calumnious and fabricate stories against the Turk. His religion, his polity, his economics, his social and moral conditions were vilified, and with him all the Muslim world. To strengthen this campaign against Islam, and retard its marvellous progress in Africa, a pseudo-Muslim paper, under the name of the *Muslim World*, has been started here under missionary guidance. We were not unaware of some of these misrepresentations while in India, and we regarded them as a legacy of old missionary propaganda against Islam, but on our coming over to this land we came across many a shocking piece of ignorance. Islam was the only religion which preached unity of God to a perfection that killed all polytheistic tendencies of the human race and brought all other deities of the world to the dust, yet its votaries are represented in the London theatres to bow down before a lion's head, which is kept as a chief object of adoration in their mosques." To combat such ignorance a systematic campaign is necessary, and we regard the starting of *Muslim India* as a step in the right direction. For the present it is a modest and unambitious venture, but we trust it will soon grow to an assured position and exercise influence commensurate with the objects that it is designed to serve. The articles of this number are well written and various important questions, bearing on Islam and Christianity, are dealt with with considerable vigour and insight. We hope this promising little periodical has a long and useful career before it.

The *Rajput Herald* is a monthly that has sprung to life again "after a few months' rest." It claims to be "a monthly illustrated magazine devoted to imperialism." In another place we read that the magazine is devoted to

"Rajput history, antiquities, literature and art." Judging from the number before us, we must frankly say that the publishers will have to put forth much greater efforts to attain the objects they have in view. The paper and general get-up are excellent, but much more will have to be done before it attains to a fairly high level of literary excellence. The contents of this number are not absolutely devoid of promise, though we should like the Editor to exercise greater care specially in his choice of "poetical" contributions. "Poems" like "My Native Land" can scarcely enhance the literary value of the magazine. In setting forth his objects, the Editor says that "with firm and unflinching devotion to the British Throne, with unflagging zeal to patiently endeavour to bring about better relationship between Great Britain and India, with loyalty to the British Empire, with high hopes of India's future in the Empire, there is no human obstacle that can deter our progress. Further, with the Rajput rulers and the loyal people of India as mainstay, our position is invulnerable, and it is our confident hope that the illustrious representatives of those great Princes who have helped to make the history of India, and thereby so richly deserved the praise which historians have heaped upon them, will continue to actively support the magazine in every practical manner." Even after reading this one can not be sure of the objects of this periodical as well as the manner in which they are to be attained. They would scarcely be attained by fugitive excursions into the domain of international politics.

The Concert of Europe has decided with a flourish of trumpets that Scutari shall not be allowed to fall into the hands of Montenegro, and a naval demonstration is to be made to frighten the obdurate King Nicholas into submission to the will of Europe. But will this demonstration succeed in its object and does it genuinely represent the united will of Europe? Russia is notoriously against coercing her Slav brethren. France represents merely Muscovite hopes and designs in international diplomacy. Great Britain is once more in danger of falling into the snare of sentiment. Gushing pens are busy depicting the shame and scandal that the Great Powers of Europe will reap by exercising coercion on the brave little people of King Nicholas. The international warships are moving to the Montenegrin coast not so much to "demonstrate" as to keep watch over

one another and prevent any single Power from scoring an exclusive advantage. It is useless, under the circumstances, to expect that the blockade will be effective or will bring the Montenegrins to their knees. Only Austria seems to be in earnest; and we doubt very much if she is prepared to push matters to extreme as long as the risk of provoking Russian intervention is present in her calculations. We were told that the Powers had come to a unanimous agreement regarding the boundaries of Albania. In the face of this declaration it is difficult to explain the obvious reluctance and pusillanimity with which some of them seem to be acting at this juncture. Perhaps the agreement hides another Muscovite stratagem to lure Austria into a position from which she would not be able to recede without covering herself with humiliation. It would be interesting to wait and see how this enterprise of the Concert of Europe prospers. Meanwhile, one can not help being amused at the big, warm tears that the chivalrous Europe is shedding on behalf of Montenegro. A poor, hapless, brave people are being robbed of the fruits of their victories! The sentiment may not appear pharisaical to those who are accustomed to wallow in it; but to one whose sense of the ridiculous has not been dulled by the mock-humanitarianism of Europe this latest cry of maudlin sentiment seems to be as fatuous as any one had heard before. Brave, little people indeed! One could as well admire a horde of murderous robbers who are driven by greed and lust of plunder to invade their neighbour's territory, who commit atrocious deeds of savagery on their victims and who would not be satisfied till they have grabbed an alien soil and enslaved thousands of alien race and creed. The rhapsodies of King Nicholas can not become less ridiculous because His Majesty is so vainglorious and has been bitten with an earth-hunger that seems to be insatiable. He has posed as the "liberator" of oppressed nationalities before Christian Europe when he declared war on Turkey. Now he has flung aside the mask and is loudly and bitterly crying for more land. The "liberated" people seem to dread His Montenegrin Majesty more than they did the Turk. King Nicholas's claim to alien territory is as frankly and nakedly elemental as his instincts. He has inflicted terrible sacrifices on his people with the sole and simple intention to extend his dominion. It is a piteous spectacle. But one cannot forget the simple fact that the world was not designed with a view to feed the ambitions of King Nicholas. Those who are moved to pity by the grandiloquent appeals of this greedy and bloodthirsty monarch seem to forget the character of his appetite. He wants a city that has heroically repulsed his hordes, a city inhabited by 50,000 Albanians who detest him and his tribe and would rather perish sword in hand than submit to an inglorious and oppressive bondage.

LORD SYDENHAM'S career as Governor of Bombay has come to a close.

Lord Sydenham.

It has been a notable career in many ways, and his departure will cause regret in the Presidency. During his term of office he succeeded in initiating many useful schemes for the spread of technical, industrial and practical education. His own interest in educational matters was supported by the many handsome gifts which the public-spirited citizens of Bombay so liberally placed at his disposal. Personally Lord Sydenham was very accessible and placed few restrictions on the freedom of social intercourse between himself and the people of the Presidency. As an administrator he was endowed with many gifts, the most noteworthy being his strength of purpose. At the beginning of his term he had exhibited strong liberal leanings which had considerably disconcerted the hide-bound official whose grip on the Indian administrative machinery is so considerable. Soon after, however, a marked change seemed to have come over his views and there was little difference left between him and the ordinary bureaucrat of Indian experience in their outlook on Indian affairs. Lord Sydenham's relations with the Mussalmans of the Presidency had not been peculiarly fortunate. He never completely realised their standpoint and met their grievances with that doctrinaire attitude which fails to realise the need of special treatment, however great may be the differences of traditions, history, environment and existing conditions. On many occasions he gave advice to them with prodigal liberality, much of which was sometimes sound and timely, but somehow or other he failed to understand that they wanted something more than warnings and good wishes, something which would give them a real equality of opportunity for their communal advancement. We hope his successor, Lord Willington, will not fall into the error of supposing that he would be able to hold the balance even between the different races and creeds in the Presidency by leaving things as they are. The balance can alone be held by creating an equality of conditions for all. In the governance of India real success will be attained only by keeping in view this cardinal principle. The administrator who ignores it helps to perpetuate a condition of things which affords little chance of self-improvement to large classes of Indians who are as vigorous and virile as any other class of the people, but who are labouring under the handicap of an artificial competition imposed by British rule.

The Comrade.

The Indian Moslems and their "Friends."

I.

Nothing is more irritating to the Mussalmans of India at the present time than to have to suffer the "advice" of those who profess with embarrassing loudness that they, are the "friends" of the community. The life of the individual who is confronted at every turn with a friend, philosopher and guide would be truly unenviable, unless, indeed, he happens to be that futile and inconsequential type for whom to think and to will independently is an intolerable responsibility. It is far more irksome to a whole community to feel that any effort on its part to think and act for itself would bring down on it a host of garrulous and angry mentors. And yet such has been the lot of the Mussalmans in this country ever since they have learnt, through happenings of striking character and great magnitude both in India and abroad, the supreme lesson that communities no less than individuals can realise themselves by self-discipline and self-help rather than by prayers and pious aspirations. It is needless to trace the causes that have brought this lesson home to their minds and led them to self-questionings. They are patent enough and need no detailed analysis. Whatever their origin and character, they have all tended to create a single result. They have stripped the Mussalmans bare of their fond illusions. They have brought them at last to look the facts squarely in the face. They have rescued them from a self-sufficiency that choked all aspiration and endeavour and induced them to nourish blind lives within them. For the first time in their history since their contact with the influences of the West they have learnt to take an accurate measure of their position, the difficulties that surround them and the grave menace to their broad Islamic sympathies which springs from the big political forces controlled by Europe. The old pretences that kept them satisfied with themselves and with all the world have been found to be miserable shams in the light of the new revelation. In relation to India they had always pretended to believe that they were walking on solid ground. Only a couple of events have shown that it was a mere accident that the ground had not slipped from beneath their feet and landed them into the yawning gulf below. They had always cherished great hopes about the future of their Moslem brethren abroad as they had relied with child-like trust on the alluring message of peace, progress and humanity that the Modern Culture of Europe breathed. But the thing so delightful and fair to outward seeming has proved to be rotten at the core. They find the fruits of this Culture little better than the Dead Sea fruits—mere dust and ashes. They now realise that their hopes were false. The Moslem communities abroad are feeling the weight of hostile aggression and stand in imminent peril of being politically wiped out of existence. The disillusionment of the Mussalmans of India has been sudden and complete. And no one can honestly blame them if the uncertainties of their situation at home, and the peril that threatens their brethren abroad have wrung from them bitter cries of indignation and pain.

It is rather incomprehensible to us that the "friends" of the Indian Mussalmans should have felt annoyed at the frankness and vigour with which the feelings of the latter have found expression. Their annoyance can be explained only on the hypothesis that they never desire the Mussalmans to think for themselves. Such "friendship" has obviously grown out of date, and the Mussalmans, whatever may have been their attitude in the past, refuse to-day to accept their opinions ready-made. Let us, however, examine a little closely what their "friends" would have them think and believe. "Asiaticus" claims to be a great friend of the Indian Mussalmans and, after discussing at some length the situation as it exists to-day, adds a few words of advice on that situation in the *National Review*. He begins by saying that "the Aga Khan, the political leader of sixty millions of Indian Mussalmans, has been admonishing his co-religionists regarding their attitude towards the Balkan War. His pronouncement is timely, for some of the younger generation of Indian Muhammadans have of late been saying very wild and windy things." Then he proceeds to decide what the undoubted restlessness "among certain sections of Indian Muhammadans really amounts to." The degree of reverence which Indian Moslems pay to the claims of the Sultan of Turkey to be Khalif of Islam is, in his opinion, slight. The Sultans of Turkey have no legal title to such position in the Islamic world. "In the old days Indian Muhammadans never bothered their heads about the claims of the Sultan of Turkey to the Khalifate." Even now the majority of them do not care very much about these claims, whatever the younger men may profess in public. "But they are getting to care a great deal about the position of Islam in the world. To them

Turkey and Persia have of late come to mean bulwarks of Muhammadanism; and when they see Italy in Tripoli, the Bulgarians in Thrace, and the Russians in Northern Persia, they vaguely but not inaccurately feel that their militant religion has suffered reverses." They resent British sympathy with the Balkan States, and he recognises that it is natural that they should resent it. But when they proceed "to make wild attacks on British policy, and complain that Great Britain has not unsheathed the sword in behalf of the Sultan, they are both unreasonable and foolish. British policy can not be framed to meet the sentiments of the Muhammadans of India, sentiments often based on a false conception of their own religion and its traditions. It has to be framed on the world-needs of the British Empire, to which the Muhammadans of India owe sole allegiance, whatever they may pretend." He quotes Lord Curzon to show that British policy in Europe ought not to be dictated by considerations of the effect that policy may produce upon the inhabitants of His Majesty's Empire in India. If the "Young Moslems" of India grieve for Turkey, and feel they must utter denunciations somehow, they will be better employed "in denouncing the Committee of Union and Progress, which wrecked the Turkish Army, killed Turkey's bravest soldier, and hurled Kiamil Pasha from office when he was about to conclude a prudent peace." He admits that there is a deep and sincere feeling among the Moslems of India about the misfortunes of Turkey and Persia; but he does not think that the feeling would have found such "extravagant expression" had they not felt sore at their treatment in internal affairs. The difficulty began at the time of the Morley-Minto reforms. The Bengal business added to their dissatisfaction. "Another and very serious cause of Muhammadan estrangement is the attitude of the Government of India regarding the proposed Moslem University at Aligarh." The Mussalmans have begun to feel that they would not have been treated thus if they had agitated like the Hindus. "They are going to agitate now and under the interested incitement of their new Nationalist allies, they are using the Balkan war chiefly as a pretext." "Asiaticus" winds up his "words of advice on the situation" by pointing out their respective duties to all concerned. "The duty of the Government is to try to restore the impaired confidence of Indian Muhammadans. The duty of Indian Muhammadans is to keep their loyalty to the crown unabated, whatever political programme they may adopt. The duty of the 'Young Moslems' is to cease talking nonsense about international politics."

The foregoing summary that we have given of the article in the *National Review* makes one thing abundantly clear. In the opinion of "Asiaticus" the Indian Moslems are suffering from some sort of political indigestion. The only way to restore them to normal political health is to cure them of their sympathies with Turkey and Persia, and of all progressive ideals about the future of their own country. All we need say is that "Asiaticus," in spite of all his protestations of friendship for the Indian Mussalmans, has absolutely no knowledge of the thoughts and feelings that move the community to-day. In his anxiety to keep the Mussalmans in the thralldom of a futile and Larron conservatism he makes some very dangerous and wild assumptions which strike at the root of the entire duty of Indian Moslems, both as Indians and as Mussalmans. It is important that these assumptions should be carefully examined and exposed. For such examination our readers will have to wait till our next.

The Storm on the Stage.

II.

In our last issue we had published a somewhat lengthy but none the less necessary foreword to a recital of the events that occurred in, or preceded the meeting about the Moslem University held on the 29th December at Lucknow. Now we come to that meeting itself and the overnight deliberations that have been the subject of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's adverse comment. We would beg our readers to keep before themselves the letter of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk and judge for themselves what he has said and what he has suggested, and not permit their minds to be biased by the malicious falsehoods of some newspapers that knew nothing about a meeting at which their reporters were not present. A Lahore contemporary, while assuming for argument's sake that Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's memory has betrayed him into statements that are not accurate, asks with much show of reason whether old age and ill-health had affected the memories of others also whom it names. But it forgets that those others were not present on the occasion, and their single authority for these statements is Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself.

من کس کا گت قصہ نام زما نید

(Whoever related our story had heard it from none save himself.)

Everything, therefore, depends on the accuracy or inaccuracy of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's statements contained in the letter of 28th February, and we have not come across a single statement made prior

to that date during the intervening five weeks which questioned the motives and actions of those who had agreed upon a compromise on the night preceding the 29th December on the ground of occurrences for which Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk is the sole authority. The reputations of ten or twelve leading Mussalmans of India are at stake, and much as we desire that every respect should be paid to one of the immaculate character of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, we have no such superstitious reverence for the trustworthiness of his memory that we would accept his unsupported statements, when we take into account his state of health and other circumstances, in preference to the statements of all the others who were present on the occasion but were not suffering from similar disabilities. It must be clearly remembered that the statement published in the *Institute Gazette* was prepared by the Nawab Sahib during an attack of paralysis so near the brain as the face. It was prepared nearly five weeks after the events that had taken place, and it purports to be the record of what happened late at night when the Nawab Sahib himself complained that he was not in a fit condition to decide whether he could agree to the compromise. On his own showing the health of the Nawab Sahib was far from good at Lucknow, and he had little rest on the night preceding the meeting of the 29th. We shall, therefore, invite our readers to give these facts of an incontrovertible character the reasonable consideration due to them, and shall confine ourselves to a bare recital of facts which would controvert the statements of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, leaving the embroideries of the newspapers to be dealt with by their readers according to their own good sense or gullibility.

It appears that on the night preceding the 29th December Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk formulated a suggestion that the Lucknow meeting should support the views of the Constitution Committee in an omnibus resolution such as we had all long desired, and that in addition the meeting should pass the resolution of Major Bilgrami. The Nawab Sahib states in his letter that he laid this proposal before Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the Hon. the Rajah Sahib of Jahangirabad, the Hon. the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad, the Hon. Rajah Syed Abu Jafar, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan and the Editor of the *Comrade*, and that they approved of his suggestion and decided "that the same night after dinner some gentlemen meeting together should consider some suggestion whereby the difficulties anticipated for the next morning may be solved." We have no right to speak for others, but it is certain that beyond a conversation after dinner the Editor of the *Comrade* never had an opportunity of discussing with Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk any views on the subject, and although he shared the Nawab Sahib's views he did not at any time before the informal meeting held at the residence of the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad express his agreement to Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk. Of the gentlemen named by him who attended the Committee's meeting on the 22nd March last at Lucknow, not one supports the Nawab Sahib's statement that they approved of his suggestion. They are positive that there was only a general talk of doing something to solve the difficulties, but no specific suggestion was even discussed except at the meeting held at the residence of the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad at 11 p.m. on that night. It is, however, noteworthy that although the Nawab Sahib states that the gentlemen whom he names "approved" of his views the decision at which they arrived, according to him, did not go beyond the desire of meeting together and deliberating upon some unspecified proposal that may solve the difficulties anticipated for the next morning. Although the matter is somewhat trivial, we thought it better to refer to it, as it illustrates that the Nawab Sahib's memory has sometimes confused his own ideas with the facts of the case.

It is also noteworthy that Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk shares to the full the responsibility for the deliberations that took place at the residence of the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad from 11 p.m. to the time he left this informal meeting. If this was some secret meeting planned for a particular purpose, then Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk was as much responsible for it so long as he was there as any other gentleman present on that occasion. As a matter of fact, he states that "during our conversation one of us also said that when the people not present on this occasion come to know that a few persons are holding a consultation here they would disapprove of such procedure being decided upon without public consultation." In reply to this the Nawab Sahib states in his letter that he himself said "If we lay the full proceedings of this meeting before the public it will not be suspicious at all." Later on the Nawab Sahib states that when he left it was half past one in the morning, and it is, therefore, clear that there was nothing of a sinister character in the proceedings of the meeting, convened at the Nawab Sahib's own suggestion, between the hours of 11 p.m. on the 28th December and 1-30 a.m. on the 29th.

In the next place, he has also clearly admitted that "although my views were the same which I have stated above, others expressed the same meaning in different words and prepared a draft in Urdu and English of the decisive resolution which was to be moved on the following day, and all except myself signed it." It is, therefore, as the purport of Nawab Sahib's wishes was

concerned it had been embodied in the resolution that was moved and passed on the following day. The Nawab Sahib states in the conclusion of his letter that with the exception of the names of the Committee the resolutions passed on the 29th should be retained. In another place he states that in that resolution practically everything contained in his own draft has been embodied, and we are therefore entitled to presume that so far as the resolution itself is concerned the Nawab Sahib does not wish any conclusions to be drawn which are prejudicial to the reputations of those who took part in the consultation of the night between the 28th and 29th December. We may also state that the Editor of the *Comrade* has all along been of the same view as Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, and that it was his support of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's contention that prolonged the discussion on the night in question. Between his action and that of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk there is, therefore, no difference except this that in view of the desirability of bringing those who were opposed to him and Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk he agreed to a compromise in the mere wording of the resolution on the night preceding the 29th December last, and Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk agrees to it now. So far as any *malpractices* are concerned, there is nothing in the letter of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk to support such a suggestion in connection with the proceedings till 1-30 a.m. and any statements to the contrary are, therefore, fabrications which involve Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk as much in the resulting odium as any other member who took part in that consultation.

Before we turn to the contentious question of the appointment of the Committee we should like to say a few words about the advisability or inadvisability of the appointment of a Committee with such plenary powers. Let it be noted that although Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque is opposed to the very principle of entrusting such powers to any Committee, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk is not of that opinion, and has always favoured the appointment of a deputation with plenary powers. He reproduces in his letter a programme which he had not only drawn up in consultation with Nawab Mozammelullah Khan, but which he actually caused to be printed without consulting even those who were readily accessible and had a perfect right to be consulted in a matter of such importance. The very first resolution in that programme authorises a deputation to negotiate with Government and "after due consideration of the objects and principles of the University to accept any amendment of the Constitution that it may deem necessary." The mover of this resolution was to be none other than Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself. Again, he states that, in the conversation which he declares he had with several gentlemen at Lucknow whose names we have mentioned before, he proposed that the deputation should be authorised "to accept any amendment of the Constitution which it may deem expedient without prejudice to the interests of the community." Once more, in the draft of a resolution which he prepared on the morning of the 29th December, he wrote that "with due consideration of the objects of the communal University the deputation may amend or cancel any part of the Constitution." If these are not plenary powers we do not know what else they can be, and we should like to know what difference there is between these powers and those which the resolution passed in the meeting of the 29th conferred on the Committee. As a matter of fact, the question of plenary powers was never the subject of a difference of opinion, and we regret that five weeks after the meeting the Nawab Sahib should have been led to hedge these powers with the reservations suggested by the Hon. Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain. Some of these reservations refer to matters already secured in the Constitution and accepted by Government and not likely to be the subject of any backsliding in the Committee or controversy with Government, while others are of such a trifle character that they betray a very cursory consideration of the Constitution prepared with much care and deliberation by a large Committee in which the Nawab Sahib himself never suggested the inclusion of Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain. We have no desire to enter into another controversy on such a trivial subject and shall say no more about it, and if these reservations did not occur to Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself on the many occasions on which he formulated his own views, we are not very likely to be concerned of the after-thought which even the gentleman who suggested it did not appear very anxious to press any further. We trust we have said enough on the subject of plenary powers, and any odium in which the mover, seconder and supporters of the resolution passed on the 29th December should be involved will have to be shared by Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk also.

As a good deal has been said on the subject of keeping the proceedings of the Committee secret from the public, we would beg leave to state here that, surprising as it may seem, we are generally of the same opinion as Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque in the matter of entrusting unlimited powers to a few men, no matter how eminent. And yet on this occasion we supported the resolutions moved by the Editor of the *Comrade* and

are opposed to the publicity which Mr. Mashar-ul-Haque so ardently desires at the present moment. What is the explanation of this paradox? After all nothing very surprising, if the gentlemen who appear to be so much surprised would only take the trouble to read the views we had expressed on the subject on the 4th January and which the Editor of this paper had expressed when moving his resolution. Once more we offer no apology for reproducing a large extract from that article, and we trust that particularly the passages italicised would be read carefully as they easily explain away the paradox of the situation. We wrote on that occasion as follows:—

If the committee appointed can be considered a fairly satisfactory microcosm of the Moslem community and truly representative of the different shades of opinion and occasionally conflicting interests, then we think the solution arrived at on the 29th December, is under the circumstances the only practicable alternative. We would have preferred a series of representations to Government based on the wishes of the community followed by a final referendum to the community itself. But in view of the fact that nearly half a year has been wasted through the vacillation of the "leaders," and every moment's delay is dangerous, it appears to us inadvisable to postpone matters much longer, especially when we know well enough even to-day how the community feels and what it thinks on the subject of the Moslem University. Moreover, in all such controversies the holding of meetings and public discussions in the press only weakens the chances of the people's success. Governments differ among themselves just as frequently and as violently as the people, but in all negotiations for a workable compromise they possess the inestimable advantage of having a complete machinery of Executive Council meetings with closed doors, secret despatches and telegrams and cables in cipher.

Now we ask, how long is this game to go on in which the Moslem community has to play the dummy and lay down all its cards on the table, while the Government refuses to disclose its hand and is even unwilling to declare that it has no other cards to play except those in its hand? It is for this reason that we support the decisions arrived at on the 29th December appointing a committee to be the plenipotentiaries in the negotiations that must take place before the University is finally established. But although we are opposed to further open discussions likely to reveal the hand of the Mussalmans, we are equally opposed to the line of policy suggested to us by the "leaders" of offering more concessions to Government. The community has been beaten back from its Kirk-Kilass; it has retired from its Tchorlu and Lille Burgas, if it hopes to retain anything of importance surely it must discover its Tehsilidja lines behind which it can stand up and maintain its honour and dignity. Concessions coming from the stronger side are signs of magnanimity; concessions coming from the weaker side are signs of even greater weakness, and give rise to demands for more concessions. That is why it is necessary that the Moslem community must wait and see what the Government is prepared to concede out of its plenty before it offers concessions out of the little that it possesses.

We hope we have now cleared the ground sufficiently and reduced the whole question to the character of the Committee appointed on the 29th December and the manner of its appointment. It is this which forms the head and front of the offending. Before we deal with the manner in which this Committee was appointed let us, for a moment, deal with the alternative proposal which Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk has placed before the community. We learn from his letter in the *Institute Gazette* that in the programme for the Lucknow meeting which he had drawn up the first resolution dealing with the appointment of a deputation, such as was finally appointed on the 29th December, was to be moved by him. In this the deputation was to be composed exclusively of the members of the Constitution Committee. The Nawab Sahib appears to have subsequently changed his opinion about the composition of the Committee, for he states that on the night preceding the 29th December he suggested that the deputation should consist of "all the members of the Constitution Committee and all the members of the last deputation, and in addition such other names may be added as appear suitable." On the morning of the 29th December the Nawab Sahib drafted another resolution proposing a deputation which was to consist of "the members of the last deputation and some names now added." This draft resolution for the first time also contains a provision for the filling up of vacancies in the deputation that may subsequently occur by a sub-committee consisting of the Hon. the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami and Mr. Mashar-ul-Haque. It is clear that the Nawab Sahib has not been consistent throughout in suggesting the personnel of the deputation, nor has he always been as thoughtful about the filling up of vacancies as he appears to be in the draft resolution that he prepared on the 29th December, a thoughtfulness the absence of which he strongly condemns in those who selected the Committee on the night preceding the 29th December. This is not a trivial matter unless the whole controversy is to be considered trivial. But, as the Nawab Sahib lays great stress upon the personnel of the Committee, those who had no share in its selection may well ask why the Nawab Sahib at first considered all the members of the Constitution Committee entitled to wait in deputation on His Excellency the Viceroy and, subsequently, confined it to only such members of the Constitution Committee as had conferred with the Hon. Member and the Hon. Secretary for the Department of Education at Simla and a few others whose names were to be added to the list. It is also noteworthy that the Nawab Sahib states that on the night preceding the 29th December he suggested that,

in addition to a few suitable names then to be added, the deputation should consist of "all members of the Constitution Committee and all members of the last deputation." Does it not betray that at the time of writing this the Nawab Sahib's mind was not working with its normal strength and capacity, for the deputation that had waited on the Member and the Secretary for Education was nothing more or less than the Constitution Committee, that is to say, as many of its members as had come to Simla to attend the Conference. It is clear that there is no sense in forming a deputation consisting of the members of the Constitution Committee and such members of the Constitution Committee as happened to take part in the Simla Conference!

Now as regards the Constitution Committee, it originally consisted, we believe, of 30 members selected by His Highness the Aga Khan in consultation with the Hon. the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad and others at Lucknow early in 1911. To these 30 about 25 other names were added from time to time by the Hon. the Rajah Sahib in consultation with H. H. the Aga Khan, and it appears that after the annual meeting of the Trustees in January, 1911, all the 100 odd Trustees of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, became *ex-officio* members of the Constitution Committee. That Committee, therefore, now consists of no less than some 125 members. The Nawab Sahib contends that this number is not too large considering that, if it approaches His Excellency the Viceroy in the form of a deputation, it will go with all the powers of 70 million Mussalmans, and it is essential that it should possess their entire confidence. Now it appears to us that the Nawab Sahib has lost sight of the fact that the object of sending a deputation with plenary powers—which it must be remembered he would willingly give to it—was to negotiate with Government and not merely to wait on His Excellency and impress him with its catholic composition. But there is a still greater objection to the composition which the Nawab Sahib originally proposed for the deputation. The 100 odd Trustees of the M.A.O. College are such a curious assortment that no one who has an inward knowledge of the work can say the community of 70 million Mussalmans would willingly hand over its powers to them. The Constitution Committee has itself substituted a far more effective and entirely different arrangement for the election of future Trustees, and it decided by a large majority to abolish the life tenure even in the case of the present Trustees. When this Constitution was passed the Trustees were of course not *ex-officio* members of the Constitution Committee or there would have been some difficulty about the passage of such a self-denying ordinance. It is clear that the members of the Constitution Committee other than the Trustees do not fully trust them, and considering the fact that the Trustees who are *ex-officio* members of the Committee are more than twice the other members of the Constitution Committee a deputation such as the Nawab Sahib originally proposed would not have the confidence even of the original Constitution Committee, let alone the confidence of the 70 million Mussalmans. Safety in such cases does not lie in numbers, and we challenge anyone to say that he believes the 125 members of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's proposed deputation contains a majority of people who would be more unwilling to surrender any rights and interests of their community more than the smaller Committee appointed on the 29th December. The object which those who selected the Committee on the night preceding 29th December had in view was that, while representing the different shades of opinion in the community, the Committee should have sufficient talent for purposes of argument and negotiation, and that it should have a majority of people in favour of every one of the points particularly specified in the resolution which appointed the Committee. The 125 members of the Constitution Committee practically include everyone of the members of the smaller Committee appointed on the 29th December, and, therefore, all the talent of the smaller Committee. But if the decision of vital questions, which are the subject of the present controversy, was left to the Constitution Committee, and nearly all its 125 members, three fourths of whom were generally absent in the previous meetings, took the trouble to wait upon His Excellency in deputation—as they would no doubt do—we are not in the least hopeful that a majority would be in favour of any of the community's wishes if Government showed an uncompromising opposition to these wishes. What then is the particular virtue attached to the Constitution Committee of 125 members, except this, of course, that it will give a large number of people the opportunity of seeing their names in print and of being photographed as the members of a glorious deputation, a form of immortality to which, alas! only too many Mussalmans succumb even in these days of their much-vaunted independence and manliness. Apart, therefore, from anything objectionable in the manner of appointment of the Committee there is nothing in the proposal of those who had selected it in the first instance which would make it compare unfavourably with the proposal of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk to take the 125 members of the Constitution Committee in deputation to H. H. the Viceroy.

CORRESPONDENCE



The Ottoman Red Crescent Society.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

DEAR SIR,—Sometime ago a rumour spread here that the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, Constantinople, was run by Christians and was not under the auspices of the Turkish Government. I made enquiries in the matter from H E the Ottoman Consul-General, Bombay, who has kindly sent me the following reply and shall be glad if you will kindly publish it in your valuable journal.

Rampur State, U P

Yours faithfully,
QAMAR SHAH KHAN.

Bombay, Feb 18.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter I am to inform you that the Ottoman Red Crescent Society is established by Government authority and special *iradi*. The administering members are elected by the members of the Society. All the administering members are Mussalmans. The information which you have received is, therefore, not correct.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd) F. DJAFER,
Ottoman Consul-General.

Turkey's Trials.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The sympathetic allusion to Turkey which Lord Lansdowne gave expression to in his speech in the House of Lords, marks yet another note of cordiality and goodwill that is still influencing the minds of the leading politicians in England. It has been pointed out by the far-sighted statesman that the fate of Turkey has a direct bearing on the feelings of a great community—the Mussalmans in India—over whom Britain holds direct sway.

Sometime ago when an Oxford Cleric assumed an anti-Turkish attitude the Muhammadans in India had thought the last vestige of hope had gone. But I trust my Moslem friends in India will do us the justice of recognizing at once that this is the work of an irresponsible and totally unrepresentative clique and in no sort a reflection of any aspect of public feeling in England. The sympathy of the British nation—as marked by Lord Lansdowne's speech—flies to Turkey at a moment when she is stricken to the earth. Her condition is critical. If the injury sustained is not to prove mortal, the closest circumspection is required at this moment. The immediate duty of every citizen in Turkey is quietly to concentrate his energies, for the time being, upon the restoration of normal conditions. In that way only can a suffering country be given that breathing space which is the first step towards recuperation. It is not in the tragic atmosphere of the past months, but in the ordeal of this moment, of the coming days, that the real test of Turkey's endurance lies. Never before has her need so great. Never before has duty's call been so loud and so urgent. If the nation wants to rehabilitate itself it must not forget that life is not possible while duty remains forgotten and neglected.

The Indian Mussalmans—the co-religionists of Turkey—have their share of the duty to perform. After a few days of irritation caused by

this sudden war the feeling seems to have lost its fervour. At this hour Turkey wants financial help, the feeling in India wants an awakening. The Mussalmans must be roused to a sense of duty, a sense which seems to us to have become atrophied even among the professedly religious. We both want substantially the same thing. The fate of a nation in travail moves pity in our hearts. Let the Muhammadans of India do their part.

For God, for Race, for Duty. Considering the immense character of the task before the organizers of the charitable work of Lady Lowther the total subscription raised for this humanitarian purpose is a pittance. Cannot the Mussalmans of India do more justice to their wonted pride in Turkey as an Islamic nation? I hope they will.

"BETHABE."

A Drawback in the Curricula of the Dacca University.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—May I request the hospitality of your columns in order to bring to the notice of our community in Bengal a matter which is sure soon to prove of great importance.

In the report submitted by the Dacca University Committee they have, while dealing with the Department of Islamic studies, adopted with some modification the Junior and the Senior Madrasah curricula recommended by the Madrasah Reform Committee of Dacca. The curricula, excellent as they are in other respects, have one great drawback which has been left unremedied by the University Committee and which, to my mind, will tell seriously upon the future of the community. This is the want of proper recognition of the claims of the Vernacular (Bengali). The subject finds no place either in the University (in the Department of Islamic studies) or in the Senior Madrasah course, and has been allotted only a place of minor importance in the Junior Madrasah course. The highest standard of attainment reached in the subject will roughly correspond to that of the present Upper Primary. This poor acquaintance with the Vernacular will—I am speaking from experience—be a serious handicap to the scholar in all his subsequent career, and no amount of proficiency in any foreign language will compensate for the drawback. If he does not take to the life of a recluse, if he wishes to make his knowledge and researches available to the community at large, he will find no more convenient medium than the Vernacular; if he should choose the life of a country pastor or a religious teacher he will find no more effective vehicle for communication with the people than the Vernacular; if he should adopt either the Mukhtarship or the Pledership or Vakilship as his profession the want of an adequate acquaintance with the Vernacular will detract from his efficiency, and either on the Bench or in any other learned profession, the want of proper acquaintance with the mother-tongue will be felt as a source of constant inconvenience. Moreover, it should be remembered that by far the majority of the students in the Junior Madrasahs will end their schooling at the junior stage. The junior course, as recommended, will not enable them to compete with the students of the Middle Schools in the field of the numerous small offices in Zemindar's, Trader's and Banker's establishments which, however insignificant individually, carry no inconsiderable remuneration when considered collectively.

I would, therefore, beg to make the following suggestions for the consideration of the authorities:—

(1) The Vernacular should be compulsory throughout the Junior and the Senior Madrasah courses.

(2) The Vernacular should be compulsory in the Junior course of the Islamic Studies Department of the University for the same reasons as hold good in the case of the Science Department. The reasons have been stated in the report of the University Committee and need not be repeated here.

It is a matter of the greatest shame for the Mussalmans of Bengal that the Islamic classics are inaccessible in the language of the country. The recommendations of the Madrasah Committee will help to perpetuate the shame. The Islamic Department as proposed will no doubt produce erudite scholars and theologians, but their scholarship like that of the mediaeval scholars of Europe discoursing in Latin, will hardly be productive of any tangible good to the community.

Chittagong.

AN ISLAMICIST MUSLIM.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Mar. 27.

Rome learns that the Austrian Minister at Cetinje recently communicated to Montenegro the decision of the Powers regarding the Northern frontier of Albania as it affected Montenegro. The decision of the Powers caused such surprise that Montenegro urgently telegraphed to the British Government for confirmation. This arrived yesterday. It appears that Montenegro only gets a strip of water across Lake Scutari and on each shore what Montenegro describes as an insignificant few kilometres, mostly under water. The Montenegrin Minister in London says: "For the loss of 15,000 killed and wounded and economic paralysis for six months we are given a tiny valueless strip. I do not know the views of my Government, but I fear the worst."

A Sofia wire says that the Bulgarian advance guard at Tchataldja to-day drove the Turks beyond the Karasu. The town of Tchataldja is now in the hands of the Bulgarians.

A Belgrade wire states the official Serbian account of the capture of Adrianople says that Chukri Pasha opened negotiations for the fortress to the Serbian Commander, but the latter declined, not being the Commander-in-Chief. The Serbians occupied forts to the North-west and the Danube division advanced to Karagatch, the Ottoman troops surrendering to them.

The news of the surrender of Djavid Pasha is premature. Djavid offered to surrender on condition that he retained his sword, but afterwards changed his mind. Negotiations are proceeding.

London, Mar. 28.

Accounts published in Belgrade declare that Adrianople fell as the direct result of the Serbian artillery fire, the arrival of the Serbian siege guns and howitzers sealing its destiny. The Twentieth Serbian Regiment was the first to enter the town, quickly followed by Bulgarian and Serbian cavalry. Notwithstanding the loss of the Eastern forts, Chukri Pasha intended to continue the resistance relying on the Western and Northern forts, but the latter were in the meantime stormed by the Serbians and taken at the point of the bayonet, hence Chukri Pasha's offer to capitulate to the Serbian General. It is believed that the garrison numbered 55,000 prisoners and included 66 German and 18 Roumanian officers; 849 guns were also taken.

The capture of Adrianople, releasing a hundred thousand besiegers for the advance on Tchataldja lines and Constantinople, is calculated to have an important effect on the situation. It is understood that the Allies are in no way satisfied with the proposals of the Powers with a view to peace, which they regard as ignoring their victories and they may determine to insist on treating with Turkey direct.

A Sofia wire says that the Tsar Ferdinand, with his sons and Generals Savoff, Ivanoff and Petroff entered Adrianople to-day. They drove through masses of Turkish prisoners to the military club, where Chukri Pasha and his staff are interned. After a review of Bulgarian troops the Tsar, with flattering expressions, returned.

A Constantinople wire says that the fighting at Tchataldja has gone entirely against the Turks. Their right wing was driven in last week and their left exposed by a flank attack, which necessitated a hurried retirement. At the outset they maintained good order, but later they have seemed seized with panic. The town of Tchataldja was abandoned last Wednesday with quantities of war stores. The Turks to-day occupy the same lines as in November. Up to the present there is no indication of a serious Bulgarian attack, but Ever Bey's reserve division has been sent to the front. The accounts of desperate fighting at Tchataldja have been obviously exaggerated. Only five hundred wounded have arrived in Constantinople in the last fortnight. The fall of Adrianople has depressed official circles and it is generally felt that the failure of the Turks to gain even the smallest success makes the task of the Powers to induce the Allies to moderate their demands much more difficult. Consequently there are misgivings as to whether peace is as near as supposed.

Reuter learns that Bulgaria will not cease hostilities until Turkey has signed conditions of peace. Bulgaria considers that an advance against Tchataldja lines may expedite peace by compelling Turkey to acknowledge defeat. Bulgaria meanwhile has communicated to the Allies her reply to the proposals of the Powers. She demands a frontier from the Gulf of Saros to Midia and an indemnity, if she has to meet a portion of the Turkish Debt.

A Tripoli wire says that following up their success at Sharian the Italians have occupied Kikla, Snadan and Yefren.

The Arab leader Baruni has fled and the resistance of the natives is regarded as overcome.

London, Mar. 29.

A Sofia wire says that General Ivanoff, reporting the fall of Adrianople, says that only Bulgarian troops of the Eastern section took part in the assault. The operations of the Serbians were of a

purely demonstrative character. A Belgrade wire says it is semi-officially stated that the thirteenth column of the Serbian Infantry sustained the heaviest fire in the fighting at Adrianople. They were ordered with the second Bulgarian column to make a night attack on Fort Jont Tepelar. The Bulgarians retired before the heavy Turkish fire, but the third and fourth battalions of the Serbian columns were ordered to take positions near the fort at all costs. They not only did so but took the fort, losing a thousand killed and four thousand wounded. Two Serbian divisions, totalling 64,000, took part in storming the western and north-western forts which were of the most modern construction. The Serbian cavalry was the first to enter the town. Disappointment is expressed that the Bulgarians hardly mention the Serbian sacrifices.

A Sofia wire says that Chukri Pasha, seven Turkish generals, and officers of the Staff arrived there to-day accompanied by the Bulgarian officers in attendance. The Ottoman officers were received by the Commandant at Sofia, who praised the bravery of the defence of Adrianople and cordially welcomed them. Chukri Pasha and others were conducted to the residence which has been allotted them during their captivity.

The bridges which the Turks destroyed are being rapidly repaired and trains are now running to within a mile of Adrianople. The Turks also set fire to a grain store, blew up ammunition depôts and destroyed big guns, rifles, wireless stations and searchlight. The condition of the people was apparently not so desperate as was expected. Only a few of the buildings had been damaged by the bombardment and there had been no epidemic during the siege. Both Bulgarian and Serbian troops are quartered in the town.

A Belgrade wire says it is officially stated that when the Twentieth Serbian Regiment took Hadarlu fort at Adrianople Chukri Pasha, two Generals, 22 field officers and 150 junior officers were in the fort. They were allowed to remain and military honours were accorded them. Next day Chukri Pasha and two Generals were handed to General Ivanoff.

Hitherto 17,000 Ottoman soldiers have surrendered to the Serbians, who have taken also enormous quantities of war stores. The Bulgarians headquarters has intimated that the withdrawal of the Serbians from Adrianople will begin to-day, their co-operation being no longer necessary.

The Ambassadors in London have been discussing the southern frontier of Albania, which is a subject of great difficulty owing to the Greek claims. Austria and Italy propose that even the mainland opposite Corfu shall be incorporated in Albania. Greece strongly objects. A telegram from Cetinje says that the Powers' demands also include the withdrawal of Serbian and Montenegrin troops from the districts to be incorporated in Albania and guarantees for the religious freedom of Catholics in the occupied territories.

The representatives of the Powers have made representations in Cetinje and Belgrade communicating the Powers' decision on the question of the frontiers of Albania and demanding the abandonment of the siege of Scutari.

The Montenegrin Government has made an appeal to the British people, through Reuter's Agency, saying that Europe proposes to kill Montenegro to create Albania. Montenegro cannot accept the decision, and will continue hostilities till there are signs of peace with Turkey. Thereafter she will seek inspiration in despair. It is stated in Belgrade that by order of King Nicholas the bombardment of Scutari was been renewed in the fiercest fashion.

London, Mar. 30.

A Sofia wire states that the semi-official journal *Mir* says that the chief obstacle to peace was not the resistance of Adrianople, but the hesitancy of Europe. It says that unless Europe cuts short Turkish illusions a fresh recourse to arms is inevitable.

A Constantinople wire says it is officially stated that the enemy occupied the advanced position of Böyük-Chekmedje, but were driven off with considerable loss and the position was recaptured by the Turks. A Constantinople wire says it is officially stated that the Bulgarians lost a thousand killed and wounded with a large quantity of ammunition in yesterday's fighting at Böyük-Chekmedje.

According to information received at headquarters at Sofia, the Bulgarian losses in the fighting around Adrianople on March 24th, 25th and 26th numbered eleven thousand killed and wounded. The Serbian casualties were twelve hundred killed and wounded. The prisoners taken by the Bulgarians numbered six thousand, including eight hundred officers. The trophies include 650 guns of different calibres and 55 machine guns.

The *Stamboul* publishes the following cablegram: King Nicholas has sent a message to the English people denouncing, as a crying injustice, the attempt to slice Scutari from the Albanians. He declares that in order to create an artificial

probable autonomy for Albania the Powers are asking Montenegro to make a sacrifice which she owes it to her brave dead never to of. The King concludes by appealing to the sense of justice of Britain and of the world.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says it is enabled authoritatively to affirm that the Powers are all agreed to take vigorous action, if necessary, to end the war. It declares that unless the siege of Scutari is immediately raised, the Montenegrin coast will be effectively blockaded.

London, Mar. 31.

A Cetinje wire says that the Montenegrins heavily bombarded Scutari yesterday. The Turks abandoned some outposts.

The Ministers of the Powers collectively informed Montenegro yesterday that the Turkish Government had consented to the withdrawal of the civil population of Scutari and that a cypher message to this effect would be sent by a special messenger selected by the Powers to the Commander of Scutari who has hitherto refused to permit the withdrawal of civilians without the authority of the Porte. Montenegro has not yet replied to the Powers, but is evidently reluctant to permit the passage of the cypher message.

Mr. Donohoe, special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, who witnessed the fighting at Boyuk-Chekmedje graphically describes the Turkish counter-attack. Undismayed by Bulgarian shell the Turks displayed all their old fighting spirit, pressing on across a bare plateau and toiling up muddy slopes they flung themselves against the Bulgarians, who were ejected after a desperate bayonet charge.

A message to the *Times* from Adrianople says that the Turkish losses were ten thousand. The foreign quarter was little damaged. The Bulgarians are pouring supplies of food into the town and are restoring order, dealing summarily with low class Christian looters.

A Belgrade wire says that the Tsar Ferdinand has telegraphed to King Peter thanking him warmly for the brotherly aid of the Serbian Army in the capture of Adrianople.

A St. Petersburg wire says that the singing of the *Te Deum* in the churches to celebrate the victories of the Balkan Allies yesterday was followed by popular Balkan and anti-Austrian demonstrations. The Bulgarian General Dimitrieff was carried shoulder high and a procession started to the Austrian Embassy singing the Russian and Bulgarian National Anthems. The route was, however, harried by police who, on the crowd shouting "Down with Austria," charged using their nagaiakas. The people then proceeded to the Bulgarian Legation, where they cheered the Minister. The Bulgarian Minister, speaking from balcony, said he recognized in the demonstration the rejoicing of the whole Russian people. "It is not our victory, but the victory of the Russia and of the whole Slav race. Long live great Russia." A similar demonstration was begun before the Serbian Legation, but just as the Minister appeared on the balcony mounted police galloped up with their nagaiakas and dispersed the crowd right and left. General Dimitrieff leaves St. Petersburg to-day.

A Belgrade wire says that the first trainload of wounded from Adrianople has arrived there. They relate that the fighting was the most fierce of the whole war. The bloodshed on both sides was enormous. The Turks fought with the courage of despair, but the perseverance of the besiegers gained the day. The besiegers suffered terrible privations throughout the siege, especially in January and February when the snow was six feet deep. Sentries died at their posts and dozens were frozen. No fires were allowed as they would have betrayed the position. The carnage in the final assaults was frightful, mines exploding and hundreds being blown up and shot down.

Renter states that the Ambassadors met in London to-day and adjourned until Wednesday. All the Powers have approved the proposed naval demonstration, but all may not take part. No reply has been received from Montenegro with regard to the cessation of the bombardment of Scutari.

A Constantinople wire says that the Powers have presented a collective Note detailing their peace proposals.

The Ottoman Consulate General in Bombay has received the following telegram from the Foreign Office, Constantinople, dated 27th March. No change at Bulair. At Tchataldja the night attack attempted against our positions west of Boyuk-Chekmedje was repulsed with the help of the fleet. The enemy was pursued with violence, and abandoned a certain quantity of arms and ammunition. Details about Adrianople are wanting.

Sublime Porte, March 29th: At Tchataldja the forces of the enemy were dislodged from positions west of Boyuk-Chekmedje with thousands of killed.

London, April 1.

It is still doubtful which Power will take part in the naval demonstration off the coast of Montenegro. It is asserted in Paris that neither France nor Great Britain will join therein, and that France is sending a battleship to Corfu merely because Great Britain is sending two warships thither. Meanwhile it is reported in Vienna that five Austrian battleships and cruisers and one destroyer were twenty miles from Antivari yesterday evening, and that an infantry regiment embarked at Zara for a southern destination.

A Cetinje wire says that the Turks yesterday morning made a sortie south of Tarabosh. A desperate engagement is in progress.

Details of the fight at Boyuk-Chekmedje sent by special correspondents with the Turkish forces show that the fight was not only the most severe, but had a most important bearing on future operations at Tchataldja. The objective of the Bulgarians was to cut off the Turks holding the high ground west of Lake Chekmedje from the main army occupying Tchataldja Lines. On the advance of the Bulgarians in great strength on March 25th, Izzat Pasha withdrew the bulk of his troops to the main position and a tremendous bombardment, lasting two days, followed. The Bulgarians, while trying to dig themselves into captured ground, suffered terribly from the Turkish guns assisted by searchlight. On Friday morning the Bulgarians, under cover of fog, tried a flank march across the front of Tchataldja Lines in a final attempt to dislodge the Turks west of Chekmedje. The fog lifted, however, and the Bulgarians were caught in a death trap of bursting shrapnel. They broke in confusion and six thousand Turks made a counter-attack with the bayonet sweeping the Bulgarians down the reverse slopes. The total Bulgarian casualties were four thousand. It is now impossible for the Bulgarians to attack Tchataldja Lines without the risk of an attack on their right flank.

Special correspondents who were allowed to enter Adrianople with the Bulgarians state that eighty siege guns concentrated in the final bombardment on the Ridge surmounted by forts east of Adrianople. There were altogether 160 guns concentrated over a front of between two and three miles, and thirty thousand shells were fired in a single day, practically annihilating the forts. The latter were afterwards discovered to be primitive works with casemates of bricks covered with earth. The emplacements were simply hollowed out from soil. The reputed modern fortifications were merely a Turkish legend, the only value being in the enormous strength of the natural position. If the Bulgarians had been aware of the real state of affairs they would have captured what was merely an entrenched camp with the bayonet three months ago. Chukri Pasha did not possess all the guns with which he was credited. He cleverly multiplied his artillery by changing his positions when heights were stormed. When the Bulgarians entered the city they were surprised to find herds of cattle and sheep feeding in meadows close to the town. The garrison and population looked well fed. The chief complaint was want of cigarette papers.

With a view to meeting in part the Bulgarian objections to the frontier from Enos to Midia, which originally followed the Ergene River, the Powers are disposed to modify the proposal making the frontier run from Enos to Midia in a straight line.

A Constantinople wire says that the Porte has replied to the Powers thanking them for the offer of mediation and accepting all the points without reservation. The Porte confidently trusts that the Powers will achieve peace.

A Vienna wire says that a squadron will sail immediately to take part in the naval demonstration off Montenegro. Renter reaffirms that it is the unanimous opinion of the Powers that failing the compliance of Montenegro with their demands a naval demonstration is necessary. Communications in this connection are now passing between the different capitals.

A Sofia wire says it is officially stated that the capture of Adrianople cost the Bulgarians from ten thousand to twelve thousand killed and wounded. The Bulgarians captured about two thousand officers, including fourteen generals and sixty thousand men.

A Malta wire says that the cruiser "Defence" has been ordered to hold itself in readiness to proceed eastward. It is believed that it will take part in the naval demonstration off the coast of Montenegro.

The Turkish Consul-General in Bombay received the following wire to-day from the Foreign Office, Constantinople. Sublime Porte, March 31st: "On the 30th, our detachments continued the pursuit of the enemy west of Boyuk-Chekmedje finding on their passing more than two hundred corpses of the enemy. One battery of the enemy near Kazikni had been completely destroyed. Nothing happening at Bulair."

Greece has addressed a strong declaration to the Powers proposing that a plebiscite be taken in the region of Southern Albania claimed by Greece, and affirming that no Greek Government could withdraw troops from the territory which they occupy and which they have delivered from the Turks.

Owing to the uncertainty of the situation in absence of a reply from the Allies it was decided at the last moment that the Conference of Ambassadors would not sit to-day.

Renter learns that the reply of the Allies to the mediation proposals of the Powers is conciliatory. Bulgaria abandons her idea of a frontier running from the Gulf of Saros to Midia and agreeing to a slightly-modified line from Enos to Midia.

London, April 2.

It appears certain that neither France nor Russia will take part in the naval demonstration off the coast of Montenegro. A Berlin wire says the German cruiser "Berlin" has been ordered to the Adriatic to participate in the naval demonstration. The question of a naval demonstration off Montenegro is pre-occupying the Cabinets of Europe. It seems certain that Montenegro perceiving that she has nothing to lose, is making furious efforts to capture Scutari and, according to reports from Vienna, with substantial success. There has been a violent eruption of public opinion in Russia against the coercion of Slavs, which places M. Sazonoff, the Foreign Minister, in a very awkward position. France is likewise not enthusiastic. The British Press is divided on the subject. The *Daily Chronicle*, in a remarkable article, ridicules the supposed impartiality and justice of the Powers and their right to dictate. They are merely guided by selfish interests. The article suggests that the demonstration against Montenegro is as futile as one against Switzerland would be.

A Vienna wire says a part of the Austrian Squadron has reached Antivari. The remainder is being held in reserve at Cattaro.

A Cetinje wire says that the Montenegrin Government in reply to the note of the Powers refuses, for military reasons, to transmit to the Commandant of Scutari the cipher despatch from the Porte authorising the departure of civilians. A Belgrade wire says that the Serbians and Montenegrins are bombarding the Scutari forts. Their surrender is expected in a day or two.

France is sending a warship to take part in the naval demonstration, with the approval of Russia.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. F. D. Acland confirmed the statement that two British warships were at Corfu in readiness to take part in the naval demonstration, in which all the Powers would participate, or acquiesce. He said that Montenegro aimed at annexing a population of 40,000, contrary to their wishes and to the decision of the Powers.

The *Statesman* publishes the following cablegram, dated London, April 2:—

"The Montenegrins are making a last desperate onslaught with all available forces upon Scutari, hoping by a colossal sacrifice to capture the citadel before the Powers have effectively blockaded the coast. Austrian warships are now off the coast awaiting formal instructions to institute a blockade."

London, April 3.

The Montenegrins have captured positions at Tarabosh after a sanguinary fight. Two hundred picked bomb-throwers opened the attack and cut the wire entanglements. In accomplishing this, however, they were all killed. The Montenegrins also lost 300 killed and wounded in the fighting in the trenches.

The Austrian squadron has anchored off the coast between Antivari and Duloigno.

The Sofia semi-official journal *Mir* says that the naval demonstration off the coast of Montenegro proves that the Powers desire to subject the Balkan States to a humiliating tutelage, but that it will only fix their determination to stand together.

Router states that an agreement has been informally reached between the Powers, Bulgaria and Turkey with regard to the Turco-Bulgarian frontier.

In the Budget Committee of the Reichstag to-day Herr Bassermann, leader of the National Liberals, welcomed Anglo-German co-operation in the Balkans and the friendly tone of recent speeches in the House of Commons. He thought that Germany's attitude in the present crisis was a proof that Germany was pursuing a generally peaceful policy.

Herr von Jagow, Foreign Minister, believed that considerable difficulties awaited the Powers over the settlement of the islands. Germany's policy was directed towards an adjustment which would not endanger Turkey's Asiatic possessions. He added that the question of the Dardanelles had not yet been broached by any Power. Regarding the naval demonstration, he declared that nothing could yet be said as to how matters would develop if Montenegro continued in her obstinacy.

In the Duma yesterday a debate took place on an interpellation denouncing the behaviour of the police in the recent pro-Balkan demonstrations. The interpellation was introduced by a Nationalist who declared that the Government was ranging itself behind the Austrian triumphal car. The Minister of the Interior said that demonstrations in the streets which interrupted traffic must be suppressed. He promised punishment of the police if the accusations against them proved true.

The Cost of War to the Victors.

A BULGARIAN official statement of the loss and ruin brought upon the Bulgarian people by the Balkan War was employed by Mr. F. W. Hirst in an address delivered at Cardiff last night on "The Effect of War upon Trade and Wages."

Mr. Hirst said that the war in the Balkans was looked by our military experts as a singularly triumphant and successful war, and the victors were held up to us for envy, admiration, and imitation. "I want you to hear what the victors themselves say about it. There came recently from Sofia to the office of the *Economist* a printed document in French. It was issued by the Commissioners of the National Debt of Bulgaria, and is in fact an official statement or exposé on behalf of the Bulgarian Government. It recites some of the consequences of victory in order to induce Europe to recognise the claim of the allies for an indemnity from Turkey."

First of all, this document draws attention to the state of Thrace and Macedonia, of which Bulgaria expects to get the lion's share. It is a country naturally fertile and in parts extraordinarily rich. But practically all this territory has been ravaged and desolated. For a long time the new territories will be a source not of income but of expenditure, a drain on the public purse of Bulgaria. Instead of defraying the cost of war they will increase it. The present inhabitants of Bulgaria would be actually better off if they were suddenly disappointed of the prize for which they have made these enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure. The conquered territory has been twice burnt, twice sacked and pillaged; first by the retreating Turks, then by the Bulgarian bands of irregulars. Most of the Turkish farmers (probably nearly all) are dead or dead. Bulgaria will look larger on the map, but it is an estate mortgaged up to the hilt, on which the rates will be at least 80s. in the pound.

So much for the first argument urged by Bulgarian statesmen. They want Turkey to pay an indemnity in order that they may not be ruined by the cost of reclaiming this wilderness, this territory wasted by fire and sword. What is the second argument? Bulgaria as a result of the war, say these official exponents of her financial and economical predicament, has lost 25,000 men in the prime of life, and 25,000 more have been invalided or maimed for the rest of their days—50,000 in all, one in eight of her conscript force—a very moderate estimate, Mr. Hirst was afraid. Apart altogether from the economic value of these men—merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, farmers, mechanics, labourers, &c.—the Bulgarian Government estimates that the taxpayers who remain will have to find more than £400,000 a year for a generation to come in pensions to the families of the dead or maimed. Bulgaria's population at the last census was only 4,337,000. It is to Bulgaria as the loss of 500,000 men of all ranks and classes would be to our own country, and a charge in pensions equivalent to over twelve millions sterling for the United Kingdom. And taxes in Bulgaria are already very high.

What is the third plea? The Bulgarian Government declares that immediately after the war Bulgaria will have to re-arm its troops with new rifles, buy fresh guns, accoutrements, &c., because most of the weapons used in this war are already worn out; and it will be necessary to return at once to the old level of efficiency. As Bulgaria cannot afford to buy them, Turkey must pay for them by contributing an indemnity. This really means that English and French creditors must lend more money to Turkey in order to enable Bulgaria to put herself into immediate condition for another war. Yet wars are often recommended as an escape from the intolerable burden of rival armaments.

The fourth argument or plea for an indemnity is the signal-hung misery of the country. Since the beginning of war business, and credit have been suspended; no one has been legally bound to pay his debts. Mr. Hirst summarised the argument of the Bulgarian Government on this head as follows:—"The industry and trade of our country have been at a standstill for four months, and there will inevitably be numerous failures of business men, manufacturers, and artisans. Nor can the losses of the farmers be neglected. The autumn sowings did not take place in time, and there is a risk that the spring sowings will be spoiled if the troops are retained with the colours much longer. The country would then be threatened by famine. And beyond all this the loss to the livestock of the country is enormous, since over 300,000 horses, oxen, and buffaloes employed in the army transport service are dead or useless."

"We learn," said Mr. Hirst, "from the present state of Bulgaria that force is no remedy—that war is the worst of all calamities. I will not try to paint the wretched plight of the Turks and the Montenegrins or the financial embarrassments of Serbia and Greece. But let me say a word about Europe. This conflict would have been avoided if the Council of Europe had done its duty any time in the last 30 years. It has only to unite in compelling the Turks to carry out a fair scheme of Macedonian reforms. But the Great Powers and their Foreign Offices have been taken up with bickering and bickering. The voice of justice and humanity has been drowned by noise."

What are the consequences? For months Russia and Austria-Hungary have been mobilised at enormous cost. Their trade has been prostrated. An immense crop of bankruptcies is recorded, and great sums will have to be borrowed to pay for calling out hundreds of thousands of conscripts from their homes. And now the trouble has spread to France and Germany. In both countries it is proposed to spend many millions upon defensive armaments. How long is this madness to last and where is it to end? Capital and labour are equally menaced."

Mr. Hirst went on to argue that a great port like Cardiff, with its vast foreign trade, has special interest in all proposals for securing peaceful shipping and non-contraband cargoes at sea from capture or destruction. They should urge the Government to prepare for next year's Hague Conference real reforms in the laws of naval warfare.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Debate on the Address.

In the course of his Speech in the Lords on the Address, Lord Lansdowne said:—

THE BALKANS.

We heard with more than usual satisfaction that his Majesty's relations with other Powers are of a friendly description. The condition of affairs in so many parts of the world is so critical that it is indeed a matter of congratulation that his Majesty should be able to use these words. It is impossible to read the sentences which follow without realising that anxiety is not yet entirely removed. We find it stated that the war still continues. There is a reference to its possible developments. There is an intimation of points which are still unsettled. In these circumstances it is most satisfactory that we should also be told that a large measure of success has already been achieved, and that his Majesty is hopeful of a complete understanding with the Great Powers. I venture to associate myself with what was said just now by the noble lord with reference to the part which has been taken by his Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs and I was also glad to hear his admission that, so far as these questions of foreign policy were concerned, his Majesty's Government had no reason to complain of the manner in which they have been treated by the Opposition. When I venture to offer my congratulations to his Majesty's Government upon the measure of success that has attended them, I do so, of course, with certain reservations, because we are indeed very much in the dark as to what his Majesty's Government have been about during the last few months in connexion with these most important international issues. They have not been over-generous to us in the matter of laying papers upon the table. That is, perhaps, to some extent inevitable, but the fact remains that we have been told very little.

THE FATE OF AN OLD ALLY

And yet, my lords, how greatly these events move us! We cannot be indifferent to what is happening in the Balkan Peninsula. Many scenes rise in our mind. We see the transformation of South-Eastern Europe. We see the wreck of a fabric in the maintenance of which we have ourselves been largely concerned. We hope that from these events there may emerge a happier state of things for these long-suffering regions. We also, I think many of us, have a certain feeling of sympathy for an old ally who has fallen upon evil days (cheers)—an ally whose troops have in their day under good leadership fought with a gallantry and devotion for which no praise could be too strong (cheers) and who are the co-religionists of a great body of his Majesty's loyal subjects in India. And last of all, there is I am sure, in all our minds a feeling of intense compassion for those millions of blameless people to whom these events have brought countless suffering not only from war, but from pestilence, famine, and the loss of hearth and home.

So far as our information in regard to the policy of his Majesty's Government is concerned, I do not believe that we have been told anything since the memorable occasion on which the Government associated themselves with the other Great Powers in intimating to the belligerents that they would view with disfavour any attempt at any modification of the territorial *status quo*. That warning has become a little obsolete. (Laughter.) I have no desire to press for information where information cannot properly be given, but are there not some chapters of this political history which are now more or less closed and about which we might be told a little more than we have been told yet? I am under the impression that we have never been given any papers about the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That was a transaction which affected the obligations of those who were signatories of the Berlin Treaty, and I cannot imagine why papers should not have been laid on the table upon that subject. Then there is the case of Tripoli, which is another chapter that one might regard as more or less concluded. We have had no papers about Tripoli.

PERSIA.

And there is another country about which I must express the hope that we shall be furnished some further information—I mean Persia. We have had no papers for nearly a year—I think since April last

year, but events have been moving very fast in Persia since that time. We have had some conversations in this House, but have been quite unable to elicit from the Government anything like a full and complete account of the policy which they are following. I am well aware of the inherent difficulties of the case. On the one hand there is our feeling with regard to our interests in the Persian Gulf, for which we have made great sacrifices in the past, and in Southern Persia. On the other hand, I quite understand the reluctance of his Majesty's Government to involve themselves in what might be described as an adventurous policy in any part of Persia, but my fear is that as between these two considerations we shall end by having no policy at all. (Cheers.) There are two Persian questions, which have already been discussed in this House. There is the question of railways in Southern Persia. When pressed the other day the noble viscount told us that his Majesty's Government took a lively interest in that project and that active negotiations were going on. I hope we may be told something as to the result of these active negotiations. The other matter is the episode of Shiraz. We pointed out some time ago that an Indian regiment was virtually imprisoned in Shiraz. Then came the deplorable murder of Captain Eckford. By the way, I saw quite lately that the wife of the Belgian Consul at Bushire has been murdered, which shows what a state Persia is getting into. When we raised this question the noble marquess who leads the House admitted the great gravity of the murder of Captain Eckford, and the representative of the Foreign Office in the House of Commons went even further, because he announced that the case was one in which it was essential that punishment should be meted out. He went on to say that the season of the year was very unfavourable, but he indicated that what was hoped was that in the spring the Persian Government would take the punitive measures which the circumstances required. I do not know whether the noble marquess will be able to tell us whether that matter has advanced any further. I do trust the noble marquess will allow me to explain that I raise this question not because I wish to press his Majesty's Government to entangle themselves in a policy of adventure in the south of Persia, but because my fear is that if an Indian regiment is allowed to remain virtually imprisoned in a Persian town and if the murder of an English officer remains unpunished, we may find ourselves, in spite of ourselves, committed to a policy involving sacrifices which we would all of us very much sooner avoid. (Here, Here.)

The Marquess of Crewe said in the course of his reply:—

The noble marquess the Leader of the Opposition naturally said something on the subject of the war and on the relations of the country with foreign Powers. He realised, of course, that it would be quite impossible on an occasion like this to discuss in any form the historical rights or wrongs of the war, or, indeed, at the present stage to say anything of its probable outcome. This country has been able to maintain something like a general neutrality of sentiment as well as of attitude during the course of the struggle. We, of course, retain our historical sympathy with the small Christian nationalities of South-Eastern Europe and remember the trials which in past years they endured. But, on the other hand, this country has never been slow to recognize the particular virtues of the Turkish people, virtues which have been a lesson to many of the most advanced and civilized nations further West. Nor do we forget the vast body of the subjects of his Majesty who are bound to one of the combatants by the bonds of Islam. When we look at the position of affairs as it now exists we cannot speak of it in detail, as the war is not yet over. We are able to rejoice that the Concert of Europe has not merely sprung into new life, but that it has proved genuinely active in determining to maintain the peace of Europe, and it is a matter of pride that this country should have been chosen as the meeting place both of the delegates and the Ambassadors who represented the Great Powers. It involves the recognition that this country has throughout maintained an impartial attitude and that the Powers of Europe and their representatives retain confidence in the intentions and the character of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I am sure the noble marquess will agree that no papers could have been laid on the table with regard to a war that has not yet closed.

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Then the noble marquess said a word with regard to the question of Persia. As regards Persia, I am able to say that before long we shall be able to lay further papers on the table. I shall say nothing now on the question of the Persian railway, though they have been occupying a great deal of attention of late, not only of the Foreign Office, but of that also over which I have the honour to preside. With regard to the punitive expedition, it has been the desire of his Majesty's Government to assist the Persian Government in the matter of money to enable her to restore order on the southern roads herself rather than to take the whole business off her hands. It is quite true, when a murder such as that of Captain Eckford is committed, and apparently committed with impunity, the credit, or prestige, or whatever you wish to call it, of the British Government must suffer, or, at any rate, does suffer, but the disadvantages attaching to the

sending of a great punitive expedition are so great that we have saved it off as long as we can, and I hope in the long run to succeed in staving it off altogether because the possible outcome of a military expedition of the kind which involves something like military occupation of the country is so obscure and so dangerous that we desire to avoid it if we possibly can.

In the Commons, Mr. Bonar Law in the debate on the Address said:—

The hon. gentleman who seconded the Address spoke of the subject of foreign affairs, and in everything he said I think we on this side of the House, indeed, all members of the House, will agree. (Hear, hear.) The Speech has a longer reference to foreign affairs than has been usual of recent years. That is, of course, inevitable. But though there are a great many sentences, I think the Prime Minister will agree we do not get much information. I hope therefore it may be possible for him, without detriment to the public service, to give some further information to the House as to the events connected with the Near East. (Hear, hear.) I am sure in any case all members of the House would especially welcome, if it were possible, some assurance from the right hon. gentleman that the war now going on is likely to be speedily determined. War is always, I think, a calamity, though very often an unavoidable calamity. But it seems to me that this war is specially deplorable for this reason—so far as I can judge, although I have no special means of information, the result of the war can have no appreciable effect upon the terms of settlement when the time of peace comes. (Hear, hear.) I hope, therefore, and I am sure the whole House hopes, that the time is not far distant when peace will be restored to those regions. (Hear, hear.) There are some other points in connexion with foreign affairs on which I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman to give us some further information. The House will remember that on the present Foreign Secretary undertaking his office a fear was expressed that a Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons might be found to have a difficult and practically impossible position on account of the facility with which he might be bombarded on the floor of the House. We all know that no Foreign Secretary who has ever held office in this country has ever had a freer hand or has ever been subjected to less criticism from the Opposition than has been the case with the present right hon. gentleman. (Hear, hear.) That was, of course, a deliberate policy consistently carried out by my right hon. friend the senior member for the City of London, and I have only been too glad during the short time in which I have filled his post to follow his example in that respect. (Hear, hear.) I feel sure, however, that he and the Government will realize that that is no reason why any information which could be given ought not to be given to the House of Commons. Take, for instance, events in Tripoli. That is now over. No papers have been laid before the House, and I think it would be desirable, if possible, that the House should have some information as to what occurred at that time and our connexion with it. The House also, I am sure, is very anxious about the position in Persia. That is not, like the last subject to which I referred, a question which is not any longer a live one, and it is very likely that reticence may be not only desirable, but necessary. It is a long time since we had information on the subject, and I am sure the House will desire to know what the position in Southern Persia especially is, and what is the position now of the Indian regiments which the House will remember went there and were cooped up in peculiar circumstances. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, the position there is so grave that I am quite sure that any information which the Government can give will be gladly welcomed by the House of Commons.

Replying to the Leader of the Opposition Mr. Asquith said:—

THE NEAR EAST.

The right hon. gentleman referred in language and in a tone of which I can make no complaint to the references in the Speech to foreign affairs, and in particular to the problems which have arisen from the war in the Near East, and he invited me, as he was well entitled to do, to speak with a little more explicitness than is possible in the more or less formal phraseology of the Speech from the Throne as to the past course and the present condition of our dealings with these affairs. The House will understand that even now I am obliged to use, to a certain extent, the language of reserve, but so far as it is possible to do so consistently with the great interests which are still more or less hanging in the balance I will speak with the utmost candour and freedom. So far as the Great Powers are concerned, when the war broke out they found themselves compelled to deal with it as it affected the system the creation and maintenance of which they were all parties to—the European system founded by the Treaty of Berlin, and except in so far as the war affected that system the Great Powers as such were not directly interested in it. But the deliberations which have been going on between the Ambassadors here in London, under the presidency of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State

for Foreign Affairs, have been mainly, I believe exclusively, directed to these considerations. I am glad to say that a result of these deliberations, though they have not yet reached their final stage, is that an agreement has been reached in regard to two vitally important points. The first is as regards the Adriatic littoral and the Servian economic access to it by an international railway. That may now be regarded as a settled matter. (Cheers.)

The next matter is—and this has proved in practice to be a more thorny question—as regards, not the principle, but the delimitation of the boundaries of an autonomous Albania under European guarantee. In principle I am glad to say the Powers are unanimous in accepting that autonomous Albania so guaranteed. As regards the western boundary, which is the Adriatic littoral, of course no difficulty arises, but as regards the northern, eastern, and southern frontiers of the new autonomous Albania, discussions have made it clear that agreement on only one or two more points, and those not the most vital, is required in order to secure the complete concord of the Great Powers. (Cheers.) It is true that agreement on the points that have been settled is necessarily and properly conditional on agreement on the whole, but it is substantially true that the points which still remain are few and in our view, and I believe in the view of the Great Powers, cannot be regarded as in any way vital. Therefore, I think the House will agree with me that considerable success has attended the method of joint deliberation. (Cheers.)

MEDIATION OF THE POWERS.

I now turn to another aspect of matter which affects the belligerents themselves. Turkey has agreed to accept the mediation of the Six Powers, and we are at present waiting to hear, and I earnestly trust and hope we may receive, a favourable answer from the Allies that they are prepared to do the same. A further matter which arose in an acute form at a comparatively late stage in the recent negotiations was the relative position and claims of Rumania and Bulgaria, and I am happy to say that there also both of these States are in process of availing themselves of the mediation of the Great Powers to overcome the differences between them. Our own part, the part of Great Britain, in all these matters from the beginning up to the present moment has been and will continue to the end to work in peace and agreement. The diplomatic grouping of the Powers has remained unaltered. Neither with France nor Russia are our relations less cordial or intimate than they were before. (Cheers.) We retain and intend to retain these friendships. (Cheers.) The change that has taken place, so far as there has been a change, is this. While each group, if I may use the phrase, remains unimpaired in relation to its own members, the relations between the groups themselves have become increasingly cordial. Those Powers whose interests—and I include ourselves among them—are less directly affected by changes in the Near East have co-operated earnestly to find a path of agreement for all. That has been the outstanding feature and it is a very agreeable one in recent diplomatic history. In this matter we have worked with a single-minded desire with Germany. (Cheers.) That co-operation has not only made the course of diplomacy, if I may use the expression, more pleasant, but it has, we trust and believe, inspired a mutual confidence which will continue between the two great nations. (Cheers.)

TRIBUTE TO SIR E. GREY.

In the opinion of his Majesty's Government all this has been greatly facilitated by the meetings of the Ambassadors in London, and I perhaps may be allowed to join in the tribute paid by one of my hon. friends, which I am sure would not be dissented from by the right hon. gentleman opposite, to the extraordinary, I might almost say unexampled, patience, resolution, determination, and sagacity of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (Cheers.) We have regarded these meetings in London of the Ambassadors as a mark of confidence on the part of the other Governments, and we have endeavoured to respond to the best of our power to the responsible trust placed in us, and that confidence has been amply justified by the loyal and conciliatory spirit shown by those distinguished representatives of those Great Powers in all the matters with which they have had to deal. I think that is as much as I can properly say at this moment with regard to our foreign policy. As regards Tripoli, the right hon. gentleman, I think, suggested that we should produce papers. Perhaps he will allow me to give a little further consideration to that matter before I make a definite answer. In regard to Persia, there was, as the House may remember, a short debate some few weeks ago, and in regard to that question another Blue-book will be presented in the course of the next few weeks, which will show the present aspect of matters there. For the moment, in view of the situation in Southern Persia, I would rather not say more than that the Governments are fully alive to the many difficulties of the questions which present themselves in this quarter.

National Rivalries in Macedonia.

THE *Corriere della Sera* says:—At Salonica the Bulgarian soldiers have torn down the Greek manifestoes bearing the stamp of the kingdom of Greece. The Greek military authorities replied in a corresponding fashion, and a brawl arose which threw the entire city into a panic. At Koprülü, which is occupied by the Servians, all the Bulgarian schools have been closed, the papers of the Bulgarian Metropolitan have been seized, and the Bulgarian population in general has been subjected to great humiliations. The Bulgarian Government attempted to protest, but the only reply so far has been the arrest of over a thousand Bulgarians. The Servians have also prevented the establishment at Monastir of the Bulgarian National Bank and have expelled its would-be directors.

The Burning of Moslems.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Mar. 4.

I have under my eye a letter written by a Bulgarian at Salonica. "Greeks and Bulgarians are like cat and dog," he says. The Bulgarians say that as soon as they have finished with the Turks they will drive the Greeks out of Salonica, Yenidjeh, Voden, Veria, &c., whilst the Greeks say that when they have done with Janina they will clear the Bulgarians out of Salonica, Drama, Seres, Kavala, Langaza, and other places. . . . There are quarrels almost every day. The Greeks have started to Hellenise the region of Veria. They have expelled the Bulgarian priests, some of whom were beaten by the Greek villagers, and the Bulgarian schools have been closed. The writer of the pamphlet, 'The Fate of Salonica,' Professor Yaranoff, of the Bulgarian High School at Salonica, has been imprisoned by the Greek authorities. This happened on the third day after its issue, and in spite of the anonymity of the author. The Bulgarians say they will avenge these things, and an officer told me that 10,000 troops will come to Salonica to demand reparation for the many tyrannous acts of the Greeks. So you see that the relations between the two nations are becoming worse, and we seem to be condemned to endless anarchy and disorganisation. The town is as dirty as ever."

An American newly arrived from Salonica, who is completely detached from the questions in dispute, assures me that the immediate neighbourhood of Salonica is very unsafe owing to bandits, who go under the name of *komitadjis*. Herr Baumann, a German engineer, was robbed and murdered only a mile outside the town. The Europeans confine their walks to the Route des Canapages, and do not venture much beyond the Villa Alatiini. I asked my American informant about the burning alive of a number of Moslems including women and children, at a place near the Kinkush (Kilkitch) railway station. He did not see it, but when he asked Sister Augustine, of the French hospital, she displayed great agitation, and said: "Ask the Bulgarian Metropolitan. He told me that he was ashamed to say it was true." Sister Augustine is an English lady.

My informant had seen nothing worse on the part of the Greeks than rough handling of the Jews and windows wantonly broken by bayonet thrusts. The Bulgarians he considers to be the more cynical. A lieutenant told him, "I kill Turks as I would rats." The Greeks, he says, are suffering from "swelled head." They are angry with the British Consul-General, whom they accuse of favouring the Bulgarians.

The Fight at Nigrita.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Mar. 8.

It will be accounted a very unhappy coincidence that at the moment when the Greek nation is rejoicing at victory of their army and, incidentally, at that of the Allies over the common enemy at Yanina, a sanguinary pitched battle should be taking place at Nigrita between two of those Allies. The events which led this deplorable incident are, briefly, as follows:—

The Bulgarians did not occupy Nigrita on their hurried march to Salonica, and the town was subsequently taken by the Greeks after a two hours' skirmish with the local Turkish forces. The population is principally Hellenic. Since the possession of Nigrita may be of considerable importance when the new frontiers come to be drawn, it is not difficult to understand the desire of the Bulgarians to remove this Greek outpost, which lies roughly half-way between their garrisons at Seres and Langaza. By means of peaceful penetration they had succeeded in establishing themselves in a small way in the town, but when, a few days ago, a force of some 150 Bulgarians made their appearance they were refused admission and obliged to quarter themselves in a neighbouring village.

The next act opened on Wednesday, when a strong Bulgarian force, including a detachment of cavalry, two field guns, and numerous machine guns, having taken prisoner a Greek patrol encountered en route, descended upon Nigrita and, apparently without sending the customary notification of impending bombardment, placed guns in position and opened fire on the town. The Greeks who were without artillery, replied with rifle fire. The attack was

continued on Thursday, and yesterday, when the messenger bringing the news left, a cannonade had again commenced. There were heavy casualties on both sides.

There have been Bulgarian complaints that the Greek troops in the Nigrita district interfered with the Bulgarians, who appear to be mostly irregulars, in their work of revictualling. On the other hand, the peasants describe the particular method adopted as looting. Whether, however, Greek interference with either legal revictualling or looting has been of such a nature as to warrant the employment of artillery against an allied army we shall perhaps learn when further details come to hand.

The "Lion of Yanina."

YANINA has been ruled by men of many types and many races—Byzantines, Bulgars, Serbs, Normans from Sicily, and Angevins from Naples. From the tenth century, when it was captured by the Bulgars, to 1430, when it was conquered by Sinan Pasha and incorporated in the Ottoman Empire, its story was full of incident. But the glory of all the early rulers is eclipsed by that of the brigand chief Ali, the Lion of Yanina, who made himself master of a great part of Epirus and Thessaly, and whose acceptance of the title of Pasha implied a purely nominal submission to the Sultan. Thomas, the Servian "slayer of Albanians," of whom it was said that "All wickedness is small compared to the wickedness of Thomas," has been forgotten by every one except the professional historian. Ali's fame still lives, and the memory of his picturesque career is cherished by all lovers of romance.

A Tosk, or Southern Albanian, he was born about 1741. His father was a nonentity, but his mother, Khamku, was a notorious brigand, and was chieftainess of her own band. Ali grew up with an inheritance of great ability and ferocity, which served him in good stead when dealing with his brother Albanians. He became Governor of Trikala, and afterwards, in 1788, Pasha of Yanina and ruler of nearly the whole of Albania and Thessaly, exercising powers little short of sovereign, and negotiating directly with France and Great Britain. He very deftly played off one against the other, regardless of the wishes of the Sultan, whose Pashas he executed when such a course appeared desirable.

Ali endeavoured to establish his dynasty with Yanina as its centre, his two sons were Pashas respectively of the Morea and of continental Greece, his Court at Yanina was a centre of diplomatic intrigue none the less important because no regular resident Ministers were accredited to him, and picturesque from the multiplicity of adventurers, magicians, poets, and professional murderers by whom it was haunted. A reforming Sultan, however, gave ear to the representations of the great Albanian's enemies, and it was decided that Ali Pasha's pride and power must be reduced in conformity with the lately adopted centralizing policy of the Porte. An immense Turkish army moved against the old man and besieged him in his capital, and finally Khursid Pasha came with reinforcements and pressed the siege more hardily. Ali Pasha negotiated, permitted himself to trust to Khursid's safe-conduct, was betrayed, and murdered in 1822. With him fell his dominion, and the dream of a free Albania.—The Times.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

Janina, pronounced "Yanina," which has recently been occupied by the Greek forces, stands picturesquely on a lake, about fifty miles inland, east of Corfu. Prior to the war it had a population of 20,000, three-fourths of them being Greeks, who manufactured large quantities of gold lace, morocco leather, silks and coloured laces. Its name recalls that of a brigand chief who, if the Fates had been more propitious, might have ruled South-eastern Europe with a rod of iron.

Ali Pasha, surnamed *Arslan*, "the Lion," was born at an Albanian village called Tepeleni, in 1741. It has been said with perfect truth that no distinguished man has ever had a dolt for his maternal parent. Ali may almost be said to have imbibed savagery, and a dogged resolve to pursue blood-feuds, with his mother's milk. He had, indeed, ample reason for revolting against the Turkish régime, for his father had been despoiled by neighbouring pashas; and he had undergone untold hardships in an effort to regain his ancestral possessions. At the very nick of time he discovered a chest full of gold, which enabled him to equip an army 2,000 strong and to oust his oppressors from Tepeleni.

For 150 years Turkish annals have been an unbroken record of foreign aggression and domestic discord. Ali seized an opportunity of reconciling himself with the Porte by leading his clansmen against the rebellious Viceroy of Scutari. As a reward for crushing the malcontents he was appointed lieutenant to Dervend Pasha, who had been sent from Constantinople to suppress brigandage. It proved to be a case of setting a thief to catch his fellow. Dervend and Ali conspired to encourage the *klephts*, or highwaymen, who abounded in Albania, in return for a fixed percentage of their booty. Retribution at length overtook Dervend Pasha, but his second in command was right enough to purchase freedom by bribing his captors.

After this escape he joined the Turks in the campaign of 1787 against Austria, and brought in so many heads that he was given the pashalik of Trikala, in Thessaly.

Ali Pasha was not content to remain in a small provincial government. He cast longing eyes on Janina, which has a splendid strategic position, and was even then a place of considerable trade. By dint of terrorism, a forged firman, and wholesale bribery, he established himself in that coign of vantage, and virtually threw off the Turkish yoke. In 1797 he negotiated an alliance with Napoleon, who dispatched French engineers to fortify Janina, but after the English victory in Aboukir Bay he deserted the French and wrested the seaport of Preveza from them. In less than a decade he became master of Albania, Thessaly, and Epirus. The Greek peninsula was almost within his grasp; and if the European war had not been terminated by Waterloo, he might have anticipated the exploits of his fellow-countryman, Mehmet Ali.

Ali Pasha's character was a strange compound of unmitigated savagery and qualities which we associate with advanced civilisation. On the day of his triumphant return to Topeleni he murdered a brother whom he suspected of wishing to rival him; and subsequently imprisoned his mother until her death. But he revenged an outrage which she had endured by destroying 789 male descendants of men who had inflicted it forty years previously. When his power was firmly established he had the Greek commanders of militia who had aided him removed one by one by the assassin's knife, and then slew his agents in the bloody deed lest he should be suspected of having intimidated them. On the other hand, he ruled with justice and moderation, suppressed brigandage, encouraged commerce. European tourists in the Near East returned home with stories of Ali Pasha's wisdom, which made Janina a household word. He welcomed Lord Byron with an effusive flattery which appealed to the snobbery of the poet's complex nature. "Ali Pasha," said he, "told me that he was sure I was a man of rank!"

The aged Lion of Janina had to deal with a Sultan whose autocratic methods, and ruthlessness in enforcing them, were commented on last week. Mahmud II resembled our Henry VIII. in a resolve to be sole master of his realms. After five years of peace he was strong enough to break a rebellious vassal's power, and in 1820 Ali Pasha was compelled to surrender, on receiving solemn pledges that his life and property would be respected. It is scarcely necessary to add that they were set at naught. The captive received a fatal stab as he stood at the tent door of his conqueror.

Thus ended miserably a career pregnant with romance, which would furnish material for a dozen thrilling novels. The annals of the Near East, and especially those of the Imperial dynasty, are full of dramatic episodes; but no magician has arisen to breathe life into the dead bones of a heroic past. While Napoleon, Mary Antoinette, and other well-known characters are discussed *ad nauseam*, the world awaits a new Walter Scott whose genius might interweave fact and fancy to the enrichment of its literary inheritance.

The British Public and the Turks.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SATURDAY REVIEW."

Feb. 17, 1918.

SIR,—At Strumnitza the Bulgarian Commandant Mitoff, on taking possession of the town, swore on his military honour to protect the lives, the property, and the honour of the Moslem population. Two hours after these assurances the horrors began. During the forty-eight hours that the regular troops remained in the town thirty-four Turks were assassinated and many houses were invaded and pillaged. After the departure of the regulars the town was left in the hands of the *komuchis*, who first started robbing individuals under the pretext of searching for arms. Then they constituted a court-martial of seven brigands and drew up lists of the Moslem inhabitants. These were conducted before the tribunal at the rate of thirty or forty a day. Two votes out of the seven secured their condemnation. They were led outside the town where some were shot, others stabbed to death, and others still were saturated with petroleum and burnt alive.

It is calculated that during the twenty days during which this horrible carnival of murder and robbery went on over 1,000 persons were sacrificed. The survivors, as the granaries and other stores have been pillaged, are now starving.

The tragedy enacted at Dedeagatch would need whole pages to describe even in outline. I can only quote a few passages from a report transmitted by General Baumann, the French Inspector-General of the Macedonian Gendarmerie. Here, as at Serres, immediately on the withdrawal of the Turkish garrison, bands of *komuchis* entered the town and set up a massacre of the Moslem inhabitants. The Christian houses were carefully marked with a white cross. The carnage of old men, women and children continued for eight days, and only ceased on the appearance of the French warship *Jurien de la Gravière*. Then the brigands withdrew and the regular army, which had hitherto lingered in the environs, entered upon the scene under General Gueneff. This officer, on learning that the Greek

bishop had gathered a number of Turkish women in the Greek school in order to save them, prevailed upon the prelate to turn them out and let some of his own men be quartered on the premises. The unfortunate women had to return to their devastated homes, where they were during the night violated by the Bulgarian General's soldiers.

When such things were possible at a port under the eyes of European Consular agents and within reach of the guns of European warships, it is easy to imagine what took place in the remote districts of the interior. I cannot do here more than mention a few typical cases.

In the case of Avret Hissar out of sixty Moslem houses only six remain intact. At Radovishta all the Moslems were put to the sword and their dwellings pillaged. At Doiran two hundred Moslem notables were murdered. At Guergueli the urban population was not molested, but in the rural district round the town numerous murders and excesses of all sorts were perpetrated. In all these places the victims were destroyed in a variety of ways: some were shot, others stabbed, and others burnt to death. In several places the Moslems were given the choice between death and apostasy. The choice was accompanied with the threat that all recalcitrants should be shut up in the mosques and blown up with dynamite. At Osmanie the Moslems—mostly emigrants from Bosnia—saved their lives by abandoning their faith. Elsewhere fidelity to the creed prevailed over love of life.

Such, in very brief outline, are the exploits of the Bulgarian fighters for the Cross. The exploits of their Serbian brethren are not less disgusting. "Executions" on the most comprehensive scale have been the daily recreation of King Peter's soldiers in all the regions—Old Serbia, Albania, Macedonia—they have overrun. It is estimated that in the neighbourhood of Prishtina alone no fewer than 5,000 Moslems have perished. M. Tomitch, a Serbo-Hungarian gentleman and ex-secretary to the Serbian Premier M. Passitch, states that on his journey from Prizrend to Ipek he saw on either side of the road nothing but ruins of villages razed to the ground, and Albanian corpses hanging from improvised gallows. The road of Diakovitza he describes as having the appearance of "a boulevard of gibbets."

Between Kumanovo and Uskub some 3,000 persons were put to death. More thousands were slaughtered at Perlepe, Kirchovo and the other places on the route of the victorious Serbs. Everywhere not only men caught in arms but also defenceless women and children were mercilessly butchered, in many cases cruelty being aggravated by treachery. At Ferizavitch, for example, the Serbian Commandant called upon the beaten Albanians to surrender their arms. When that demand was complied with, four hundred of the unarmed wretches were at once put to the sword in cold blood. In that district, it is stated, hardly a dozen Moslem families are left alive.

In short, the actions of the Slavo-Bulgarian liberators remind one partly of the deeds of the medieval Crusaders who marched eastward slaying and pillaging in the name of Christ, and partly of the hordes of Attila who marched westward at an earlier period slaying and pillaging without any such pretext. The only difference between those ancient crimes and these orgies of to-day lies in the circumstance that the latter are the result of a deliberate policy. It seems to be the aim of the Balkan barbarians to ensure the peaceful possession of the conquered territories by the decimation if not the total extermination, of the vanquished Moslems.

I am informed that all the Consuls in Macedonia have already sent official reports of these performances to their respective Governments. The ex-Vali of Salonica even quotes our own Consul-General as saying "I am ashamed of being a Christian and a European," while his Austrian colleague is credited with the declaration "I shall be afflicted all my life if these cruelties remain hidden from the eyes of the civilised world." I suggest that it is the duty of our Foreign Office to make public by the issue of a Blue Book the reports received from its representatives in Macedonia. There is ample precedent for such a course, though, I admit, on all former occasions when a publication of this kind was deemed necessary the victims had been Christian. Nevertheless, I venture to hold that a crime is not less a crime when the victims are people of another faith.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

Adrianople.

Adrianople.

There falls perpetual snow upon a broken plain,
And through the twilight filled with flakes, the white earth
joins the sky;
Grim as a famished, wounded wolf, his lean neck in a chain,
The Turk stands up to die.
Intrigues within, intrigues without, no man to trust,
He feeds street-dogs that starve with him; to friends who are
his foe,
To Greeks and Bulgars in his lines, he flings a sodden crust,—
The Turk who has to go.

infamous, unbridled tongues and dumb deceit,
Through pulpits and the Stock Exchange the Balkans do their
work,

The preacher in the chape and the hawker in the street,
Feed on the dying Turk.

The Turk worked in the vineyard; others drank the wine,
The Jew who sold him plough-shares, kept an interest in
his plough.

The Serb and Bulgar waited till King and Priest should sign.
Till Kings said: Kill—kill now.

So while the twilight falls upon the twice betrayed,

The "Daily Mail" tells England and the "Daily News"
tells God.

That God and British statesmen should make the Turks afraid,—
Who fight unfed, unshod

"B K" in the *Saturday Review*.

The Turkish Coup D'Etat.

We have received from a well-informed correspondent the following account of the events at the Sultan's Palace on January 23 and 24:—

Immediately after Kiamil Pasha had handed his resignation to Enver Bey the latter left the Porte and commandeered the motor-car of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, in which he proceeded to the Palace of Dolma Bagiche. On arriving there he summoned brother, Veyis Bey, the commander of the Palace Guard, to whom he described what had happened at the Porte. Veyis Bey thereupon ordered the bugle to sound the assembly, and, as soon as the Palace Guard had fallen in, ordered them to surround the Palace. Enver then entered the Palace and without announcing himself made straight for the Mabeyn (Council Chamber), where the Sovereign was said to be. There he found the Sultan and gave the following laconic ultimatum:—

"Kiamil Pasha has resigned. Here is his resignation. Mahmoud Shevket Pasha is to be Grand Vizier."

"What is the cause of the Grand Vizier's resignation?" said the Sultan.

"Nazim Pasha is dead," answered Enver Bey, "the whole nation is in revolt and awaits the arrival of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha at the doors of the Grand Vizierate."

The Sultan then summoned his first secretary, Ali Fikad Bey, and his first aide-de-camp, Salih Pasha. "Go," he said, "see the revolution at the Porte and report to me thereon." Salih and Ali Fikad thereupon took a Palace motorcar and went to the Porte, followed by Enver in the Sheikh-ul-Islam's car. Ali Fikad Bey saw Kiamil Pasha, who told him what had occurred. Salih Pasha saw the corpse of Nazim Pasha. A doctor drew up a death certificate (*précis verbal*) describing the nature of the dead General's wounds. All present signed the document, which Salih took to the Palace. Enver followed, and the Sultan accepted Kiamil Pasha's resignation and sent an officer under Enver Bey's orders to Scutari to find Mahmoud Shevket Pasha. Mahmoud Shevket, on receiving the news, hastened to the Palace, where the Sultan conferred the post of Grand Vizier upon him. This done the new Grand Vizier went to the Porte, where the Imperial Hatt was read. Then he returned to the Palace, where he remained till early in the morning.

At about 3 A. M. several officers belonging to the Committee came to see the Sultan, who had not yet retired, and asked that the Chamberlain, Reshid Bey, a strong supporter of Kiamil Pasha, should be given up to them. A Palace servant warned Reshid who told the news to a high official. The latter, with the words, "You are in his Majesty's service it is his Majesty's duty to protect you," went to the Imperial apartments. The officers, after waiting an hour and a half, left the Palace. The Sultan later summoned Reshid Bey to his presence and assured him that he would do his best to protect him, adding the words, "Yet you see before you a Monarch who is compelled to do and to consent to what he does not desire." The Sultan then discussed Reshid Bey's position, and on the afternoon of January 24 told an officer whom he trusted to take Reshid Bey away in a Palace launch and conduct him to a foreign Embassy. He also wrote out an Imperial *iradeh* giving Reshid Bey a safe conduct. The launch had barely started when it was stopped by police boats which had been watching the Palace, the occupants of which refused to recognize the Imperial *iradeh*. Reshid, with much confusion of mind, produced what he described as a "foreign passport" for their perusal, and while they puzzled over it the officer whistled for full steam ahead and the launch shot away. The ex-Chamberlain slept that night under a foreign roof, and next day escaped on board a foreign steamer.

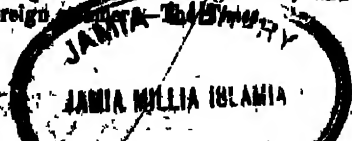
Salonica International Commission.

Statement of receipts from all sources from the date of its establishment up to February 9th, 1913.

	Piastres @
£T: 104	
December 2nd Received from Prefecture for blankets ...	16208.50
" 8th Proceeds of Cinematograph performance. ...	4880.
" 10th Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11508.50
" 11th Prefecture, 3000 drachmae ...	13500.
" 12th Cinematograph, further contribution ...	104.
" " Sir Arthur Nicolson, per Mr. Lamb ...	1268.25
" 13th Lord Mayor's Fund, per Col. Delme-Radcliffe ...	11250.
" 14th Ottoman Government, per German Consulate ...	26000.
" 15th Lord Mayor's Fund, per Col. Radcliffe ...	11250.
" 18th Johnston Lane, per Mr. Lamb ...	5200.
" " Islamic Society, per Adil Bey ...	5200.
" 19th Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11529.50
" 24th ditto ditto ...	11529.50
" " Ottoman Government per German Consul ...	26000.
" 30th Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11492.
" " Anonymous, per Mrs. Lamb ...	1040.
" " Prefecture.....15,700 drachmae ...	70850.
January 2nd American contribution, per U. S. Consul ...	5824.
" 3rd Anonymous, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	4050.
" 6th Commander Maissa, per Mrs. Lamb ...	2080.
" " Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11492.
" 8th Ottoman Government, per German Consul ...	52000.
" 9th Prefecture, per Colonel von Anderten ...	29858.50
" 13th Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11479.
" " Herr Max Solinger, Berlin, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	1118.
" 18th <i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i> , per Ottoman Bank ...	9,000.
" " Prefecture . . . 15,000 drachmae ...	67500.
" 20th Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11466.
" 22nd Lady Lowther's Fund, per Mr. Lamb ...	20,800.
" 26th M. Goodhoep, per Col. von Anderten ...	4500.
" " Herr Wilke, Berlin, per Col. von Anderten ...	185.
" 28th German Embassy per Consulate ...	9048.
" " Sundry donations, per Col. von Anderten ...	1844.50
" " Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb ...	11440.
" " Prefecture 8000 drachmae ...	38000.
" 31st <i>Comrade</i> subscription, per Mr. Lamb ...	11,440.
" " Agio ...	12.
February 3rd Prefecture, 8400 drachmae ...	37800.
" " 400 " (streaks) ...	1800.
" " Lady Lowther's Fund, per Mr. Lamb ...	20800.
" " Agio ...	18.
" 6th Colonel Poulon, per Col. von Anderten ...	5200.
" 7th <i>Neue Freie Presse</i> , per Austrian Consul ...	94.25
" " Anonymous, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	8120.
Total receipts to Feb 7th ...	608014.50

General Statement of Expenditure.

	Piastres @
£T: 104.	
December 2nd Errera for 1600 blankets ...	16208.50
" 31st Installation of Camp, sundry expenses ...	4320.50
" Paid for wood ...	11626.
" Paid for hay for bedding ...	8000.
" Paid for cartage ...	17140.
Cost of Cinematograph performance ...	1040.
Ten, sugar and medicines for sick ...	2283.75
Meat, beans, etc. ...	4977.75
Paid for bread ...	35905.75
Salaries of employés ...	1040.
Freight of s/s "Claire" (instalment) ...	13500.
January 31st Camp installation, sundry expenses ...	2446.75
" Paid for wood ...	3507.
" Paid for cartage ...	15018.
" Paid for meat, etc. ...	3323.
" Paid for charcoal ...	9225.
" Paid for hospital account ...	3009.50
" Six sets of harness for carts ...	1279.35
Transport of rice, petroleum, etc., presented by sundry persons ...	701.75
Salaries of employés and vaccinators ...	10078.
Freight of s/s "Claire" and "Mogda" ...	50108.50
Bread account of month ...	286782.75
February 9th Bread account to date ...	74888.
" Paid for cartage ...	2888.
" Paid for meat, etc., and sundries ...	2404.
Total expenditure to date ...	580557.75



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SUMMONS FOR SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES.

(Order V, Rule 20, Act V of 1908.)

Suit No. 898 of 1912.

IN THE COURT OF ADDITIONAL MUNSIFF, FYZABAD.

RAM PATI ... PLAINTIFF,

versus

TIRLOKI ... DEFENDANT.

To

Tirloki, s/o of Salik Panday, of Mauza Lakhanri, Pargana Magalsi, District Fyzabad, presently residing in city Rangoon; place of residence station Jawamoon.

Whereas the abovenamed Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for possession you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 26th day of March 1913, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and you are directed to produce on that day all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence.

Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 10th day of March 1913.

By Order,

DESI PERSHAD,

Munsif.

NOTICE TO SHOW CAUSE (GENERAL FORM).
IN THE COURT OF ADDITIONAL MUNSIFF OF FYZABAD DISTRICT.

MISCELLANEOUS SUIT No. 13 OF 1913.

SYED MOHAMMED AZHAR, son of Kasim Ali, of Raunahi, Pargana Mangalsi, Tahsil and Zilla Fyzabad ... PLAINTIFF,

versus

AMIR HASAN, son of Gulam Dastgir, of Mangalsi Khas, Pargana, Tahsil and Zilla Fyzabad ... DEFENDANT.

To

AMIR HASAN, son of Gulam Dastgir, of Mangalsi Pargana, Tahsil and District Fyzabad.

Whereas the abovenamed Plaintiff has made application to this Court under order 17, Rule 1, Civil Procedure Code, you are hereby warned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed on the 26th day of April 1913, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to show cause against the application, failing wherein, the said application will be heard and determined ex-parte.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 14th day of March 1913.

Seal.

By Order,

AMRUD ASSAR,

Munsif.

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The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.



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The Week.

Suffragettes.

Mrs. PANKHURST, who was arrested and charged with inciting to blow up Mr. Lloyd George's house, was found guilty at the Old Bailey, but with a strong recommendation for mercy. She was sentenced to three years' penal servitude on April 8. The Suffragettes in court cried "Shame," and wildly shouted. The Judge threatened to imprison them. The anger of the Suffragettes at the sentence on Mrs. Pankhurst was evinced at a meeting yesterday evening, the speakers predicting a reign of terror, and declaring that human life would no longer be respected.

The Suffragettes are carrying out their militant tactics in various parts of the country. The grandstand on Ayr race-course was set on fire at midnight, and owing to a high wind was gutted. The damage is valued at £5,000. Two suffragettes were caught red-handed at dawn setting fire to a grandstand at Kelso. Windows have been smashed at a Glasgow labour Exchange and there have been further acts of telegraph.

Mrs. Pankhurst is hunger striking but is not being forcibly fed. The Suffragettes continue acts of incendiarism as a protest against the sentence on Mrs. Pankhurst. They set on fire a large mansion at Norwich which was gutted, while houses at Hendon and Potters' Bar were found to be on fire. The Suffragettes also attempted to set on fire the stands on the Cardiff race-course.

Persia.

The Tibetan detachment of the Central India Horse and the 6th Rajputa left Shiraz on the 6th April for India. They will be escorted by Swedish gendarmes.

It is understood that the Persian Government on the 6th April accepted the Russian advance of £200,000, repayable in three years. The British advance was offered on the 7th April.

The Chinese Republic.

Mr Bryan has informed the diplomatic body in Washington of the intention of the United States to recognise the Chinese Republic as from the 8th instant, when the Chinese Assembly meets, and proposes that all Governments should recognise the Republic of China on the same day.

In the House of Commons on the 7th April Sir J. D. Rees asked when Britain would recognise the new Chinese Government, and whether the recognition would depend on a prior settlement of controversial questions between China and Britain, including the Tibet and opium questions. Mr F. D. Acland replied that when the present administration in China was established, Britain agreed to act in concert with the Powers, and said that the recognition would be conditional on a formal confirmation by the Republic of the rights and privileges resulting from the treaties and established usages enjoyed by British subjects. The Imperial Government still adhered to these views.

The first Republican Chinese Parliament assembled at Peking on the 8th April. The opening was marked by general festivities throughout China. The streets of Peking were decorated with flags and triumphal arches, and paraded by vast throngs of people. The inaugural ceremony took place in the Chamber of Representatives, the senior member of which welcomed the delegates and declared the Parliament open amid enthusiasm and firing of a salute. Yuan-Shih-Kai sent a message congratulating the delegates and hoping that the Republic would "last ten thousand years." Five hundred representatives of a total number of 596, and 177 Senators out of 274 were present. The public galleries were packed with Europeans and Chinese.

Not only have Britain and Japan hitherto not given their recognition to the Chinese Republic but there are indications that Russia, France and Germany will withhold immediate recognition. Brazil and probably all South America will follow the lead of the United States. Following the conference with President Wilson, the United States Cabinet decided to defer the recognition of China until the Chinese Assembly was completely organised.

Nicholson Commission.

Field Marshal Nicholson and the members of the Army Commission left Simla on the 9th April. The report has not yet been submitted to Government. In any case it will be treated as a confidential document and its contents are unlikely to be known in India for some time to come.

The London Morning Post understands that the Nicholson Commission Report will recommend various regimental economies. The report, according to the journal, considers that there are too many non-combatants on pay rolls, and that the administration can be simplified. It suggests the reduction of the number of British officers, and reduction in the number of regiments, not formed of soldiers of war-like races.

Persia.

Persia's Danger.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"

SIR,—The situation in Persia has again become critical and grave. It will be within the recollection of those who have followed Persian affairs that in the late autumn of last year the Saad-ed-Dowleh, a prominent reactionary and henchman of the ex-Shah, returned to Persia from exile in Europe, after a visit to the ex-Shah at Odessa, accompanied by a secretary of the deposed monarch. The Persian Government had been prevailed upon by Russian diplomacy, with the acquiescence of Great Britain, to entrust this personage with high office. The appointment was received with indignation in Persia, and the British and Russian Foreign Offices were in the end dissuaded from pressing for his inclusion in the Cabinet. Saad-ed-Dowleh, however, remained in Teheran, where he has been engaged in undermining the established form of Government. His work has now had time to produce results. The storm of which he was the forerunner has broken out. The rebel Prince Salar-ed-Dowleh again appears upon the scene. In previous years he had conducted his operations in the west, among the wild tribes of Kurdistan and Luristan, where, however, he had been signally defeated by the forces of the established Government. This time it is not to these remote regions that he betakes himself, but to the provinces bordering upon the Caspian Sea—the Russian lake, as it is sometimes called.

The Persian Government, without much money and almost without arms, attempts to buy him off. It agrees to give him a handsome pension on the understanding that he will remain in Europe. But this does not suit the diplomacy of Russia—or, to speak, perhaps, more correctly, the diplomacy pursued in Persia in the name of Russia. A promise is extracted from the Persian Cabinet to invest the Salar-ed-Dowleh with the governorship of the province of Ghilan, the province bordering upon the Caspian Sea. We understand that Great Britain has offered no objection. But the people of Ghilan have risen in indignation against the appointment, demanding its revocation. The Caspian provinces constitute the door into Persia from the side of Russia, where the ex-Shah resides, and it is pointed out that to place this gateway in the hands of the brother of the deposed monarch amounts to much the same thing as a recall of Mohamed Ali. There the matter now rests.

The question that is being asked is this: Will the British Government support the reinstatement of the arch-rebel, and thus give free play to the great pressure which is being exercised in his favour by the Russian agents in Persia?

In view of the past declarations of Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey on the subject of Mohamed Ali, it would almost seem preposterous that such a question should be asked at all. But British diplomacy has for some time past given the impression of perfect indifference as to the fate of Persia. In Persia it is now believed on Russian authority that, if requests be made from different parts of Persia for the return of Mohamed Ali, the British Government will raise no further objection to the restoration of the blessed rule of the "Creator of the Universe." We know well how such requests are manufactured, and we are quite confident that they will not take our Foreign Office in. But the time has come when our present fatal policy of drift must be brought once for all to an end. Otherwise the fate of Persia is sealed. We shall then be face to face with a policy of partition, either open or in a thinly disguised form. That means a long land frontier with Russia across Asia and the loss of the advantages of our insular position.

The difficulties which have been placed in the way of the established form of government in Persia have been such as to tax to the utmost the resource and endurance of any nation. Is it not time that these obstacles should once for all be removed? The Regent is prepared to return to Persia provided that it is made clear to him that he will be permitted to govern in accordance with the Constitution. His Highness has asked for the despatch of a responsible Minister who will accompany him to London and St. Petersburg and assist him in clearing up the present deplorable situation. We trust that Anglo-Russian diplomacy will support this request, or, in other words, will render it possible for the Persian Government to comply with it. The return of the Regent with the full support of the two "powerful neighbours" and the final and complete disavowal of Mohamed Ali would herald the approach of a new and happy era for a distracted country whose integrity and independence Great Britain and Russia have pledged themselves to uphold.—Yours, &c.,

H. F. B. LYNN, Chairman.
THOMAS BARCLAY, Hon. Treasurer.
F. WHEELER, Hon. Secretary.

The Persia Committee, 7, Chester
Place, Regent's Park, London.

The Decay of Persia.

Record of Existing Conditions.

(FROM THE "TIMES" TREASURY CORRESPONDENT.)

IF the future historian possess the gift of invective, there can be no doubt that in dealing with the Persian *barzgan*, or aristocracy, he will feel that an occasion has arisen when he may use his damnable powers to the full, without risk of obscuring the truth by any excess of language. All that Macaulay said of the Bengalees, or of Sir Elijah Impey, might aptly be said of the nobles of Persia as a class. Nothing is more astonishing than the dearth of new men in Persia, the total failure of the constitutional movement to bring to the front an array of middle-class zeal and talent, and the success with which the princes, nobles, governors, and the whole official world, who had wrought the downfall of the old régime, succeeded in imposing themselves upon the new. Nothing, in fact, was changed, except that the authority of the Shah was gone, and that a Parliament was in existence which, though individual members were corrupt, was collectively patriotically inspired, but—provided the old gang of officials did lip service to the Constitution—far too weak to exact a new standard of honesty. The leopard does not change his spots, and a Parliament that had to work with such tools was not likely to make startling progress in reform. No scorn can be too great, and no words too harsh, for the men whose grandiloquent and magnificent titles might in themselves have been a reminder that *noblesse oblige*. The Pillars and the Meteors of the State, the Lions and the Confidences of the Kingdom, the innumerable band of ed Dowlehs and el Mulks, possessed, with a few lowly and honourable exceptions, neither common honesty nor moderate capacity. Not all the high-born grandees in Persia could produce between them a spark of the clear flame that lit the spirit of Takeh-Zadeh, the bookseller's son from Tabriz. Him they hounded forth, untitled and unhonoured, to the exile that is still his fate, fearing the honest eloquence which made the common people hear him gladly.

Intrigue was their only art, and lying their most cultivated talent. Their sole inspiring motive was greed, and the embezzlement of public funds from a stricken Treasury was their principal pursuit. While throngs of wailing women clamoured daily at his gates for arrears of salaries due to their husbands, or for some small instalment of pensions long unpaid, a constitutional Minister of Finance bought in claims for a trifling sum in his own name, and helped himself to their face value from a Treasury that could not pay its civil servants. The Governor and the great men of Teheran combined to form a corn ring, and not all the miseries of the population from the famine price of bread could make them forgo a single kran of their ill-gotten gains. During the siege of Tabriz, when the famine reached its height, so that the poor were to be seen dying in the streets and the town was in the last straits for food, the Persian leaders of the defence retained large warehouses full of grain, for which they had not paid a penny, and refused to sell except at the ruinous price which they had fixed for their own profit.

These are but a few instances out of many. They excite no surprise and earn no condemnation. Their authors continue to enjoy power and prestige, and pass from one office to another in successful careers of colossal speculation. And from the European who professes friendship to Persia strict silence on such subjects is expected. Against dishonesty so flagrant it is recognized that there is a Western prejudice, and in view of this it is incomprehensible to a Persian that any friend should feel called upon to state the whole truth. Criticism, however well-intentioned, must, in their opinion, be always the act of an enemy, and it is no part of one's duty to violate the grand conspiracy of silence.

SOME PEASANT CHARACTERISTICS.

The merchant classes, and townfolk generally, though no strangers to chicanery, are unable to challenge comparison with their chameleon superiors. There is a large residuum here which, while corrupt according to Western standards, is intrinsically far from worthless, and is often attractive. Fidelity is frequently possible to the faithful, and high ideals dance before the eyes of those who follow baser practices. The Persian populace is far from being wholly bad, and much may be forgiven to the large section of it which is very poor. Here, as elsewhere in the East, the rural peasantry are the best of all, and strike a readier chord of sympathy in the European breast than does the French-speaking, vicious *fauxbourgeois* of the towns, with his glib political conversation. The peasant is not very different from peasants all the world over. He presents frequently the same appearance of crass stupidity, and possesses the same curious observant shrewdness. He has the same inveterate objection to innovation, and the same grasping thrift. Also, and this it is which differentiates him from the Persian of the town, who seeks to come by money quickly, by a little work and little thieving, he possesses the same laboriousness as the peasant of other lands, the same indefatigable patience in wresting a livelihood from a reticent soil. Wherever the desert yields a little water his grateful patch of cultivation is to be found, and wherever

of towns, or deep underground watercourses, by which he has devised an irrigation, is a striking testimony to his persistent industry.

Yet it must be said that the canker which comes from above, the shameful product of the wealth and education of Persia, has gone through all ranks, and has reached even the peasants in the villages of the wilderness. In Turkey an honest villager is as common as an honest pasha is rare, but the Persian peasant does not often use the truth. The highest standard is to be found among the peaceful nomads, whose morality is in every way superior to that of the villagers. In the outward graces, too, they commend themselves to the stranger. It is an unpleasant characteristic of the poor Persian who can make a show of rendering any service, though it be only the offering of the withered flower, to ask an immediate reward. Nothing is ever left to the stranger's instinct of generosity, and long before he has time to put his hand in his pocket he is told what is expected of him. But among the *shahs*, or nomads, it is not so, except in the neighbourhood of towns. They will even entertain a passing traveller with bread, milk, and cheese, and peremptorily refuse a reward on the plea that it is not their custom to accept it.

Among the armed tribes of nomads, of whom the most famous are the Bakhtiari and the Kashgai, there is a traditional combination of robbery and hospitality; and not the least of the excitements of Persian travel lies in the fact that one does not always know which of these two very different alternatives one may expect. Sometimes there is a mixture of the two, but the traveller who has lost all his property hardly feels adequately consoled by the offer of tea and cigarettes. The tribesmen often share the pleasant manners and the singular charm of the Persian townfolk. But their morals, also, are said to be no better than those of the towns. Disease is rife among them. And there is the same grasping avariciousness which everywhere repels. Every European resident in Persia remarks that the subject of chance conversations overheard in the streets is invariably *put*, money. The more prosperous are arguing over tomans, the poorer over kranes and shahis. It is one of the surest signs of degeneration that money is everywhere sought for its own sake. Persia would be an appreciably richer country were all the wealth that is hoarded in her mud walls brought into circulation.

A consideration of the warrior tribes brings us to an important contributory cause of the passing of a famous nation. The utterly unwarlike character of the bulk of the people, and their lack of physical courage, might be appropriate in a secure civilization where the arts of peace were free to flourish. The victories of peace are greater than those of war, but the great ideal of the pacifists is still far remote from the actual conditions of the East, and a nation which claims to be free must be prepared to maintain its freedom by the sword. There is still no other way, for, even in this our modern world, slavery will certainly overtake a feeble empire. In Persia the warlike elements have unfortunately preferred to war with one another. Only one tribe, the Bakhtiari, has at any time in this troubled period shown any conception of a higher patriotism, and has been ready to place its services at the disposal of the central Government for the task of restoring order.

ARMENIAN AND CAUCASIAN ACHIEVEMENTS

This does not mean that there is not everywhere in Persia excellent material for the training of troops. Subjected to the same training, even Persians of the towns would probably produce as good results as have the Egyptian fellahs. But the few brave men of to-day have not been all on one side, and the Persian Government has had no force with which to maintain order. The devoted little band of Armenians and Caucasians, whose courage was of a finer quality than anything Persia can produce, were the real authors and guardians of the Persian Constitution of 1909. Yezem, the Armenian bricklayer's son, with 100 men could strike terror into 1,000 Kurds. But Yezem is dead, and many of his braves have fallen also. The rest are disheartened, and the Armenian Dashnakian has formally abandoned Persia to its fate, declaring it unworthy of the ceaseless efforts and many lives that that most formidable of secret societies has lavished for it in the last five years. Many of its warriors also have had to flee from Teheran to escape the hand of Russia.

A Government which had no homogeneous force capable even of policing its roads could, naturally not enjoy a prestige abroad which it lacked at home. A Balkan State with a small but efficient army can command the respect of diplomatists, and had Persia possessed an army worthy of the name she would not have been utterly contemptible. As it is, she is the merest pawn in the hands of her neighbours.

The Mejlis and Foreign Officials.

(FROM THE "TIMES" TEHRAN CORRESPONDENT.)

It must be admitted that when the Mejlis actually proposed to call in foreigners, and to give them large authority, Great Britain and Russia showed none of that pleasure which might have been

expected from previous declarations that nothing else could save Persia. In the first instance it was proposed to employ Frenchmen for the Treasury, but as soon as this became known, in the autumn of 1910, the British and Russian Ministers were instructed to inform Persia that this proposal was not acceptable. It appeared that since January the two Powers had changed their minds, and now agreed to oppose the appointment of subjects of any first-class European Power, other than themselves, to any important administrative post. The idea of appointing French financial officials, and likewise of having Italian officers for the Gendarmerie, had therefore to be abandoned, and Persia made application to America for financiers and to Sweden for Gendarmerie officers. Even these revised proposals were not very welcome, for the Russian Ambassador in Washington represented to Mr. Knox that it might be better that no Americans should be sent to Persia, while, owing to similar representations in Stockholm, the Swedish Government has since decided not to sanction any increase in the number of Swedish officers now serving in Persia.

In spite, however, of these not too encouraging omens, foreign administrators arrived in Persia, the Mejlis gave them full powers, and showed every disposition to add to their numbers from time to time as many more as they might deem necessary. They soon found, among the many obstacles to their work, some which must inevitably bring them into relations with the Legations. Nothing, for instance, can be more embarrassing to a country which aims at good government than the pernicious custom of *bast*, by which it is open to all who fear the arm of the law to take refuge in sacred shrines, or in foreign Legations or Consulates. The British and Russian Legations and the Turkish Embassy are those to which Persians principally have recourse, and attempt is often also made to use them, not to escape penalties, but merely for purposes of political demonstration. The British Legation has of late years done much to mitigate the evil by setting a strict watch to prevent *basts* from getting within its precincts, and by refusing its protection to all except those whose lives are actually in danger, and who are not "wanted" as ordinary malefactors. But it is obvious that *bast* and the possession of foreign citizenship by Persians are serious difficulties in the way of government. Nevertheless those constitutionalists who now so bitterly denounce *bast* are open to the charge of ingratitude. In the days of despotism it was the greatest asset of the revolutionary. The Constitution had its origin in a *bast*, and but for the protecting gates of the British Legation many a constitutionalist would not be alive to-day.

MR. SHUSTER'S TASK

Nevertheless, if due allowance be made for difficulties of every kind, it cannot be said that the task set before Mr. Shuster and his assistants was in any sense impossible. If the skein was very tangled, it should be remembered that it was also small. I have already endeavoured to show that the Persian Empire is not a very large country. Its foreign debt is very small, and its actual taxation very light. The bulk of the population are singularly peace-loving, and extremely submissive to any proper authority wherever they can find one. Official corruption and intrigue were the great obstacles. Mr. Shuster is admittedly a remarkable man, and he possessed a remarkable personal ascendancy over the Persians with whom he had to deal. He had already begun to work miracles in the matter of controlling the official world. He was, moreover, rapidly organizing a Treasury Gendarmerie, and would in time have had a large and well-drilled force at his back. There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that, had it been possible for him to remain in Persia without foreign complications, he could, with plenty of assistants, have set Persia upon the path of prosperity, and made it an ordered country. The task will ultimately have to be achieved by some one, and for Russians or English it will be the same problem as it was for Mr. Shuster. It is only a question of having a sufficiently large number of sufficiently able Europeans, backed by a sufficient force.

It will thus be seen that we have arrived at a stage in our argument at which it is possible to conclude that, though the Persian rulers were contemptible and though the country was chaotic, the Mejlis, by its large importation of foreign administrators, had justified its existence, and had taken steps which might have saved the country. Mr. Shuster, however, came to an open breach with Russia, he and his assistants were ejected, the Mejlis was dissolved, and the whole experiment came to an end, leaving behind it nothing but the desolation of despair which I have already described.

There will remain for the historian the question whether the responsibility for this failure lies with Russia and England, or with Mr. Shuster. It is a question which I do not attempt here to answer. It has still a root of bitterness which must prevent it from being usefully raised in any such direct form. But there are one or two general considerations which may profitably be submitted. Those who unreservedly condemn Mr. Shuster for what

are called headlong characteristics should also remember that these were the defects of certain definite qualities. The strong personality and the driving energy which brought him into collision with the Powers, were precisely what hypnotized the Persians, and made them do his bidding. Had he been trained in diplomacy and made the susceptibility of the two Powers his first consideration, he might have secured their support for his proposals, but he would have lost all the confidence of the Persians. He would never have been able to translate his programme into action, for the good will of the Powers would have been no use to him without actual force behind him. The Persians would have obstructed him at every turn, and he would never have succeeded in raising or controlling a Gendarmerie.

Russian Policy.

Whether he did or did not possess tact, Mr. Shuster would appear to have fallen because his position as Treasurer-General was believed to be in conflict with Russian policy. On the point of tact, it should be remembered that though he unfortunately did not in any real sense know the British and Russian Ministers till he had been more than three months in Teheran, his personal relations with them after that period and up to the day of his departure were of a most cordial character, and, if Russian policy had been directed from the Legation instead of from the Consulate, it is possible that he might be in Teheran to-day. The actual causes are probably to be sought deeper, and operated in St. Petersburg and London. In regard to the two points on which Russia's ultimatums were formulated, the question of Shua-es-Sultaneh's property and the appointment of Englishmen to posts, certain facts must tend to confirm this view. Of the five Englishmen whom Mr. Shuster appointed to posts, four remain under M. Mornard's régime without protest of any kind. One, whom Mr. Shuster appointed to Shiraz, a nomination naturally welcomed by England, is now actually employed by M. Mornard in the Russian sphere, at the Treasury in Teheran. Another, whom Mr. Shuster appointed to Ispahan, but finally dismissed in deference to Russia, was appointed by M. Mornard to the same post, and has now been transferred to Yazd, another town in the Russian sphere. A third case, that of M. Lucoffro, was not in any sense a fresh appointment, as Mr. Shuster merely transferred him from Teheran to Tabriz. He has since been nominated to Shiraz by M. Mornard. A fourth appointment, that of Mr. New, to the Telegraphs, had been unsuccessfully urged by the British Legation for some time previous to Mr. Shuster's arrival, and has never been the subject of criticism. The remaining case was that of Major Stokes, to whose appointment Sir Edward Grey in the first instance agreed. In regard to Shua-es-Sultaneh's property, the Russian Consul-General based his objections to its confiscation on the ground that the Russian bank had a claim upon it. No such plea, however, was put forward by the bank itself, nor in fact had it any lien on the property.

AIMS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It need not be inferred from these facts that Russia is opposed to the execution of any programme of reform in Persia. In the light of history, however, it does appear to be established that the position taken up by the two Powers at Teheran is such that it is impossible for any large scheme of reforms to be carried out successfully except by the nominees of these two Powers. In British policy during the period under review two objects have been clearly visible—to maintain our friendship with Russia and to maintain the independence of Persia. The first of these is, however, regarded as the more imperative, and in so far as conflict has at any time arisen between the two objects, the former has always dominated the issue. Whether it would have been possible for a more vigorous diplomacy to combine the pursuit of both objects more successfully is not a question that can ever be definitely decided. Yet history will hardly reckon as among the worthier achievements of a singularly conscientious and high-minded statesman the conversation in which Sir Edward Grey suggested the dismissal of Mr. Shuster to Russia, at a time when the formulation of the first Russian ultimatum alone was under discussion. The idea of dismissal was first raised through the British Embassy in St. Petersburg on November 6, 1911, but was rejected by M. Neratof, the acting Foreign Minister. On November 14, Sir Edward Grey returned to the point and instructed Mr. O'Bairne to urge Russia to concentrate on the Shuster issue, to formulate her complaints, and to make a demand. These instructions were carried out on November 15, when for the first time M. Neratof entertained the suggestion, but replied that further consideration would be necessary. Writing to Sir George Buchanan on November 16, 1911, he thus reports what he had said on the same day to the Councilor of the Russian Embassy in London:—"If the Russian Government were satisfied that they had grievances which demanded redress, they must, of course, formulate their own demands for redress. That

was no concern of mine. If they thought that no satisfactory settlement could be reached without the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, I could urge no objection. I did not wish to suggest the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, but I mentioned it lest there should be an impression in St. Petersburg that I was prepossessed in his favour. As a matter of fact he had given me endless trouble by his inconvenient appointments of British subjects, in spite of all I could say to him."

On November 17, Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to Sir George Buchanan, "to make it quite clear that any demand for Shuster's dismissal will be met with no objections by his Majesty's Government. On November 20 M. Neratof expressed great satisfaction at this communication, but was of opinion that if the first ultimatum were accepted the step would not be necessary." If, on the other hand, the troops had to proceed beyond the frontier, then it might be necessary for Russia to increase her demands, and she would then probably insist on Shuster being dismissed. It was not till November 22 that the Russian Government, on what it considered fresh provocation from Mr. Shuster, finally determined to expel him.

Doubtless Sir Edward Grey, as he says, did not wish to suggest the dismissal of Mr. Shuster. But, if so, it would surely have been simpler not to have made the suggestion, coupled with an assurance that he would not object to its adoption. If one may make a criticism of the general policy of the Foreign Office, it is that in general it has made a bad choice of points on which to emphasize its own views as against its partner's. It has shown extraordinary tenacity in resisting all suggestions that the ex-Shah should return to Persia. In the present plight of the country it is difficult to see that it can make so much difference whether the ex-Shah does or does not return, whereas the efforts spent upon this point might, at some earlier stage and in some other direction, have possibly cured some substantial advantage.

I have endeavoured in this summary to provide materials for some future estimate of the events of the last few years. What I think all should recognize now, however painful the recognition may be to many, is that the future of the country lies with England and Russia. Whether this was always inevitable or not, and whatever the responsibility may lie, it is plain that the two Powers are now set in a position and upon a path from which there will be no retreat. Lord Morley's anxiety not to damage the prestige of the Persian Government by direct action in Southern Persia is entirely belated.

The Pitiful State of Persia.

In spite of the pointed invitations which came both from Lord Lansdowne and from Mr. Bonar Law, the debate on the Address has been concluded without even the meagre discussion on foreign affairs which is usual on this occasion. It was for some light on the affairs of Persia which the leaders of the Opposition particularly asked, and since their appeal was made, facts have become public knowledge which make the case for explanation peculiarly urgent. The letter which the Persia Committee has published this week discloses two reasons for concern of which one is an accomplished fact, and the other a surmise. The fact in itself is sufficiently serious. It appears that the adventurous younger brother of the ex-Shah, Salar-ed-Dowleh, who has often been engaged as a marauder or pretender in expeditions and raids, which the Government, at great expense, defeated, is once more in Persia. He is, however, no longer a rebel. He has been appointed to the governorship of the wealthy province of Ghilan, on the borders of the Caspian Lake. This was not, it seems, a spontaneous act on the part of the Persian Government. It was dictated, or shall we say counselled, by Russia and it has roused, on the part of the people of the province, an opposition so vehement that the Prince, if he settles in Ghilan at all, can come only in his usual guise as an invader.

If that were all, this nomination would be a gross interference with Persia's effective liberties. With overwhelming force at her back, and a record of its unscrupulous use, Russia has employed the power to instal a governor who is regarded as the fighting head of the reactionary and royalist party, himself a militant rebel, who will, by all precedents, proceed, if he has the power, to the usual reprisals against the national party. But Persians and the Persia Committee see in this nomination a first step to a still more intolerable interference. The one programme of this Prince has been to restore his exiled brother to the throne of Persia, and he will command in Ghilan the route which the ex-Shah would naturally follow if he were, for the second time, to invade the kingdom which he lost. This symptom does not stand alone. At the instance of the two protecting Powers, the ex-Shah's trusted agent, a person who replaces in the title of Salar-ed-Dowleh, had already been allowed to settle in Teheran. In both of these preliminary acts our own diplomacy acquiesced. We cannot wonder if it is already rumoured in Persia that it has withdrawn its opposition to which these two opening moves would naturally lead—

the return of the ex-Shah himself. There is one point on which Sir Edward Grey has been firm through all this sorry Persian business, and that is his determination that Mohammed Ali should never again occupy the throne from which his people drove him. The Foreign Secretary's explicit answer to Mr. Harvey on Tuesday certainly suggests that he has not weakened in that resolve. But if he adheres to it, it argues a singular indiscretion or inadvertence to permit a first step which is nicely calculated to add the confusion of a new counter-revolution to all the existing troubles and difficulties of Persia.

It is now six months since the semi-official statements which defined the results of the Balmoral meeting gave some promise of a happier future for Persia. Sir Edward Grey and M. Sazonoff, we were assured, had devised a common programme. The advice, given to them by the *Times* and the *Norve Fremde*, to make an end of half-measures and partition the country once for all, had been decisively rejected. The new policy was to be one of cordial support for the Persian Government, with financial assistance as its first item, and the withdrawal of the foreign troops as an early prospect. Little enough has happened since October to remind us that this programme was ever devised. The Central Government is as unstable as ever, and the Regent, always suspicious of a Russian movement to restore the Shah, has not yet ventured to return to Persia. Some financial assistance seems, indeed, on the point of being granted, but of any withdrawal of the Russian garrisons there is no sign whatever. When we turn from the promises of October to the facts which the Persian Committee recalls, it would seem as though the note of the policy of the two protecting Powers had been not merely stagnation but reaction. Yet it is difficult to believe that there can have been any real difficulty during this period in negotiating with Russia. The obstacle in the past to the loyal fulfilment of joint programmes and a common policy, has always been that Russia seemed to hover between the two European groups, ready, if she were not humored by her partners of the Triple Entente, to re-insure herself with Germany. No temptation of that kind can have presented itself during these months of Balkan crisis. She was frankly at variance with the Triple Alliance, and must have wished to avoid any action in Persia which could have been disobliging to us. If a moment so propitious has not been used to make a real advance in a constructive policy for the restoration of Persian independence, the reason must be that our Foreign Office does not regard the Persian question as one of its capital concerns, or else that it has lacked the adroitness to turn the occasion to account.

There are two policies in Persia which would be intelligible. There is only one which would be consistent with honor. We can understand, though we profoundly dissent from it, the view of those who would despair of Persian Independence, renounce the North to Russia, and seek compensation by creating a Southern sphere under British control. That would involve a frankly immoral repudiation of all our undertakings, and it would add inordinately to our military obligations. But those who urge it are precisely the school which desires to lure us into conscription. If that is their end, a policy in Persia which must destroy the present system of Indian defence, would eventually supply them with a cogent argument. The other policy of assisting Persia to become a really independent and well-governed buffer State is the only one which is consistent alike with our interests and our pledges. The middle course of inaction and inconsistency which has been followed since the expulsion of Mr. Shuster can be defended by no argument whatever. We have yielded to Russian aggression, but never quite so far as to close the controversy and end the uncertainty. We have not permitted the Persians to build up a strong State with the assistance of neutral and disinterested foreigners. But neither have we imposed our own nominees. We have allowed the Mejliss to be destroyed, but we have not so far sanctioned the only natural alternative of a return to despotism. The consequence has been the steady increase of anarchy, the rapid progress to utter bankruptcy, and the decay—almost past revival—of the hopes and impulses which made the Persian revolution a promising national renaissance.

We cannot think even now that the case of Persia is hopeless. No nation in history has ever struggled into liberty and stability without vicissitudes and reverses, mistakes and failures, much worse than any which Persia has yet endured in the few brief years of her new era. Most European States have at some time a period of anarchy behind them which may be measured, not in years, but in decades. It is not too late to attempt a sincere application of the Balmoral programme. The alternative is to confess that our whole unpopular rapprochement with Russia has been from first to last a failure, and that the Persian Agreement has involved us in dishonor to the Persians, while it has exposed us in our turn to the sharp practice of a partner whom we lacked the skill to manage, and the will to resist. — *The Nation*.

The All-India Medical Mission.

THE following letter has just been received from Dr. Fysee, Assistant Director of the All-India Medical Mission, who is in charge of the Omerli section:—

This week has been quite an eventful one—eventful in many respects. On the 12th March I received a letter from Dr. Ansari recalling me to my old Mission. I can assure you that my happiness knew no bounds. I gave charge of the Mission to the President, Central Ottoman Red Crescent Society, for I knew not to whom else to give it as some of the members had changed the name and organisation of the Mission. On the 14th of March I took charge of the Omerli section of the All-India Medical Mission. There were 87 wounded at that time. We discharged 15 and received 6 medical patients which brings the present number to 28. It may be surprising to you why the number of our patients is so small, but we were advised to reserve our hospital for the wounded only, and that is why the total number of our in-patients comes up to 100 only. But later on when on account of inclement weather the war came to a standstill and we did not expect any wounded in the near future we began admitting medical patients also. 24th March, 1913.—Since writing this letter I am glad to say that we received a welcome batch of 39 patients. On the 20th of March we received a telegram from Abdus Salam Pasha, in charge of the Military and Red Crescent hospitals, that patients would be sent from Hadimku. It would have done your heart good to see the excitement in the camp. Immediately everybody was up and doing. For the last two or three days we had been hearing the incessant booming of the cannons, and now we were going to receive the wounded in that action. Messrs. Shoub and Abdur Rahman of Peshawar were much in evidence organising the ambulance part of the work. This work, as you know, is very important. It would hardly be possible for you to realise the difficulties. Some of the badly wounded patients lie helpless and listless in the wagons unable to move or stir. They have to be handled very gently as the slightest movement causes excruciating pain. One has to take more care in lifting them up than in the case of newly-born babies. To add to our difficulties we have to wade through a veritable sea of mud. The wagons were ready to receive the patients. The stretchers were taken out, blankets spread over and the next moment the people saw the ambulance-bearers shoot out of the camp with stretchers in their hands. After half an hour the train steamed in, and the members ran up and down the train to find the compartment containing the patients. When at last it was found the members jumped in and brought the patients down to the ambulances in which they were gently carried to the camp. There the nurses took charge of them and changed their dress and comfortably lodged them in their beds. Their own dress was carefully put in a bag and labelled. The patients were immediately attended to, and we finished their dressings by ten in the night. Some of them were very badly wounded. But we felt a pride and admiration, as every Moslem will, to find that all these injuries were received in front whilst facing the enemy. There were certain very pleasing incidents worth mentioning. On the occasion of *Milad-i-Nabavi* we received sweets from H. E. the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Ottoman Forces with a note the English rendering of which is the following:—"The Generalissimo of the Imperial Ottoman forces sends with best compliments sweets for the members of the All-India Medical Mission and the patients in the Hospital on the occasion of the Prophet's Day." We sent a letter of thanks to H. E. and distributed the sweets to the members and the patients, both of whom were equally pleased and delighted. I am very much pleased to say that we have received visits from a great many distinguished people this week. The most prominent amongst them are (1) H. E. the Generalissimo of the Imperial Ottoman Forces General Ahmed Izzet Pasha; (2) Hasan Izzet Pasha, Commander of the 1st Army Corps; (3) the Chief of the War Staff; (4) Ahmed Shevkot Pasha, Commander of the 3rd Division Army Corps, and many other distinguished civil and military medical men, not to mention the visits of military officers belonging to camps around us. In order to show you how highly they appreciate our work and our visit I shall give you the translation of what some of them wrote in our Visit Book:

"I visited the All-India Medical Mission Field Hospital formed by our co-religionists in India to serve humanity and Islam by treating the wounded Ottoman soldiers. I saw their fine organisation, excellent discipline and their extreme care and kindness towards the patients which constrains me to thank the members and value their work very much. I thank my co-religionists in India for their kind help and send them my sincere and cordial salutation."
 "(Sd.) AHMED IZZET (Pasha),

"Generalissimo of the Imperial Ottoman Forces."
 ".....We are unable to describe in our own words the supreme perfection of this excellent Hospital. It will suffice to

"Repeat the words of a patient who said: Sir, they are like Allah and His to us. These words from the innocent lips of the patient show the reality of things better than we can."

"COMMANDER AND OFFICERS

"of the 10th and 11th Regiments."

"Well organized. Well kept, all patients very well looked after. It reflects great honor and credit on the Manager and every member of the staff as well as the promoters of this excellent Mission. The surgical theatre is simply magnificent. We wish to express our heartfelt thanks."

"(Sd.) SELIM MOSSALLEH, COLONEL,

"Medical Corps, Egyptian Army, and Chief of the 1st Egyptian Red Crescent Mission."

"(Sd.) AMIN MALUFF, M. D.,
of the same."

We received a visit from a notable German Medical Officer, but as his opinion can not be translated just now we postpone it for our next letter. The visit from the Generalissimo of the Imperial Ottoman Army was a very important event. In the afternoon of the 16th March H. E. attended by the Chief of the War Staff, an Aide-de-Camp and another pasha came to visit our hospital. His Excellency was received at the gate and brought into our reception tent. We were all very much impressed by our distinguished visitor—the great man who holds in his hands the destinies of a nation and the honor of Islam at the present moment. He is a man of medium height with an impressive face and keen, piercing eyes whose every look and gesture expressed determination and deliberation. He is rather inclined towards corpulency, but not of a nature which would interfere with severe, active military life. All the day you will find him on his horse visiting this place and that and looking after everything personally. Such is the sort of man one would like to have at the head of such an army. After the members were introduced His Excellency partook of refreshments. During the course of his conversation he expressed some thoughts and sentiments which are worthy of reproduction. In the first place His Excellency was much moved by our sincere reception and honest sentiments and said he would not accept our compliments until he had shown the world something on the battlefield and made secure the position of Islam. After this His Excellency was shown round the wards, operating theatre and dispensary. He spoke very kind and sympathetic words to each and every patient and very much appreciated and admired all that was done for the patients. When questioned as to the state of the army at Adrianople he said everything was satisfactory and there was nothing to get anxious about. After spending an hour and a half His Excellency rode out leaving us much happier than before. His Excellency was pleased to accept our invitation to dine with us on some day convenient to him. Now let me tell you something about the camp and our members. The weather here is quite warm and the sun is shining brilliantly, and we have got full hopes that in a short time all the mud shall be dried up. As war has commenced in earnest again we have found it necessary to increase the number of our beds, as we expect to receive more wounded. Now we hope that the number of our beds will reach 100. You can now see that our hospital here can vie with any other hospital. The tents that we have now received are single, but of sumptuous dimensions. Inside they are gay with variegated colors which give them a very smart and trim appearance. They appear to be meant more for receptions than field-hospitals and one feels inclined to fall ill to be treated in them. We have changed the plan of our camp. We have made a nice little garden in the centre of it with a little rivulet which has been made to deviate from its course, thanks to the energies of my worthy Manager, Sheahb, and it now runs right through the centre of our garden with clean fresh water. We are making a nice little tank, and when it is ready we shall keep some multi-coloured fishes in them. We are also going to get some beautiful flower plants from the garden of a friend of ours. The best part of the whole thing is that we shall not have to spend a single piastre over it all. Already the patients gather round our little garden. And I assure you that when our garden is in full bloom it will attract a lot of people from the country surrounding us as well as be a nice thing for diversion and recreation for our patients. The health of the members, I am glad to say, is very good. Dr. Naum has recovered from his attack of asthmatic bronchitis. He intends to shortly return to India as his leave has expired. Dr. Mahmudulla has also recovered from a slight attack of rheumatism. There is one more interesting news to give you. It is rumoured that a chair of Hindustani is going to be created in Dar-ul-Funoon with an Indian professor. Another rumour is that the name of Onari Station will be changed into Hindustani Kuli (i. e., village). I am sure that if it turns out so it will be another feather in the cap of the Indian Moslems who have come to work here. It will strengthen the bonds of union between the Turks and their Indian brethren.

TETE À TETE



WE HAVE received the following letter from Mr. Kazim Hossain, Honorary Secretary, British Red Crescent Society, London, for publication:—"The attention of the Committee of the British Red Crescent Society has been directed to certain libellous statements published in

the *Comrade* of February 8th ult purporting to emanate from Dr. Ansari, who is in charge at Constantinople of one of the Missions sent from India. The Committee are surprised not so much that you should publish such statements but that a member of the medical profession, trained at one of the principal English Hospitals, should make defamatory statements concerning members of the profession based on unverified allegations of people unnamed. With regard to the outrageous charge he has made against the British Red Crescent doctors of "deliberately maiming and dismembering" patients "due to lack of skill or interest," I desire to give the names of our principal officers, all men with record of good work. Dr. Bernard Haigh, who had been before in charge of the Angola Exploration Expedition, was the Chief Surgeon for nine months of the first British Red Crescent Hospital in the Tripolitan Hinterland. To his zeal, skill and humanity ample testimony has been borne not only by the Turkish and Arab officers but also by Mr. Alan Ostler. Dr. Baynes, a distinguished member of St. Bartholomew's, was recommended as a first rate surgeon and physician by the President of that Hospital. Dr. Oalshrop was Registrar at the Charing Cross Hospital until the day he started for service in Turkey under the British Red Crescent. And Dr. Bayliss was highly recommended by one of the most distinguished of his Majesty's physicians whose assistant he had been. The Assistant Surgeons were selected with equal care and upon the strongest recommendation from high medical authorities. The reports of the Doctors, sent through the Director of the Missions, together with their character and standing will abundantly show to the thinking portion of the Indian public the baseness and utter falsity of the imputations made against the British Red Crescent Staff. The patients, who were brought to the British Red Crescent Hospitals, were mostly in the last stages of exhaustion from exposure and jolting on rough roads. They came suffering from terrible wounds undressed and covered with mud which had entered the wounds and set up gangrene, often in both legs. These were the men whom our Doctors had to save; and they did their work nobly. They are now bespattered with mud by a man from whom a generous appreciation was more to be expected than calumny. If the covert insinuation conveyed in the last paragraph of Dr. Ansari's letter is directed in the faintest degree against the British Red Crescent, I consider it sufficient to say, without characterizing it by its proper name, that the mode in which we have been applying our funds has been published from time to time not only in the Indian newspapers and in the *Comrade* but also in the *London Times* and other English daily and weekly papers; and that the accounts will be placed before the public when our work is completed. In the meantime, I desire to say that medical relief is not the only work the British Red Crescent Society has undertaken. The saving of thousands of Moslems lives from death from starvation and exposure is now our principal work, and God knows how we are labouring for it. The report of Sister Wheeler concerning her work among the refugees and the widows and orphans of the soldiers that have fallen in the War, speaks for itself. This noble-hearted English woman tailing amongst people differing from her in race and religion to relieve their sufferings and distress shows the humanity that animates the men and women who are co-operating with us in our work of mercy. Whether any contributions come to the British Red Crescent Society or not does not affect the Committee, but it will affect the saving of lives from death among thousands of people whom we could otherwise save.

from starvation if sufficient funds were provided to us. If these poor people die the responsibility will lie on the consciences of those who have attempted to divert the contributions. I request you to be good enough to publish this letter in your next issue. A copy of it is being sent to other newspapers."

With reference to this letter of the Secretary of the British Red Crescent Society, it would be better if we reproduced that portion of Dr. Ansari's letter also which has evidently led Mr. Kazim Husain to write to us in the fashion

The Fact of the Matter.

that he has done. On the 14th January Doctor Ansari wrote from Constantinople a long letter dealing with his experiences in connection with various hospitals established in Turkey during the war, many of which he took great pains to inspect. He has criticised such as deserved criticism with ability and frankness, and to our mind he has rendered invaluable service by exposing the baselessness of the reports circulated about the miserable plight of the Turkish hospitals. It was a report such as this received by wire from the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali that induced us to devote as large a portion as possible of our Turkish Relief Fund to the organisation of an All-India Medical Mission. In the course of that letter Dr. Ansari wrote as follows:—"From what follows when describing the hospitals at Hamidkai, Omerli and San Stefano, you would see that not only the general Press of Europe was full of a series of calumnies and false reports about the Turkish organisation, but even the medical Press was affected by this religious bigotry and fanaticism, and stated facts about the medical organisation which on examination one finds altogether incorrect and exaggerated. I do not mean by this that there is no room for assistance in this present unusual situation. It is bound to affect even the best organised country. But what I maintain is that the assistance needed is not true to the extent that it is represented nor any more than any other European Power would require at the time of war. The story of the Turkish wounded being left in thousands on the battle-field to die is a tissue of malignant lies which is obvious to even a casual observer who visits the hospitals and sees for himself the number of major operations performed on the patients with results which even the best surgeons of Europe would be proud of. It may be of interest, by way of comparison, to mention here that the results of the German Red Cross Hospitals, the British Red Crescent Hospital sent by Mr. Amir Ali and the French Red Cross Hospital have been very unsatisfactory, whether due to the lack of skill or interests of the doctors sent in these Missions. In fact there is a feeling here, no doubt erroneous, owing to their bad results, that these men deliberately maimed and dismembered the patients when a conservative treatment would have saved the lives and limbs of many of the patients placed under their treatment." This is the only reference in the whole letter to the British Red Crescent Society, and it is clear that criticism is not directed particularly against the Society's Hospital. As a matter of fact Dr. Ansari's purpose in this letter is to state the facts about Turkish hospitals and remove the false impressions about them rather than to criticise other hospitals. But even as regards the reference to foreign hospitals, we fail to see to what the Secretary of the British Red Crescent Society objects in this statement. Dr. Ansari has made no charge, outrageous or otherwise, and has only stated what was the popular impression in Turkey at the time he reached there, and while doing so he expressed it as his own opinion that this impression was "no doubt erroneous." Mr. Kazim Husain appears, indeed, to have a curious distaste for facts and their relevancy. He has nowhere in his long letter acknowledged that Dr. Ansari expressed his own opinion against, rather than in favour of, the feeling in Constantinople, and if we are to understand that he was wroth with Dr. Ansari for informing us of the popular impression, his best course was not so much to mention the qualifications of the doctors sent out by the British Red Crescent Society as to publish the figures of their successful treatment of the patients sent to the Society's Hospital. This he has somehow forgotten to do. Now we think that an ounce of statistics would have been better than a ton of angry verbosity in which Mr. Kazim Husain has indulged in this letter. Doctor Ansari is not bound to make any amends whatever because he has in no way dealt harshly with members of his own noble profession who formed the staff of the field-hospital of the British Red Crescent Society. But should Mr. Kazim Husain choose to publish the result of their medical work in Turkey, we have no doubt that Doctor Ansari would be as ready to express his opinion on their success or otherwise as we ourselves.

And now the references in Mr. Kazim Husain's letter to "the covert insinuation conveyed in the last paragraph of Dr. Ansari's letter," we once more quote from him. He wrote as follows:—"I will write to you in my next about the organisation of the Ottoman Croissant Rouge and the splendid work, as well as relief, that they are doing. I am convinced after thorough and searching investigation that this is the only organisation

"not worthy of support from India where every penny is used to good purpose, and Dr. Muhammad Husain and myself have thought it necessary to sign a telegram sent by Beakim Omar Pasha to the different papers in India for publication in order to direct all the money to the Croissant Rouge and prevent its going to quarters where one cannot find anything about the money." Now there is no reference whatever in the context to the British Red Crescent Society, and if Mr. Kazim Husain had not been so anxious to put the cap on his own head, he would have availed all reference to this paragraph of Doctor Ansari's letter which is separated by no less than six intervening paragraphs from the only reference in this letter to the British Red Crescent Society. We have not the least doubt that this unfortunate war has been a God-send to some selfish and dishonest people, for, while, on the one hand, Indian Muslims have been ready to subscribe for the relief of the war-sufferers in Turkey, on the other hand, the Muslim community has suffered terribly from want of organisation; and we know a number of Societies the methods and book-keeping of which would not stand the test of a proper scrutiny and professional audit. We fear in Turkey also there has been a lack of organisation; and when Dr. Ansari wrote the last paragraph of his letter under notice he wished to praise the organisation of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society in particular rather than run down the British Red Crescent Society. This was in response to our request to him to inform us to which organisation in Turkey sums from our Turkish Relief Fund should be sent. That is all that he wished to convey in this letter, and Mr. Ameer Ali at least knows that we expected such an expression of opinion from Dr. Ansari before sending money to Turkey.

But if the British Red Crescent Society is so jealous, Dr. Ansari is, we think, in possession of facts which would show that the boot has often been on the other leg, and that it has been the Ottoman Red Crescent Society

The Boot on the Other Leg!

that has some just grounds for complaining that "covert insinuations" have been conveyed, and this not by any means "in the faintest degree," against a Society that has done splendid work. Our readers can easily recall a statement made by the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali which suggested that funds sent from India to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society had often fallen into the hands of the Italians in the War in Tripoli, and on account of this there was a great danger that funds destined for this Society would either not be sent at all for the relief of war-sufferers in Tripoli or diverted to other organisations. A good deal of mischief was, however, prevented by the timely step taken by Mr. Qamar Shah Khan, of Rampur, who sent to us for publication an extract from the letter of the Inspector-General of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society contradicting the suggestions of Mr. Ameer Ali most categorically. The Right Honourable gentleman thereupon wrote to us protesting that he had never suggested anything which would divert the funds from the Ottoman Red Crescent Society; but we were not prepared to accept this interpretation of a clear statement made in an earlier letter which we had received from him, and we did not hesitate to tell him so. This is, however, a matter on which we do not desire to dwell at length. Everyone is entitled to his own opinion on the worth and work of different organisations, and if Mr. Ameer Ali is enamoured of what his Society has done, that is no reason why others should be equally enamoured of it. We have ourselves had no desire of creating a "corner" in such a charity; but we are equally anxious that nobody else should have such a monopoly, no matter how eminent he may happen to be. Nevertheless we have devoted considerable space in the *Comrade* to publishing appeals from Mr. Ameer Ali and the reports sent to him by the staff of his Society's Mission, and took the earliest possible opportunity of publishing in the most prominent manner a letter of Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, General Manager of the All-India Medical Mission, which corrects certain unspecified statements alleged to have appeared in the Urdu Press in connection with the British Red Crescent Hospital. In view of all this we are shocked at the tone of Mr. Kazim Husain's letter.

There is one fact, however, to which we are now compelled to make a passing reference. Dr. Ansari's letter of the 14th January to which Mr. Ameer Ali's *fidus Achates* takes such violent objection was published in the *Comrade* of the 8th February which must have reached England at the latest by the end of that month.

But it has taken the Honorary Secretary of the British Red Crescent Society no less than three weeks to make up his mind to protest against these "outrageous charges" and "covert insinuations." We should like Mr. Kazim Husain to explain this extraordinary delay in coming out with a defence of the British Crescent Society and its doctors, which combines so little defence of them with so much offence to others. Has it, we ask, nothing to do with the persistent demands of the Right Honourable

Mr. Ameer Ali to secure the modest sum of £8,000 out of our Turkish Relief Fund for his Society, which we evaded for long, but which we were at last compelled to refuse with a certain amount of clearly expressed resentment at the "bribe" offered to us by the Right Honourable gentleman Mr. Ameer Ali has more than once most outrageously libelled us in private letters, and covert insinuation has not been wanting in letters addressed by him so lavishly to the Press in India. Can Mr. Ameer Ali deny these accusations? Can he also deny that after having himself wired to us in November last that medical assistance was necessary in Turkey, and having agreed to our sending a Medical Mission from here for which he was requested to purchase equipment, he afterwards turned round and urged on the Moslem public in India that there was no need of a Mission such as ours for which he had himself already purchased equipment of a far from excellent quality at a far from low cost? Can he also deny that compelled by his importunate demands we wrote to him at last on the 6th of March as follows:—"The only other item of expenditure has been the Turkish Red Crescent, and acting on the wishes of the contributors to my fund I have sent the money for the relief of the sufferers to an institution employing, so far as I know, a purely Moslem agency for its distribution. I have in no way used the influence that I may have possessed in diverting any funds that were intended for you..... I do not know whether you would like the policy I have followed in this matter, but it was the only one I could follow when the money did not belong to me and I was merely a trustee for others. I avoided for a long time giving you the least offence in this connection, and sometimes purposely evaded your request. As a matter of fact, I had learnt some things from very reliable sources which gave me great offence, but I thought it better to pocket all that rather than express my resentment in a way to cause you the least offence. Even now I am most anxious to say nothing which will in any way hurt you, but I am compelled in justice to myself to say that I very much resent the inference which anyone in my position will draw from the following remark in your letter of the 10th January: 'I shall take care that due acknowledgement of any help you chose in God's name to give us is made to you and the Comrade fund.' Do you really think, Sir, that it would have mattered one little jot to me whether anybody took care that due acknowledgement of any help I chose in God's name to give was made to me? All I can say is that you do not know me, and much as it may sound pharisaical, I cannot help saying that you have judged me from the samples of Indian Mussalmans you must have met in abundance in your stay in India and in England. I am, therefore, not inclined to resent this as much as I would have done if this remark had come from anyone who was personally acquainted with me. But apart from any great virtue in me which may lead me to resent such a suggestion, do you not think it is very unjust to my intelligence? Has not the fact that the Comrade fund has reached three lakhs made sufficient acknowledgement to me and the Comrade? What further acknowledgement could anyone make to me after the publication of the figures of the fund week after week? As regards—, rest assured that even if they offered me any recognition for what little I have been able to do, I shall humbly but still firmly refuse to accept it, as I believe in a reward in the hereafter and consider the rate of discount here to be too great. This ought to convince you finally, and I trust you will forgive me if in vindicating my own character I have caused you any distress. I wish to do injustice to no man, and what you have been doing is so great that I would rather suffer myself than do anything to cause you any pain and thereby discourage you even slightly. But as I was afraid that your subsequent letters may contain even more distressing remarks, I thought it my duty to explain to you my own attitude and my feelings in the matter, and once more I beg you to forgive me if in doing so I have stepped beyond the bounds of courtesy and decorum and the respect that is due from one in my humble position and of my age to one of your age and position." We never intended to publish any portion of this correspondence, and had more than once restrained ourselves when the greatest provocation was offered to us for retaliation. But evidently Mr. Ameer Ali and his mouthpiece are not capable of appreciating such self-restraint. We shall now leave the public to judge between us and these gentlemen. As for Dr. Ansari, Mr. Ameer Ali and his paid Medical Staff are hardly the people to appreciate the nature of Doctor Ansari's tremendous self-sacrifice. We are sure Dr. Ansari will never forgive us if we published facts in this connection which are within our own knowledge; but what is public property is sufficient to vindicate his reputation in spite of the mock heroics of Mr. Kasim Husain and others of that ilk. We may only add here that we should like to know the extent of the self-sacrifice of these great patriots themselves before they presume to discuss in public the merits of a man whose life ought to be, though it has not yet been, an example to them. As regards the British Red Crescent Society, we may have to publish certain

necessary statements subsequently; but we may as well ask here why this Society, the major portion of the funds of which have been received from India, has been named the British Red Crescent Society. Do not Indian Moslems deserve the association of their names with such an organisation? This should be enough for Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Kasim Husain to think over for a time before they find an answer, and we trust we shall be no more worried by their indignant protests of their own angelic innocence and the devilish rognery of the rest of mankind.

Just as we were going to Press we received a letter by the English Mail from Dr. Ansari that he had received a letter from Sir Edwin Pears, Barrister-at-Law, demanding an interview with

Bluff.

Dr. Ansari in connection with his letter published in our issue of the 8th February. It appears that this letter is the precursor of a legal notice to start proceedings in a court of law. Well, unless the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, who, we presume, would like to see the humiliating capitulations done away with in Turkey, still decides to seek redress in a British and a Christian rather than in a Turkish and a Moslem court of law in Constantinople, we shall have some sensational disclosures before very long. We should then hear whether the Central Office of the Croissant Rouge was or was not asked to contradict the rumours referred to in the letter of Dr. Ansari published by the Comrade, and whether the President did or did not express his inability to do so in face of the official reports submitted by the Medical Inspectors of the Sanitary Department of the Turkish War Office. For the present it is sufficient to state that Dr. Ansari is not in the least disturbed by such bluff. He has not spent a dozen years of his life in Great Britain in vain, and it will take a bigger man than Sir Edwin Pears to frighten Dr. Ansari. But Mr. Ameer Ali must be prepared for some disclosures, and glass-houses are a sufficient protection neither from the gaze of on-lookers nor from the response which their stone-throwing denizens invite.

When we heard of the fall of Adrianople and concluded that the war was not now likely to last very long, we decided at once to cable to Turkey as much money as we could conveniently spare. The All-India Medical Mission had to be kept supplied with funds, and we could

not, therefore, send to Constantinople as much money as we wished to do. But when it became almost certain that the Mission's medical work, at least, would be over in a few months, there was not the same necessity of keeping a large reserve of cash for the Mission. Consequently we sent a cheque for Rs. 80,000 to the Bank for transmitting £4,000 by wire to H. E. the Grand Vizier. The exchange rate was, however, adverse, and as the cost of the cable exceeded Rs. 300 we decided to wait a little longer. But subsequently we sent £3,000 (Rs. 45,000) to H. E. the Grand Vizier by cable at the cost of about Rs. 100 and have received the following cable in acknowledgement of the amount remitted to him:—

Sublime Porte: Date Hour Minutes Fac.

7 10 35

"Editor of the 'Comrade,' Delhi.

"Received £3,000. Many thanks. Grand Vizier,

"MAHMUD CHEVKEST."

We did not send a larger amount to His Excellency Mahmud Shevket Pasha because we wished to provide for the relief of the Moslem sufferers at Adrianople. That ancient capital of the Ottomans being now in the hands of the Bulgars, and the Ottoman Red Crescent not having been officially recognised by the Christian belligerents, it was not possible to reach its Moslem population through the Ottomans. We, therefore, sent the following telegram to Sir James DuBoulay, the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy, on the 29th March: "Can His Excellency arrange through Foreign Office distribution of £3,000 among Moslem War sufferers at Adrianople through British Consul on my behalf? Shall send a cheque immediately when required. Please treat this as particularly urgent." We are thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy and to Sir James DuBoulay for their ever-ready assistance. On the 7th instant, the following reply was received from the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy:—"Have just heard from Home that two thousand pounds offered by you for relief of Moslem War sufferers at Adrianople would be most welcome and can be transmitted through Foreign Office to British Consul. On receipt of cheque I will wire Home as before. Immediately on the return of the Editor to Delhi a cheque for Rs. 30,000 was sent to Sir James DuBoulay, and he was requested to have the British Consul at Adrianople informed that the same arrangements were to be made for the distribution of relief and for the keeping of accounts at Adrianople as had been made at Salonica. We are glad to learn that Consul Samson has already commenced to distribute ten thousand leaves and other food to Moslem families in Adrianople. We trust our readers who have contributed so generously to our Turkish Relief

The Comrade.

The Indian Moslems and their "Friends."

II.

THE politicians and publicists of Great Britain whose imperialism has been nurtured on the pride of power and race never lose an opportunity to lecture the subject races on their duties towards the Empire. The spirit of these edifying sermons is a little hard to describe. Briefly, they hold out a fearful warning to the subject races that are ever tempted to quarrel with their political destiny. According to these imperialists a subject race is a mere field for experiment in that art of government which is concerned with keeping things as they are. A subject race with a grievance is an irrelevance in their scheme of imperialism. It has no business to live and grow in conscious relation with the forces that direct and regulate the world. It must accept the conditions of its political existence as eternally fixed. It must believe the same old things, think the same old thoughts, and live the same old life uninfluenced by shifting horizons in a world of flux. Stated in these terms the attitude of the British politicians and publicists, who shake and tremble in utter dismay at the slightest movement of enervating thought amongst the vast and historic communities of this land, appears in its true absurdity. The alarm of "Asiatism" about the Moslems of India is merely an expression of this attitude. He has been seated into loud laments because the Mussalmans have shed an old-world passivity and are beginning to feel the stimulus of vital ideas. As an imperialist, who would have the whole universe stereotyped into its present shape, he feels an instinctive dislike towards the change and bustle that mark the affairs of the Indian Mussalmans to day. His whole soul has risen in protest and he has uttered portentous words of warning in the hearing of the world. He has no patience to examine the situation calmly. He only assumes unwarrantable things in a mood of exasperation.

We do not know why it should be necessary in these days to remind the Mussalmans of India that they are the citizens of the British Empire and owe allegiance to the British Crown. They have done nothing to stand in need of such reminders since the establishment of British rule in India. The present is no doubt a period that has caused them the utmost bitterness, irritation and pain. And yet their ideas about the character of the British rule and their sentiments towards the British Crown are exactly as they were at any time in their history. Much has happened during the past year and a half, both in India and elsewhere, that has taxed to the utmost the patience of the Moslem community. There have been events like the Durbār announcement reversing the partition of Bengal that have dealt a heavy blow to the confidence that the Mussalmans have always reposed in the pledges and sense of fairplay of their rulers. There have been occasions when the foreign policy of Great Britain has seemed to them to have countenanced wanton aggression against the integrity and freedom of Moslem lands, and they have felt as if their hopes and sentiments were factors of little value in the shaping and direction of that policy. And yet there has been nothing in the thoughts, conduct and activities of the Indian Moslems that could even remotely suggest a change in their traditions of loyalty. Even their critics have the fairness to recognise that there has been no indication of such a change. However, these critics have an apprehension lurking somewhere in the back of their brains, that there exist germs of dangerous potentialities in what the Mussalmans are thinking and feeling to-day. "Asiatism" would like to kill these germs by anger and scorn. He tells the Mussalmans to cease talking nonsense about international politics. He harks them back to the attitude of their "graver forefathers" who, delightful souls, never bothered their heads about Turkey, Persia or Tripoli and were never known to have strayed into the company of "Indian Nationalists." The vital concern of "Asiatism" is, in fact, to ensure for all time that, whatever new worlds of thought, duty and endeavour human experience may unfold to mankind, the Mussalmans of India would remain rooted to an epoch. There are two assumptions underlying this anxious and curious concern. In the first place it is assumed that the Indian Moslems will not be able to retain their traditional attitude towards the British rule if they come under the influence of progressive ideas. In the second place their Islamic sympathies will come in the way of their own political interests as well as of their duty towards the Empire. It is on these veiled assumptions that the whole advice and argument of "Asiatism" are based. We need not seriously set about to prove how wild and grossly extravagant these assumptions are. The political ideals that inspire the advanced Hindus of his country—their aspiration to rise to the full stature of national existence and enjoy the privileges and boundless opportunities of a

Fund in the past will now redouble their efforts and make it possible for us to send a still larger amount to Adrianople. Dr. Ansari proposes to arrange for relief work in Asia Minor when the medical work of his Mission is over, so that the poor refugees, who have fled from the occupied territory in Europe after escaping sudden death—and worse—may not find a more lingering death by starvation waiting for them in Asia. The Allies are determined to have no Turkish Question in Europe. But Indian Mussalmans have now been provided with a Turkish Question in Asia, and its only solution is money, more money, and yet more money. We regret the prolonged illness of our Assistant Manager at whose special request we have left the amount received for the Turkish Relief Fund unacknowledged in the *Comrade* till he returns to duty, though receipts are duly sent every day as before. Next week we hope we may be able to publish the weekly receipts in the *Comrade* also, but let the interval show that if Adrianople could not be relieved by Mahmud Shekret Pasha and Enver Bey it can still be relieved in another sense by Indian Mussalmans.

WE REQUEST to learn that although the Alliance Bank of India, Delhi Branch, sent reply-paid postcards to those who had deposited money with that Bank for the purchase of the Ottoman Treasury Bonds, asking for authority to send the money to the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay,

a good many have not yet given the Bank the necessary authority. We cannot think of anyone in India who is zealous enough to deposit money for the purchase of these Bonds and is yet ignorant of the fact that it is no use keeping the money in deposit in India. The Banks cannot send the money to Turkey by wire at their own expense, and it was this which made us request the Consul-General to undertake its transmission by wire at the expense of the Ottoman Government. To this H. F. Djafer Bey then agreed readily enough, and some money has already been sent to him by the Alliance Bank. But much more is still lying in deposit here, and if due authority is received by the Bank it will remit this also to the same destination. There is unfortunately some delay in the office of the Consul-General also, and we would request our readers to write to His Excellency and press for an early transmission by wire of money lying in the Banks or with him to Constantinople. We have called to Dr. Ansari to-day at some length urging an early despatch of the Bonds and, if possible, of a Special Financial Agent of the Ottoman Government who is active and competent enough to deal with the situation. We have also requested him to arrange for authority to various Banks here to remit money by telegram direct to the Finance Minister in Constantinople at the expense of the Ottoman Government. Let us hope that this call will meet with better fate than others which we have sent, and that the sale of the Ottoman Bonds which has been slow chiefly because of Turkish inaction will be pushed forward even now. We have great pleasure to announce that Maulana Abul Khair Sahib, the Sajjadnashin of the famous Naqshbandi order in the Khanqah of Mirza Mazhar Jafarian, saint, poet and martyr, of Delhi, sent for the Editor of this journal, discussed the whole political and financial situation in Turkey, and said that this is more than ever the time to lend money to Turkey. He himself postponed a marriage ceremony in his family for which out of his own earnings this pious recluse had saved Rs. 750, and gave the amount to us for effecting purchase of Ottoman Bonds on his behalf. As for the marriage he said the morrow would itself provide for its needs, and the day's needs were great enough to engage his thoughts. He also asked one or two of his disciples what *nazrana* they had brought to offer to their moral preceptor, for now he was anxious to get as much as he could for the sake of Turkey, and he has instructed us to open a special account of sums received by us as *nazrana* from his numerous disciples all over India, and particularly on the Baluch and North-Western Frontiers. We received in addition to Rs. 750 another sum of Rs. 45 from the Maulana, and two of his disciples paid Rs. 15 each. This is only the beginning, and we are confident that his great example no less than his precepts to his disciples would put a new life into the loan movement which should surely grow active rather than languish when the Turks are in greater distress. We are informed by the Maulana that a Raja of Aligarh came to see him and offered him Rs. 50 which he refused. But he told the Raja that Turkey was in need of this money and more, and hoped that some of the Raja's wealth at least would go to Turkey as a loan. Well, he promised, but he has so far paid nothing. We wonder whether he knows that saints and recluses have the Jalali power as well as the Jamali. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's example should prove a source of moral instruction to the Aligarh ruler, for we trust he will forgive us in publishing that only recently he sold some of his property in order to lend the proceeds of the

full-grown national life—have not rendered them a formidable menace to the stability of the British Empire in India. Their loyalty to the British Crown is officially stated to be unquestionable. It is the only loyalty worth having, the loyalty, that is, of men who understand the character of the British rule and realize its value and its utility. Will the Mussalmans be less loyal than the Hindus if they are moved by the same ideals and share the same hopes? These progressive ideals are the fruits of a liberal education and represent the most natural and healthy desire of the Indian people as a whole to rise out of the welter of sectarian prejudices and class loyalties and create a broad, purposeful and efficient social life. And, after all, the loyalty of a subject race is the reflex of how it is treated and governed. If it is dangerous on the part of a community to make efforts for self-realization, the very existence of that community must also be full of menace; and we do not pretend to know what remedy "Asiatism" would in that case like to evolve.

The extra territorial sympathies of the Indian Moslems are usually treated by their critics as if they were dangerous emotional bonds for which the Mussalmans were rapidly acquiring an unwhipped taste. We would like to know if territorial patriotism, with all its delirious and savage moods, is a more rational form of indulgence for human groups. Islam recognises neither the sanctity of colour nor the virtue of geography, and by offering a set of common ideals, offers the only rational basis to its followers for unity and co-operation in life. The sympathies of a Mussalman are co-extensive with his religion because they have been bred into him by the catholic and unifying spirit of his creed. These sympathies are usually styled as "Pan-Islamic" by politicians who regard any effort at self-improvement among the Moslem communities of the world as a menace to the political dominance and prestige of Europe. The canting missionary as well as the scheming imperialist has labelled the strong devotion and fidelity of the Mussalman to his ideas as "Fanaticism," and the Europe of agnostics and atheists no less than of devout Christians has recently been moved with an almost medieval bigotry towards Islam in the name of civilisation. Moslem communities have suffered enormously at the hands of the modern bigot and we do not know how long they will have to suffer. But, whatever be their sufferings, their Islamic sympathies can not be killed or injured by the new pharisees or fanatics of Europe.

"Asiatism" refers with much satisfaction to the advice recently given to the Mussalmans by H. H. the Aga Khan. Had he been aware of the great surprise and pain that the advice created, he would have hesitated to draw false conclusions about the attitude of the Moslems to the problems affecting their own country and the conditions of their brethren abroad. We need not pause here to discuss the title of the Sultan of Turkey to the spiritual leadership of the Islamic world. Even if we assume the claim to have no legal sanction, it can not diminish one jot the strength and intensity of the fraternal feeling that binds the Indian Moslems with the Mussalmans of Turkey or, indeed, with those of any other part of the world. It is a feeling based on the identity of culture and creed, and no amount of trivial calculations based on low expediency can prevent its manifestation. Has the expression of this feeling been in any way extravagant? Let us look at the facts. When Italy descended on Tripoli with the frank intention of wresting it from the Turks, the Mussalmans protested against this act of brigandage in common with those whose sense of equity had not been destroyed by what the *Times* called the exigencies of *realpolitik*. They knew that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire had been guaranteed by all the signatories to the Treaty of Berlin, including Great Britain. They knew perfectly well that Sir Edward Grey would have merely fulfilled a treaty obligation if he had restrained Italy from an unprovoked aggression. Yet the British Foreign Office silently acquiesced in the whole proceeding and international morality, law and treaty obligations were alike cast to the winds. If the Mussalmans called upon the British Government to stay the hand of the spoiler, they simply urged it to redress a solemn obligation if not to vindicate its own sense of justice. But they urged in vain. Again, they have been closely watching how Russia is slowly but without the least disguise undermining the integrity and independence of Persia which the Anglo-Russian Convention was expressly designed to preserve. They have seen the spirit of that Convention almost repudiated, and they have seen Sir Edward Grey lifting not a finger of protest when the best and most respectable Persian leaders and patriots were being butchered at Tabriz. Then again, the Balkan war has been profitable in many lessons for the Mussalmans of India. Its origin, its character, its cries, the ways of European diplomacy and the attitude of Christian Europe have all combined to teach the Mussalmans of India some very strange things which they will not and can not forget. Among other things they have learnt the futility of relying on anything else but their own God and the strength that He may choose to grant them. They have done what little they could to relieve the sufferings of their brethren, the victims of the most wicked and unrighteous aggression in history. They will try to go on doing what more

they can do in this direction. They have protested against the massacres of women and children and aged men and against the coercion exercised by the Great Powers on Turkey. But they have never asked Great Britain to unsheath the sword in behalf of the Turk. If they had expected anything from her it was that she would keep the ring fairly. "Asiatism" insists on telling the Mussalmans that "the British policy can not be framed to meet the sentiments of the Muhammadans of India." He further quotes with great approval from a speech that Lord Curzon delivered in 1897 in the House of Commons, when he said that "British policy in Europe ought not to be dictated by considerations of the effect that policy may produce upon the inhabitants of Her Majesty's Empire in India." We need not emphasise the tremendous danger that lurks in those doctrines to the best interests of the Empire. We are sure every responsible British statesman to-day would repudiate the spirit in which these doctrines are conceived. Lords Morley and Crewe have publicly admitted the claim of the Indian Moslems, or, for that matter, of any important section of His Majesty's subjects, to be heard in the councils of the Empire. If Great Britain owes no responsibility to India and to the Mussalman subjects of His Majesty, we do not know on what score India and the Mussalmans are taught to recognise their responsibilities to the Empire. Imperialists of the type of "Asiatism" ill-serve the cause of true imperialism.

The Storm on the Stage.

III.

In our last issue we discussed the original proposal of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk about the composition of the deputation. Now we come to his subsequent proposals, the one of the night preceding the 29th December and the other of the morning of the 29th. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk states that on the previous night he suggested that the deputation should consist of all the members of the Constitution Committee and some other names should be added. All the objections to the turning of the Constitution Committee into a committee of plenipotentiaries for carrying on negotiations apply to this new proposal, and with still greater force, and we shall, therefore, say no more about it. The proposal of the next morning seems to us to lack even the consistency of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's original proposal. The Constitution Committee composed of 125 members is no doubt a too unwieldy and uncertain body; but it has this merit that hitherto the Moslem University of the future has owed its draft Constitution to the labours of this Committee, and, as the matters at issue referred mainly to the Constitution, the Constitution Committee can readily be considered to possess some appropriateness for the purpose in view. But the previous deputation to Simla has no distinct status whatever. As we have stated before, it was simply the attendance of the Constitution Committee at a particular meeting and no more. It was no doubt small, and from the point of view of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk consisted of an unsuitable number of people where 70 millions of Mussalmans have to be represented. But we ask, is it fair to other members of the Constitution Committee, who could not by some accident attend that one meeting, to exclude them from the next conference? It may be that room could be found for some of them in the additional names provided for by the draft resolution of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk prepared on the morning of the 29th December. But why should every member who happened to have attended the Simla meeting on the 23rd, 24th and 25th September, 1911, claim membership of the proposed deputation as a matter of right, and every member of the same Committee absent on that occasion have to depend upon a precarious selection? Now Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk states that on the night preceding the 29th December somebody had a list of names for the Committee ready prepared in English, and to this he appears to have been inclined to add the names of those who had taken part in the Simla Conference in September, 1911. For his part, therefore, he was not at all anxious to add any names of such members of the Constitution Committee as happened to have been absent from the Simla Conference which they were entitled to attend.

In his view the essential thing was to have all the members attending that Conference represented on the deputation. To the best of our recollection the following gentlemen, who were included in the Committee appointed on the 29th, attended the Simla Conference:—The Hon. the Rajah Sahib of Mabarudabad, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Mr. Nabiullah, Mr. Wazir Haidi, Sahibzada Asaf Ahmed Khan, the Hon. Mr. Shah, Khan Bahadur H. M. Khan, the Hon. Mr. Faramosh O. Ebrahim and Mr. Mohamed Ali. Of the others Mr. Asif Mirza, also, is no more, and of the others who were present, and whom, evidently the Nawab Sahib is so anxious to include in the next deputation, are Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar, Mr. Sahibullah of Lucknow, Muzki Abdul Ahad of Delhi, the Hon. Mr. Shamsul Huda, Mr. Shafiq Atallah and Dr. Zaidi. Of course the Hon. Mr. Shamsul Huda is now a member of the Rajah Government.

and, we presume, he is not likely to take any part in such a deputation, although the Hon. the Maharajah of Durbhanga is evidently permitted to take a leading part even now in the Hindu University movement. As for Dr. Ziauddin, the omission of whose name no one can fail to regret, we hope it will be believed that its omission from the list of the Committee appointed on the 29th December was purely accidental, and, in fact, he was entitled to a membership of the Committee *ex-officio*, having been the Secretary of the Constitution Committee. There now remain only four names out of those who attended the Simla Conference, and it is for the community to consider whether the absence of these four from the new Committee is sufficient cause for the suggestions of sinister motives and dishonest practices which Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk has scattered broadcast in his letter.

We fear we have dealt with this question at a tiresome length; but we had no other option in view of the recriminations coming from such a quarter. Whatever the motives of those who selected the Committee on the night preceding the 29th December, and whatever the character of their procedure, the only sin which they appear to have actually committed comes to this that the names of Messrs. Abdul Aziz, Habibullah, Abdul Ahad and Sheikh Abdullah were left out from the list of the proposed deputation. There may be one or two other names of the members of the Constitution Committee who took part in the Simla Conference, and we lay no claim to an infallible memory. But we have no distinct recollection of any other gentlemen having taken part in that Conference, and can, therefore, accuse those who selected the much-maligned Committee of the 29th December of no greater sin than the neglect of the claims of these four gentlemen. It is now for the 70 millions of Mussalmans to decide whether after all the offence is so heinous as to justify the suggestions of evil motives thrown out by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, not to mention the sensational headlines of some of our contemporaries and the elaborate romancing of some others. We hope the 70 millions would also compare the omission of these four names from the Committee appointed on the 29th December with the total omission of the representation of Behar and Madras, and, if we leave out the Hon. Mr. Shamsul Huda, of all representation of Bengal also, from the deputation which would have attended on H. E. the Viceroy according to this suggestion of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. To us it seems that the representation of these Provinces is worth far more than the addition of these four gentlemen, one of whom is distributing pamphlets, while another is announcing to the world his intention of taking legal proceedings against all and sundry—it may be presumed, entirely in the interests of the 70 millions *minus* the two individuals concerned themselves!

We have dealt with all the points raised by the letter of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk except one, and we trust we have dealt with them in sufficient detail and without any reservations. We also trust we have convinced our readers that even if our views on these points are not the best, they do not compare very unfavourably with the alternative schemes that have been suggested and are such as can be put forward with reasonable justification by any fair-minded and honest person. But we have not yet dealt with the question of questions, namely, the manner of the appointment of the Committee to which Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk takes such serious objection. But if we have been anxious to explain everything in this connection that was worth explaining, we are still more anxious to focus the full attention of our readers on this, for it is here that the reputations of a number of well-known Mussalmans have been assailed.

It has not been denied that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk took part in the consultation that took place up to 1-30 A. M. on the night preceding the meeting of the 29th; and, as we have mentioned before, the whole of this time was spent in discussing whether an omnibus resolution, supporting the views expressed by the Constitution Committee in their letter to Sir Harcourt Butler, dated the 12th August, 1912, and the resolution of Major Bilgrami, should or should not be passed. The Editor of the *Comrade* and, to some extent, Major Bilgrami were the only supporters of this view besides Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk himself. But when after a prolonged discussion lasting for 2½ hours a compromise was suggested by Mr. Jinnah, all agreed to it, although Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk deferred signing the draft resolution till the next morning when he said he would be better able to form a final opinion. As there appeared to be hardly any likelihood of the Nawab Sahib disagreeing with the compromise, and the hour was already very late, and his health far from good, his proposal to consider the matter the next morning and then finally decide was readily accepted.

We may also state here that there does appear to us considerable justification for the compromise suggested by Mr. Jinnah and accepted by those who were far from anxious to plead the cause of the community on one or two points of great importance, and who had hitherto held out against the wishes of the community. Mr. Jinnah thought that if a meeting, purporting to be a meeting of the Foundation Committee, expressed its views definitely on any point relating to the scope of the Constitution of the University, it would be inconsistent with its

position as the final arbitrator in this matter to entrust plenary powers to another and a smaller body appointed by it to decide finally even against its own views. If, however, without expressing its own views definitely the Foundation Committee incorporated certain views in a resolution in the form in which Mr. Jinnah drew it up, they would go to Government as the views generally expressed by the Moslem community which could, however, be modified, if necessary, in the preparation of the final draft of the Constitution if the Committee appointed by the resolution considered it in the best interest of the community to do so. This was Mr. Jinnah's justification for the compromise suggested by him and we have stated it as such.

To our mind, however, in a matter of such importance a mere question of form and manner should not rank above the great consideration that the Government should know in the most definite manner the opinion of those who are, so to speak, the founders of the University. The essential consideration was to secure a unanimity of opinion; and, as this was secured by the resolution drafted by Mr. Jinnah, the Editor of the *Comrade* did not see any reason to sacrifice such an opportunity of unanimity by insisting on the passage of an omnibus resolution supporting the views of the Foundation Committee and Major Bilgrami's resolution. Major Bilgrami also welcomed the opportunity of general agreement, and all signed the draft of the resolution as a pledge of unanimity at the next day's meeting, except Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk whose pleas of his age, his infirmities, and the lateness of the hour were such that it would have been cruel to insist on his signing the draft at the same time as others.

But when such plenary powers were to be given to a Committee, it was essential that on such a body a majority should be secured in favour of the community's view on every point mentioned in the resolution. This could not be guaranteed by appointing the Constitution Committee or such members of it as attended the Simla Conference, whether with or without addition of other names, to act as plenipotentiaries in dealing with the Government. It was, therefore, stipulated by the Editor of the *Comrade* that the draft resolution would be supported by him only if the Committee to be appointed appeared to him to include such a majority, and if all members of the Committee were to be bound to support that majority to the last in negotiating with Government. No Committee was appointed up to the time that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk left the consultation meeting; and, although the Nawab Sahib was anxious that all the members of the Constitution Committee who had taken part in the Conference at Simla in September, 1911, should be included in such a Committee, nobody else seemed to show anything like the same anxiety about the inclusion of all these gentlemen. The matter was certainly never agreed upon, and beyond a casual conversation there was not even a discussion on the subject before Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk left. It is, therefore, wholly incorrect to say that a Committee had already been formed before Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk left the meeting, and we do not know of anyone present at the consultation who laboured under the same misapprehension on the subject as Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk appears to have done.

When the draft resolution had been agreed upon the selection of the Committee was taken in hand. In the meantime some younger members of the community—graduates of English and German Universities—whose opinions had been voiced in the Address of the President of the Educational Conference on the morning of the 28th December, came and joined the meeting. About the same time Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and one or two other gentlemen who had taken part in the consultation left the room where the consultation was taking place. It appears that two of the young English graduates had come to the meeting before Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk had left, and they had informed Major Hasan Bilgrami that they and some others had been waiting at the house where he had put up, expecting him to arrive there after dinner, and as he had not returned till 1 A. M., two of them had been sent to find out where he was and where they could meet him. On their being informed that an informal consultation was taking place which they and their friends could also join, they went back in the same motor car in which they had come from the residence of Major Hasan, and returned with others apparently at about the same time as Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk left.

In a matter of such great importance it was felt that the personnel of the Committee to be appointed should be selected according to a logical plan and not left to mere whims and caprices. The Editor of the *Comrade* suggested that apart from the chief office-bearers of the Foundation Committee, the Constitution Committee and the Board of the Trustees of the Aligarh College, who were to be *ex-officio* members of the Committee, two members should be chosen from every one of the major Provinces and one each from the minor Provinces, that the United Provinces should count as two major Provinces, and that such Provinces as had not taken a prominent part in the collection of funds for the University or the drafting of its Constitution should not be represented. This

plan was unanimously accepted, and the names of the representatives of each Province were then taken into consideration. It was also agreed upon that only such men should be selected as could contribute materially to the negotiating powers of the Committee, and Agarbheeda should, therefore, find no place therein. One more consideration was kept in view, and that was the representation not only of the views of the majority of the community, but also of the minority so long as that minority was a considerable body of opinion. As a matter of fact, those who were in the minority on one point often happened to be very insistent and prominent members of the majority on other points. For example, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan and Major Hasan Bilgrami were in the minority with regard to affiliation; but the former was very keen on making the Court the supreme governing body in the Constitution in all matters, including even those with which the Senate had to deal; while the latter was equally keen on giving to the supreme governing body and not to the Viceroy-Chancellor the last word in all affairs.

With a general plan such as indicated above, and by keeping in view the aforesaid considerations, no difficulty was experienced in selecting the *personnel* of the Committee. Not one of the names included in the Committee was objected to by anybody then present, and only one name not included therein was suggested, but it was rejected by all save the gentleman who had proposed it after a discussion which did not last beyond a minute or two. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan proposed the inclusion of Mr. Sheikh Abdullah in the Committee, but, as Dr. Naziruddin Hasan said, it meant only the giving of two votes to the Sahibzada Sahib himself, and it was pointed out that as the Province of Agra could have only two members, nobody was prepared to substitute the name of Mr. Sheikh Abdullah for that of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk or the Sahibzada Sahib himself. As regards Oudh, the most prominent part in the discussions of the Constitution Committee had been taken by Mr. Nabihullah and Mr. Wazir Hasan, and we are not prepared for a moment to accept the contention that they cannot be regarded as representatives of Oudh, merely because they were not born in Oudh. They have spent the best portion of their lives in that Province, and that is good enough for us and for everyone who cares more for the interest of the community than the self-aggrandizement of individuals. As regards Major Bilgrami and the Editor of the *Comrade*, we believe their inclusion in the Committee was personal rather than due to a desire to have either London or the toy Province of a Tahsil and a Thana represented in the Committee. We are not prepared to say that it is impossible to improve the *personnel* of the Committee, for in the selection of a score of men opinions will always differ about the claims of a few who are included against a few others that are left out. But not one of the members of the Committee then selected is a person who has not materially assisted in the promotion of the educational interests of the Muslims, and particularly in the foundation of the University, and all without an exception are men who have acquired considerable distinction by their own merits and are in no need of an inclusion in such a Committee to enhance their reputations. Be that as it may, we can vouch for the accuracy of our statement as regards the manner of their selection, and indeed of the fact that, although there was considerable difference of opinion on many points in connection with the University Constitution between those who took part in the selection of the Committee, there appeared to be none as regards the *personnel* of the Committee; and that it did not take the gentlemen present more than half an hour to complete the selection. This is all that took place, and we are confident that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk will accept our word for it that nothing occurred in the meeting after he left it which was not worthy of his participation. Nobody has yet mentioned what actually took place to which he would object as deceitful and dishonest, and we do not care two straws for the fact that for various reasons some people have been most eager to revile those who selected the Committee. We all along suspected them of harbouring such a desire, and few could or should have been shocked at their venomous attacks. But we confess we never expected that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk would be led by any of them to suspect the *bona fides* of those who selected the Committee and to scatter in such an indiscriminate manner all over his letter suggestions so intensely prejudicial to their reputation.

The Editor of the *Comrade* is not personally aware whether any decision was arrived at about the time of the meeting to be held on the 29th December; but we have subsequently ascertained that before leaving the room where the consultation took place Major Bilgrami suggested to one or two other gentlemen then present that it would be too early to meet at half past eight, in view of the fact that it was already 2 A. M., and that they had all spent a very busy and exhausting day. An understanding seems subsequently to have been arrived at that the meeting would not commence punctually at half past eight, but a little later. Now this was not known even to all those who had stayed on after Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk had retired at 1-30 A. M., and we hope that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk does not mean to attribute his

ignorance of this to any concerted plan to keep him ignorant. In any case, how was it possible to inform him that the meeting would not be held at 8-30 but a little later? He had retired half an hour before such an understanding was arrived at, and he would certainly not have thanked anyone who had disturbed him after 2 A. M., when he was in bed and probably asleep, merely to inform him of a slight modification in the time of the meeting. The earliest information that could have been given to him would have been given when he rose for the day. But when at about eight or half past eight on the 29th December some people went to see him in his room they found the door closed, and we believe a notice had been affixed to the door stating that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk did not wish to be disturbed. It was not till about 9-30 A. M. that the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad had the door opened, and we can attribute the absence of all mention of these facts in Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's letter to his infirmities and consequently impaired memory.

It is not a fact that nobody cared to ascertain whether Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was prepared to sign the draft resolution of the previous night or had any modification to propose. Quite a number of people had gone fairly early to see the Nawab Sahib and had returned unsuccessful or waited for him outside the door to which he had affixed the notice that he may not be disturbed, and nobody in a better position to support this statement than his two Assistants, Messrs. Abul Hasan and Idris Ahmed. When the Editor of the *Comrade* went to see the Nawab Sahib he was not there, and it was then learnt for the first time from his Assistants that the Nawab Sahib was not only still of the same opinion as on the previous night but that he had in the morning drafted two other resolutions, one of which proposed delay in order that some very minor points in the regulations should be considered by the Constitution Committee before representations should be made to Government, while the other proposed still further delay so that the draft of the bye-laws, which had practically nothing to do with the Government, and which had not even been published generally, should be published and then discussed by the Constitution Committee before Government was approached. This, we must confess, staggered everyone who heard of it, and in view of the fact that after nearly five months of time so unjustifiably wasted everyone had decided to take the matter up to Government without the least further delay, it seems to us that these proposals could have been due to nothing so much as to the unfortunate state of the Nawab Sahib's health when he drafted these resolutions, particularly as he had had very little rest and hardly any sleep during the night preceding the 29th December. When the Nawab Sahib read out his resolutions, the Editor of the *Comrade* pointed out to him the delay that would be caused if these resolutions were passed, and appealed to him to accept the resolution already agreed upon by others overnight. In response to his appeal the Nawab Sahib said that, although he was not convinced that his suggestions were not the best, he would, in view of the general agreement, not oppose the resolution drafted overnight, and, if his silence in the meeting was likely to arouse suspicion, he was prepared to absent himself from the meeting. This appeared to the Hon. the Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad much more inadvisable, and he slipped his arm into that of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk as they were going to the meeting and said jokingly that if the Nawab Sahib absented himself from the meeting it might be suspected that they had abducted or imprisoned him. The Nawab Sahib thereupon agreed to attend the meeting, and not to oppose the resolution which all except he had signed on the previous night as a pledge of their agreement. This is the most important fact in connection with the meeting that took place a few moments afterwards, but the Nawab Sahib has made no mention whatever of this in his letter, and once more we believe this serious omission is due entirely to the state of Nawab Sahib's health when he wrote the letter to the *Industrie Gazette*. All that took place on this occasion can be testified to by no less than half a dozen individuals, including the Nawab Sahib's Assistants, and we believe their statements would be incorporated in a general statement which is about to be published on the subject for the information of the public.

What happened in the meeting itself is known to all and needs no recapitulation. It must, however, be noted that the Editor of the *Comrade* was not aware that he was to move the resolution agreed upon overnight till he actually reached the *dar* of the Baradari where the meeting was held. He was requested by the Rajah Sahib and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan to move the resolution, and at first he declined to do so, asking the latter to move it himself or request Major Bilgrami to do so. But on the request of many members who had taken part in the consultation overnight he agreed to move the resolution, and this should settle once for all the question of a deep-laid plot which the Editor of the *Comrade* had joined in the darkness of the night to deceive his community.



The Council.

By THE HON. MR. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

—As You Like It.

March 5th.

A fairly full House and, in view of the promised exhibition of strength by Sandow III, every sign of thunder and lightning on the horizon.

Before the usual business of the Council commenced, Gilani laid on the table, on behalf of Sir Guy in the chair, two despatches relating to Gold Coinage in India mentioned in Sir Guy's Financial Statement. The gods of Simla had recommended the Free Coinage of Gold in India; and, in doing so, had stated that the past ten years had been "marked by a change in the complexion of Indian affairs which is little less than revolutionary." Happy news that a change was taking place from the sable hue of India to something different, even if not quite the gory colour of revolution, red in tooth and claw.

The Simla gods, although only too sure about their own popularity, mentioned that "a doubt had frequently been expressed whether the sovereign would ever be popular in this country." If this not something even more than revolutionary, what else can it be? When the sovereign came to this country, he was far more popular than the Simla gods. It was also stated in the despatch that "gold is now being taken with increasing freedom." Should very much like this kind of freedom, and prepared to shout from the house-tops the famous line of Barbour:

"Ah, Freedom is a noble thing!"

The Simla gods are a careful lot of immortals, for they say that "in proposing to open a gold mint it is not our intention to induce thereby an increased flow of gold to India." No, the drain level must always be such as to induce thereby an increased flow of gold from India, and the Simla gods have been careful to point out that if their intention had been to induce the gold to flow the other way "we recognise that it would certainly fail!" Truly, water finds its own level, and so does gold. In reply, the Captain of the Crews, still unwilling to permit India to have a sovereign of its own, in spite of all the paragraphs of all the despatches in the world. The net result of the despatches only this that India given the promise of Charles Street sanction if she wished to have a petty dominion of its own of inferior worth instead of a sovereign like that of Great Britain of sterling quality and greater value.

At Question time Cheery Chitnis wanted to know if there was any proposal to increase India's annual contribution to the naval defence of the Empire, and if, before any final step was taken, the Members of the Council would be given an opportunity of doing some talk-talk about the proposed increase in the burden. O, Sa, Chitnis; how could you call that a burden which is a dear privilege of Imperialism? No-More-Kay speech-

less with wrath could only reply with a monosyllable of two contiguous letters of the English alphabet, 'n' and 'o,' and in his wrath forgot to state whether the negative applied to the first part of the question or to the second as well. Inconvenient question, only matched by a convenient answer!

Madras-Chutney-Pickle-Achar asked if Government intended to publish the latest despatch of the S. of S. on the question of the growth of an independent medical profession in India. So far not much of a growth, but only an undergrowth beneath the Upas tree of the I. M. S. Like the separation of the judiciary and the executive, this question the *damnable hereditas* of the days when Honest John was the principal and downright Minto the agent. But since then Sandow III has seen to it that the powers of the agent are revised and in a different way to the policy of the Administrative Orphan in the matter of Company law. So having made the earlier promise once more a dead letter, Sandow III unwilling to publish the despatch of which Madras-Chutney-Pickle-Achar had somehow got scent in spite of the Official Secrets Act. Disappointed here he turned in the direction of the War Lord and asked him to state what were the recommendations of the Slade Committee on the Royal Marine. For answer he got the consoling information that the mourning should follow and not precede the kicking of the pale. The Committee's report was still under consideration, and twelve months hence its recommendations would be announced publicly enough—in the Financial Statement proposing a new tax or taking off something from the grant for Education.

Chitnis once more asked if it was a fact that there was a widespread feeling among Indians that the dominating feature of the New Capital should be Oriental style. Is not Chitnis satisfied with the despotism of the gods from the West that he wants in addition the dominating feature of the New Capital to have not only the heart but also the manner of the tyrant of the East? He also asked whether the Council would be consulted before any final decision was arrived at in respect of the site and the architecture of the New Capital. The New Sage said that the best available advice would be taken with regard to all architectural questions, and in answer to the other part of the question told Chitnis almost in so many words that he and his brother talkers at least were not within the meaning of "the best available advice." Council should busy itself with some thing more in its line than sites and styles.

Once more Madras-Chutney-Pickle-Achar, and once more the theme the likely increase of expenditure due to the efforts of a committee appointed to reduce it. Has the Nicholson Committee finished the job or not? If not, will Government state how the job is likely to turn out, and state it in time for Madras-Chutney-Pickle-Achar to call it to account? Will Government also say how much had been spent during the year on the Committee itself. The answer of No-More-Kay was of course 'no,' and he politely informed the Council that the Nicholson Committee had only cost £15,000 that year. A modest sum after all, if you take into consideration the large increase it is going to propose. The proportion of the cost to the increase may be as insignificant as one in a thousand. Let us,

therefore, wait and see. "T'would be a jolly good lesson for the Honourable Talkee-Talkie-Talk so anxious for the appointment of Committees for—God save the mark—reducing India's military expenditure!

Questions over legislation began. The Administrative Orphan presented a report of the Select Committee on the Companies' Bill, which showed that the Committee had thought there was "room for the imposition of certain wholesome restrictions in connection with management of companies" by Company promoters known as Agents. The new clauses submitted to them provided "a reasonable measure of disclosure." Now, Othello had some crude epithets for those

"That have the office opposite to Saint Peter,
"And keep the gate of hell!"

But in view of the well-known maxim of Company Law that "two is company, three is none," it had never occurred to anyone to impose "certain wholesome restrictions" in the way of providing a "reasonable measure of disclosure." Are then our *Kala Juggahs* going to be turned into thrones that a fierce light should beat upon them?

Government is a lady of many moods. When you court her in a grave mood she is gay, but when you indulge in gaiety, she turns upon you as sour a face as an old grave. In view of the new clauses in the Companies' Bill which had not been circulated before, the Administrative Orphan flattered Council with the observation that it has "every right to consider itself representative of India" without waiting for the opinion of others. But it was lucky that the Administrative Orphan did not wish to "press the theory of representative government too far." Yes, it was lucky, for if the theory was pressed even far enough, the commercial world would have liked to know how far the ever-ready support of Free-Lance represented commercial recalcitrance. But what the Administrative Orphan chooses to press or does not choose to press is no precedent for his colleagues of the Administrative Efficiency School. For Sandow III was ready not only with a few clauses but with a whole Bill never circulated before. However, before doing that he permitted the Administrative Orphan to cry his eyes out because these horrid Calcutta merchants refused to talk with him when he so much wished to profess legislation with a little diplomatic negotiation. "When I offered only a few days ago to go down to Calcutta to talk over these clauses and other amendments of the Bill the offer was met in a way which amounted to something very like a refusal to discuss them with me (*A sigh of distress!*). It is not fair to Government (*A suppressed sob!!*), nor is it even businesslike (*Boo—Hoo—Hoo—Hoo!!!*). What a pity there wasn't the Master of Limehouse to shelter an unprotected Administrative Orphan from these horrid Calcutta merchants.

When the reporting was over, Administrative Efficiency had a fairly long innings. Sandow III desirous to introduce into India a new offence. If Free-Lance had had his own way, the mere recitation of Sandow III should have introduced into India enough sins of commission and omission to make the Penal Code creak under their weight. But the strong wine of Administrative Efficiency has to be diluted with the thin water of Popular Co-operation in these enlightened days. Sandow III had, therefore, to explain that the new law was necessary, and he demanded that the Council must declare it to be so on that very day. Whether the law, as drafted, succeeded in fulfilling its object or not, and whether the great necessity involved still greater evils, that was to be decided at leisure by a Select Committee of such firebrands as Cheery Chitkala, the Shikari, the Oorya, the Second Ranji and a few other whole-bog patriots. The text of the Bill had been published as long ago as six lac ninety-one thousand and two hundred seconds, and surely this was as long an interval as any careful man desired wherein to consider a law that might send him to the Andamans for a dozen short years.

Sandow III explained the "several ingredients" that went to make up the simple offence of conspiracy. First there must be an agreement between not less than two persons. Then either the object in view must be illegal or the methods employed to effect that object. And "illegal" meant only a thing which was an offence, or which was prohibited by law, or which furnished ground for a civil action. Now it appears that if a Designing Mamma conspires with her Little Innocence that she should sprain her ankle on the golf links so that as Eligible Assistant Collector or Moneyed Subaltern should have to carry her home in arms that had never been put to a more graceful use than driving a silly little ball from hole to hole, by this law of Sandow III the Designing Mamma aforesaid and the Little Innocence would both be arch-conspirators, for they conspired to use means "which furnished ground for a civil action," on the part of the Eligible Assistant Collector or Moneyed Subaltern, as the case may be, who carried Little Innocence home in his manly arms. Who can say after this that the offence of conspiracy, which may "to a

large extent be new to the law of India," is "a very old law indeed in England." Learned Sandow III traced this ancient law of England to the year of grace 1308, and rushed from that remote period to the latest exposition of the law in Quina v. Leatham, 1901, in which Lord Brompton ruled something to the effect that if Little Innocence had devised the plan of the sprained ankle it would merely have been wrong, and the Eligible Assistant Collector or the Moneyed Subaltern, as the case may be, had an action clearly open to him; but that when concerted by the Designing Mamma in conjunction with Little Innocence, it was criminally punishable. Quoth Sandow III, as was said by Queen's Bench in Scott v. Brown, 92, that though every sprained ankle may not be dangerous to the bachelor public, yet, "every coalition to promote wrong is manifestly of that character." Little Innocence; sprained ankle; Eligible Assistant Collector or Moneyed Subaltern, as the case may be; shady golf links. Really and truly a dangerous coalition!

According to Sandow III, the development of the Law of Conspiracy in England had a very significant bearing on modern Indian conditions. In a crude state of Society men "may coalesce rapidly to form a mob following like sheep at the instigation of a few leaders," as the Liberals had done in England. But in a highly developed country like India conspiracies may be even more dangerous. "Education and intelligence among the evil minded, from which no Society, whether it be in Europe or whether it be in Asia, is free, merely bring into use more intelligent means, including even the perversion of the law itself, towards the ruin of an enemy." What a pity that even in Asia Society is not free from education and intelligence. And what a pity education and intelligence in India even pervert the Law itself! Who has not heard of the C-I-E-TT-H-GH C—rt? Oh this "hiding even the nature of wrong under the cloak of legality!" Macaulay had left a gap which Providence has created a Sandow III to fill. Is it not monstrous that "if a band of conspirators were surprised or overheard plotting the crime of murder, but they were caught before there was time for any of them to get into execution any of the steps necessary for the act, however guilty their intentions, however diabolical and well-conceived their plot, they will have committed no offence in the eyes of the law"—but only in the ears of the police? Is it not horrible that "you may have the most indubitable evidence" of conspiracy, namely, the most clear testimony of the most upright policeman—who gets the princely salary of Rs. 8 per mensem, and has, in addition, the inestimable benefit of the supervision of a Superintendent of Police on Rs. 1,200, a Deputy Inspector-General on Rs. 1,800 and an Inspector-General on Rs. 3,000—and yet not convict a man. The police must be a Service of strong convictions; but if "indubitable evidence" cannot help it to catch or trace the doers of overt acts which are heinous offences, surely "indubitable evidence" must come to its rescue in proving that A said to B they must conspire to give C, which stands for the "Constable," the conviction that would save him from the D, which stands for—"dismissal."

Faithless logic, my masters; but more is to follow. Sandow III sets out to prove the necessity for the new law and must have the judgment of the Council while he waits. But before he has gone very far with the case for the persecution—oh! no.—prosecution, he tells the Council. "It is impossible for the Government to disclose all that it may know of their continued existence; but that it has the knowledge that they (the conspiracies) do exist, this Council must take on trust." *Quod erat demonstrandum.* See, how clear, and yet how easy! If you have any doubts still lurking in your educated and intelligent mind—a mind totally unfit for any convictions—Sandow III will brush them aside for you. "It is not because India is backward that I am asking the Council to accept this Bill. It is rather because India is developing so rapidly that I ask this Council to accept it. It is not because Indians have an extra dose of original sin or any special inherent wickedness, that I press this Council to agree to this Bill. Rather I would urge upon you the advisability of making good that flaw in your penal law, the removal of which will assimilate, with somewhat less stringency, (why this reflection on Indian backwardness, O most charity of legislators?) the law of India to a law which has been found most necessary and most salutary in so advanced and law-abiding a country as England." Who talks of Free and Compulsory Education now? Who babbles of Hindu and Moslem Universities? Has not Sandow III crushed out of all existence the Department which provides a poor Rs. 6,666-10-8 a month to his colleague of the educational pantry? But when Sandow III went into raptures over that wonderful conspiracy law of England, "a law which has been interpreted and administered by a succession of the most eminent English judges, and the soundness of the principles of which has been affirmed and re-affirmed by the greatest among them from a period which extends from some centuries back up to the present day," who was it that whispered the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive, law-knowing judges, and juries of twelve good men and true from the would-be conspirator's peers?

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, April 4.

It is announced in Berlin that the demonstration against Montenegro will be limited to a peaceful blockade of the coast and the closing of the Austrian frontier. It is hoped that the consequent scarcity of food will bring Montenegro to her senses. There is no agreement between the Powers regarding the landing of troops or the application of force.

While the Austrian Squadron is cruising off Montenegro, no warships of the other Powers have yet arrived. There was much movement among warships at the Piræus yesterday. The German warship *Breslau* with Prince Henry of Prussia on board, the Italian warship *Pisa* with the Count of Turin on board, and the cruiser *Yarmouth* sailed. It is believed that they are proceeding to Antivari. Evidence of French reluctance to join in the demonstration is shown by a semi-official note issued in Paris last night. It said: "Russia having announced that she wishes to see France and Great Britain join in the naval demonstration of the Powers, the Government of the Republic has decided to take part in this solemn affirmation of the will of Europe, therefore the cruiser *Edgar Quinet* which is at Corfu, has been ordered to join in any action taken by the British warships. The French Press continues to inveigh against the demonstration, which the *Temps* describes as a mad adventure, bluff, crudity and weakness."

A Vienna message states that Serbia's determined support of Montenegro in opposing the wishes of the Powers is increasing irritation in Austrian official circles. The *Reichspost* urges that strong military measures be taken in the event of the failure of the naval demonstration.

While the possible fruitlessness of the naval demonstration against Montenegro is being widely discussed, it is pointed out that its first object and chief advantages are the maintenance of joint co-operation for the prevention of isolated action by a single Power which would lead to the gravest complications. The Cabinets prefer dealing with the crisis step by step, without committing themselves to any definite future resolutions.

Instructions have been telegraphed to the respective warships to proceed to Montenegro and there establish an effective blockade. Only Russia is standing out.

Prince Henry of Prussia has been transferred from the cruiser *Breslau* to the cruiser *Loeben*. He has gone to Brindisi.

King Nicholas of Montenegro interviewed by a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* said: "I assure you my people mean to keep the land retaken during war and mean to take Scutari. It is better to die fighting than live as we are living now. We are making a supreme struggle against death and starvation." King Nicholas appeals to British justice. He concluded: "Scutari will fall in a few days and will be my capital."

In the course of his speech before the Budget Committee of the Reichstag yesterday, Herr von Jagow stated that originally the Balkan League was intended to include Turkey, but owing to the disinclination of the latter, an anti-Turkish League was finally concluded in June, 1912. Feelings in the Balkan capitals were wavering even during the last few days before the war, hostilities beginning contrary to the intention of the other Allies, through the premature breakaway of Montenegro.

A wire from Adrianople states that Tsar Ferdinand arrived here on Wednesday and attended service in memory of the late King of Greece. He visited the famous mosque, which has been damaged, and left again in the evening. He will shortly enter the city in triumph.

The Montenegrin losses in the recent assaults on Scutari are stated to be fully four thousand.

A Berlin telegram says: It is not improbable that Montenegro will accept monetary compensation for the loss of Scutari.

London, April 5.

A Sofia message states: The Allies have accepted the offer of mediation by the Powers, with the following reservations: The Turkish frontier proposed by Powers is to be taken merely as a basis, and not as a definite line. The Aegean Islands are to be added to the Allies. The Allies consider they should know in advance the proposed frontiers of Albania, trusting that they are in conformity with those proposed by the Allies in London. The principal of a war indemnity is to be admitted, the amount being fixed by a financial Commission on which the Allies are to be represented.

The Allies agree to suspend operations directly the above conditions are favourably laid and admitted. A Sofia message states that the Powers have made a fresh *démarché* insisting upon the Allies accepting the frontier line, Enos to Midia; and the settlement of all financial questions should be reserved for a technical commission in Paris.

The St. Petersburg Conference of Ambassadors has established a basis for the settlement of the dispute between Rumania and Bulgaria. The terms will be announced simultaneously with the resumption of the peace negotiations between Turkey and the Allies. The Bulgarian and Rumanian Plenipotentiaries are leaving St. Petersburg. During the exchange of views with the representatives of Duma, Mr. Sazonoff said that Russia had no occasion to fear warlike complications as the demands of the Allies would be more or less satisfied. He feared that the frontier dispute between the Bulgarians and the Servians would lead to grave complications. The Servians had pushed too far south, and they were showing latterly an inclination to avoid referring the frontier question to the arbitrament of the Tsar, as originally contemplated.

London, April 6.

Relations between Montenegro and Austria have been still further strained by the latter's troops carrying out manoeuvres during the last two days close to the Montenegrin frontier. The Montenegrins regarded this, in view of the present circumstances, as an act of provocation.

The Turkish warship *Hamidiye* has arrived here.

A Belgrade wire states that owing to Great Britain's participation in the naval demonstration in the Adriatic, Serbia, who is unwilling to lose Great Britain's goodwill will certainly follow the advice of the Powers at the last moment. A Vienna message states that six Austrian and two Italian warships have been cruising four miles from Antivari since Wednesday. They were joined by a British warship on Thursday.

A Greek ship arrived at Antivari on Tuesday with 36,000 chests of ammunition and twenty-three Russian guns.

The British warship, *King Edward*, and the French warship, *Edgar Quinet* have joined the blockading squadron off Montenegro, which is commanded by a British Vice-Admiral.

As the result of a conference of Commanders, a telegram was sent to the Montenegrin Government begging it to respect the unanimous decision of the Powers and asking for a prompt reply.

A Berlin message states that two small cruisers of the high seas fleet have been ordered to be in readiness to sail for the Mediterranean to protect Germans in the Levant in view of the withdrawal of cruiser *Breslau*, which is taking part in the demonstration in the Adriatic. A wire from Malta says the H. M. Destroyers, "Foam" and "Jed," will sail shortly. It is understood for Corfu.

The *Statesman* publishes the following special cablegrams, dated London, April 5th:—

If the naval demonstration fails and Montenegro captures Scutari, Austria threatens to march fifteen mountain brigades on Cetinje.

King Nicholas is still defiant, and declares he will fight to a finish.

The Ottoman Consul-General in Bombay received the following telegram from the Foreign Office at Constantinople on the 6th instant:—

Sublime Porte, Constantinople, 5th April 1913. There was nothing on the 3rd April at Boulair. At Tchataldja the Ottoman troops were successful at Tobanakkdja and Kestanelik.

London, April 7.

A St. Petersburg message states that another great Slav demonstration was held there yesterday. Tens of thousands of people, who behaved in an orderly manner, paraded the city shouting, "Down with Austria," and bearing banners inscribed "Scutari for the Montenegrins," and "The Cross over Saint Sophia." The police barred access to the German and Austrian Embassies, but there was great enthusiasm outside the Bulgarian, Greek and Servian Legations and the house of the Dowager-Empress.

Montenegro has made representations to the Austrian Legation with regard to the manoeuvres which Austrian troops have been carrying out on the Montenegrin frontier.

The Turkish warship *Hamidiye* has sailed from Port Said. Montenegro has replied to the telegram from the Vice-Admiral commanding the Powers' joint naval demonstration, and declares that the Powers are violating neutrality, and that Montenegro cannot meet their wishes.

Reuter states that it is understood in official quarters that the change of attitude on the part of the Allies, which has wholly surprised the Powers is due to their solidarity with Montenegro. It appears that the blockade has not yet been declared but is held in suspense.

The *Temps*, which has throughout condemned the naval demonstration, says that Montenegro has on her side law and the public sentiment of Europe.

Speaking in the House of Commons to-day, Sir Edward Grey said that the landing of a naval brigade with field guns or the bombardment of Montenegrin ports would not be undertaken without further instructions. Sir Edward laid stress on the international character of the demonstration and on the importance of upholding the agreement with regard to the frontiers of Albania. He declared that this agreement was essential to the peace of Europe, and said that, in his opinion, it was only accomplished in time to preserve peace among the Great Powers.

A Berlin message states that Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, in the Reichstag to-day, paid a warm tribute to Sir Edward Grey with reference to his conduct of the Conference of Ambassadors. He had eliminated misunderstandings and deserved the gratitude of Europe. Germany was especially grateful. The Chancellor declared that the fact that Mr. Churchill made the "naval holiday" proposal was a great step forward, and Germany would await concrete proposals. He rejoiced to confirm Mr. Asquith's assurance of the good relations existing between Britain and Germany. He concluded by referring to the resistance of Montenegro and affirmed that the Powers now must secure respect for their decisions with promptness and emphasis.

A wire from Smyrna states that while four Ottoman Greeks who had been condemned to death for subversive practices at Mytilene were being taken to the scaffold, a mob attacked the escort with pistols and knives and rescued the condemned men.

Turkish troops are being hurried to Smyrna.

London, April 8.

Reuter states that the Diplomats consider the Balkan situation to be most obscure. They anticipate a settlement, but express no opinion as to how it will be reached. They expect that the blockade of the Montenegrin coast will begin in three days, failing Montenegro's compliance with the wishes of the Powers.

A Belgrade wire says the Servians have routed a Turkish army commanded by Djavid Pasha near Valona and captured fifteen hundred men.

The capture of Adrianople, coupled with the recent severe reverse near Tchataldja, when two Sofia Regiments recruited from the best families were annihilated, has quickened Bulgaria's desire for peace. The difficulties raised in the Allies' reply to the Powers emanate chiefly from Athens and Cattinje.

In the House of Commons yesterday Sir Edward Grey explained that the reason Great Britain was taking part in the naval demonstration off Montenegro was to uphold the agreement between the Powers in favour of an autonomous Albania. Great Britain willingly became a party to the agreement because the Albanians were separate, both as regards race and language, and to a great extent in the matter of religion also. The war had long ceased to be a war of liberation. The operations against Scutari were part of a war of conquest, consequently the sympathy extended to the Allies contending for liberty should be extended to the Albanians in Scutari. Hence the Government had not hesitated to join the agreement with regard to Albania. Agreement had been reached after long and laborious diplomatic effort. It left large tracts to be divided between Servia and Montenegro as the fruits of their victory. He emphasised that the upholding of the agreement was essential to the continuance of peace. He concluded by saying, and cheers, that the agreement was in accordance with humanity. The liberty and peace of Europe depended on the maintenance of concord between the Powers most deeply interested. In reply to a question, Mr. Asquith deprecated any debate in the present delicate position. Mr. Bover Law concurred. Mr. David Mason moved the adjournment, but the motion was lost, as only sixteen Labour and Liberal members supported it.

A message from Kiev states that a great Pan-Slavist demonstration organised by students was held outside the Bulgarian Consulate yesterday. The Consul was greeted as the representative of the Balkan Federation and was requested to telegraph to the Balkan Rulers the sympathy of the Russian people with the champions of the liberties of the Southern Slavs. A similar demonstration was held before the Greek Consulate, and patriotic speeches were made in front of the town Hall.

In the Reichstag yesterday, on the occasion of the first reading of the Army Bill, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, said, "should a European conflagration ever break out in which Slavs and Germans were opposed, it would be a disadvantage for Germany that Slavic States which have shown unusually active vitality should have displaced European Turkey. Germany's relations with the Government of Russia," continued the Chancellor, "were most friendly, but Pan-Slavism had been strengthened in Russia by the victories of the Balkan States, and the acute revival of racial instincts must be taken into account. Germany's relations with the French Government were good. He believed that the present French Government wanted to live in neighbourly peace with Germany, but with the strengthening of French national sentiment the passionate Chauvinistic elements were showing anti-German animus. The defeats of the Turks appeared to the lively French mind as defeats suffered by Germans. These elements were already disposing of Germany's future. Germany must be prepared to fight for her life on two sides. The Government was introducing the present Bill not because it wanted war, but because it wanted peace. When it became law, the Germans would be as little the disturbers of the world's peace as before." Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg assented to the suggestions made by the members of the English Cabinet as to the desirability of an extension of friendship between the existing groups of Powers. He went further, and said that such threads of friendship must be spun. He concluded by emphasising that Germany was cultivating relations with Russia and France not without success; while he was glad to confirm Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey that Anglo-German relations were now good.

The Ambassadors yesterday decided on the terms of the Powers' reply to the Balkan States. There is reason to believe that the views of the Powers are unchanged, and that the reply will urge the necessity and advantages of the termination of hostilities as speedily as possible. The feeling in diplomatic quarters is somewhat more hopeful, on indications of a more moderate attitude on the part of the Allies and the possibility of a financial settlement with Montenegro.

London, April 9.

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A message from Sofia states that twenty thousand reservists have been disbanded.

A Salonica message states that Servian transports are now disembarking the troops which were going to Soutari. This is regarded as a favourable symptom.

Reuter is informed that the International blockade will be limited to the coast between Antivari and the River Drin. King Nicholas has decided to abdicate if the Powers employ force against Montenegro, which will then be voted to Servia. A Cattinje message states that the Government has asked for an explanation of the action of the Austrian authorities at Cattaro in holding up a consignment of goods for Montenegro.

A wire from Malta states that H. M. cruisers "Duke of Edinburgh" and "Medea" have been ordered eastward.

Other warships have been ordered to be in readiness.

A telegram from St. Petersburg states that in view of the Pan-Slavist demonstrations, a police order has been issued prohibiting public meetings and demonstrations in the streets. It declares that order to be binding on the whole population and warns inhabitants not to take part in such demonstrations, otherwise most decisive measures will be adopted. A St. Petersburg message states that the Prefect's order has dumbfounded the public. Only yesterday the semi-official journal *Rossiya* published an article acclaiming the Pan-Slav demonstration. It remains to be seen whether the police will intervene in the great Slav banquet which is to take place in St. Petersburg to-morrow. There will be a meeting in favour of Montenegro on Saturday, while a monster demonstration is being prepared at Moscow which will be held to-morrow. It will begin with a requiem in Kazan Cathedral.

The *Statesman* publishes the following special cablegrams, dated London, April 9th:—

Special cables emphasise the peril of the European crisis. Russia's tacit support of Servia against Austria is held to indicate that the naval demonstration will either be futile or will precipitate a war. Dr. Dillon, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, says Government are powerless to arrest the Pan-Slavist demonstrations. The Capital and the country are ablaze with excitement, and seething with anger against Austria. There is a fierce outcry for war. All the Germanic races, with Britain (she), have condemned the support of Austria against Montenegro.

The Economic Development of Turkey.

The report of the Deutsche Bank for the year 1912 was issued last week and is of the greatest interest in view of the influence of the relationships existing between this institution and the economic development of Turkey. In spite of the war in Tripoli and the

subsequent outbreak of war in the European Provinces, the Constantinople branches of the bank have had to record increased prosperity. The report records with satisfaction the development of the traffic on the Anatolian railway and the fact that the sections Haider Pasha-Angora and Eskishehir-Konia both yielded a surplus to the Ottoman Government instead of entailing a payment on account of kilometric guarantees. The progress of the irrigation works on the Konia Plain has equalled the most sanguine expectations and the water will be in course of delivery already this spring. The construction work on the Baghdad Railway continues to be actively pushed, in spite of difficulties caused by the war. The active nature of the interest taken by Germany in Turkey is shown by the fact that while she holds only about 20 per cent of the total foreign indebtedness of Turkey, she is interested to the extent of over 40 per cent. in the railways actually operating in the Ottoman Empire. Germany thus shows her preference for the rôle of active partner, in contradistinction to France, who is more often content to act as sleeping partner, or banker, in the matter of Turkish economic affairs. By the way, what is our own rôle?

Not only are Germany's interests in Turkey of a nature to bring her into intimate touch with the economic life of the nation, but she is still following the policy, inaugurated by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, of conciliation and accommodation which has already brought her so much profit in Turkey. Evidences of this spirit of friendly assistance are abundant at present, and it is certain that it will eventually prove to have been a most remunerative attitude.

An interesting feature of the recent renewal of the moratorium in Greece, and one which distinguishes it from the original declaration, is the disposition which provides that defendants in civil actions may not be condemned by default while they are serving with the colours. This certainly shows an adequate recognition of the debt due by the country to her soldiers, but I am afraid that it does not detract from the undesirability of these moratoria as such.

The Jeddah Customs, of which the receipts have been offered by the Turkish Government as additional security for the proposed renewal of the recently matured Treasury Bills, are quite a considerable source of revenue to the Ottoman Government. The only traffic to the port is, of course, that destined for Mecca, but this is quite considerable, though exceptional in its nature. The revenue consists mainly of dues of different kinds imposed on pilgrims and on the vessels engaged in the pilgrim traffic. The amount of trade carried on through Jeddah is dependent entirely on the requirements of Mecca, and these in turn are conditioned by the numbers of the pilgrims. Mecca in itself has a comparatively insignificant population, but for a month or six weeks in the year, during the pilgrimage season, the floating population is of very considerable magnitude, and as nothing is produced locally, all supplies have to be imported through Jeddah. Whatever effect the railway from Damascus to Medina has had on the trade of Jeddah is not very extensive, for the camel journey between Medina and Mecca is difficult and trying. But the railway is due to reach Mecca in a year or so, and even if it passes by way of Jeddah, the effect on the Customs revenues of the latter town must become quite a serious matter.

The chairman at the recent meeting of the shareholders of the Ottoman Gas Company stated in the course of his speech that a large number of Turks from the European vilayets had immigrated to the country round Smyrna, and that in consequence of this reinforcement of the population the shortage of labour which followed on the mobilisation had been made up. Indeed, according to Colonel Clarke, the area under tillage had been considerably increased, so that the fears at first entertained, that there would be a large deficit in this year's crops, would seem to be groundless after all. I hope that this will prove to be the case.

Similar encouraging prospects were held out at the half-yearly general meeting of the Ottoman Railway. The report presented showed that, in spite of the ultra-depressing state of affairs generally, the earnings of the line from passenger traffic were larger than during any corresponding previous period in the history of the company. There was a falling-off in the goods traffic, but this is naturally accounted for by the prohibition of grain export and by the unfortunate dispute between the fig-growers and the packers. The directors showed their appreciation of the conditions, and acted very wisely in increasing the carry-over.

Baghdad Railway.

The construction of the Baghdad Railway, writes the British Vice Consul at Adana, has proceeded steadily during the years 1910-1912. The line beyond Ulu Kishla has been laid for 50 kilom. to within a few kilom. of Bozanti, and was opened to traffic in December, 1912. Between Bozanti and Dorak work is proceeding on the tunnels through the Taurus, of which there will be at least 10, the longest being one of 8 kilom. some 15 kilom. beyond Bozanti. There is a daily train service on the section from Dorak to Mamureh via Yenijeh (on the Mersina-Tarsus-

Adana line), Adana, Misis, Hamidieh, Toprak Kaleh and Osmanish, a distance of 140 kilom., which was opened to traffic in April, 1912. Considerable progress has been made on the short but difficult section from Mamureh to Baghcheh, which should be ready for traffic in 1913. Near Baghcheh a tunnel of 5 kilom., of which about 1½ kilom. have been completed, is being made through the Amanus. It is stated that the Taurus and Amanus tunnels will be finished in 1915. Work is also proceeding on the branch line from Toprak Kaleh to Alexandretta, about 70 kilom. in length, which is not likely to be ready for traffic before the end of 1913. When the branch line to Alexandretta is opened, it is probable that the produce of the eastern section of the Cilician Plain, most of which is at present exported from Ayas, will be exported from Alexandretta.

Yenijeh (adds the Board of Trade Journal), where the Baghdad Railway line joins the line of the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Railway is 11 miles from Tarsus and 13 miles from Adana. Trains of the Baghdad Railway Company run on the line of the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Railway Company from Yenijeh to Shakir Pasha, where they branch off to the Adana Station of the Baghdad Company, situated about a mile to the north of the town. Shakir Pasha is about a mile to the west of the town.

Turkish Finances.

As a result of the memorandum issued last Thursday by the National Bank of Turkey in connection with the Turkish Treasury bills that were not met by the Ottoman Government on March 13, the general attitude of the holders, as far as can be judged and as was predicted by us, has been opposed to protesting the bills, which have been merely "noted." As the security is unimpeachable, and considering, moreover, the futility of attempting to protest, the attitude adopted under the circumstances is really the only one that presents itself to the billholders.

Regarding the indemnity to have been paid last week by the Italian Government to Turkey, no such payment was effected. The amount, as will be remembered, totals roughly £2,000,000, of which about £1,500,000 revert to the Administration of the Public Debt and the remainder to the Ottoman Government. A few weeks ago the former made an advance of £800,000 to the latter on its share of the Italian indemnity.

Djavid Bey, who is touring Europe on a financial mission, spent the greater part of last week in Berlin, where, it is stated, he conferred with the Deutsche Bank with a view to arriving at a definite arrangement concerning the payment which was to have fallen due on March 13. The loan has been renewed for four months, doubtless at a high rate, but it is felt on both sides to be unsatisfactory. Djavid Bey has now arrived in London.

M. de la Boulinière, who occupied the presidency of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt last year, has handed over this office to Sir Adam Block, who becomes president for 1913. M. de la Boulinière has left Constantinople for Paris, where he will assist in the deliberations for the purpose of establishing the share of the Ottoman Public Debt to be taken over by the Balkan States as a result of the transfer of territories as the outcome of the war.—The Near East.

The Problem of Scutari.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Mar. 7.

RESERVE and some misgivings mark the attitude of Austro-Hungarian opinion towards the fall of Yanina. The success of the Greeks is recognized, but the balance of admiration inclines strongly in favour of the Turkish defenders. The comments of the inspired Press and private conversation alike convey the impression that the equilibrium of Austro-Hungarian anticipations has been disturbed. The collapse of one point of the politico-military triangle represented by Yanina, Adrianople, and Scutari raises doubt as to the strength of the other two. I have strong reason to believe that even before the fall of Yanina was publicly known some anxiety was felt in the best informed quarters here and at Berlin in regard to the condition of Scutari. Adrianople is relatively less important than Scutari, inasmuch as its ultimate possession by Bulgaria is no longer open to doubt, but it is pointed out here to-day that in dealing with the delimitation of Albania it is much more difficult to undo accomplished facts than to arrange matters before facts have been accomplished.

It is unfortunately impossible to be confident that the Balkan situation is in course of improvement either in itself or in its relation to the situation in Europe. Peace is not yet in sight, and none of the outstanding problems appears to be on the eve of solution. There are ugly rumours of ill-feeling and bickerings between the Balkan Allies, rumours that lose nothing in repetition, but are too insistent to be entirely unfounded. They appear, however, to be

based rather on local friction and tactlessness than upon serious discord between the allied Governments. In any case they serve to throw once more into strong relief the fundamental necessity of the Balkan situation, which is unity, unity, and again unity between the Balkan States. Before this necessity other issues shrink into insignificance, save, perhaps, the necessity that the Allies should be jointly and severally moderate in their dealings with Turkey and with each other.

Of the European situation it is still premature to speak, except to register regretfully the fact that neither Russia nor Austria-Hungary has yet made public the order for a partial demobilization.

Vienna, Mar. 9.

Hope of a rapid improvement in the situation seems now to have disappeared. In Austria-Hungary, at least, another period of depression has begun. The reasons assigned are the slow progress of the agreement with Russia, the danger of complications in case of the fall of Scutari, the alleged intention of Serbia not to loosen her hold upon Durazzo, the dissensions between the Balkan Allies that may impede unanimity in regard to the conditions of peace, and the instability of the Mahmud Shevket Cabinet, which the instinct of self-preservation prevents from working for the peace its head desires.

Among these alleged causes of disquietude the question of Scutari evidently stands foremost. There is reason to believe that Austria-Hungary is negotiating earnestly with Serbia in regard to the delimitation of Albania, and, though nothing is positively known, it is shrewdly suspected that Serbia would be able to purchase Austro-Hungarian consent to the incorporation of Djakova in Serbian territory by agreeing formally to recognize Scutari as an integral part of Albania. But to judge by Austro-Hungarian complaints of Serbian action in reinforcing the troops before Scutari, and in sending considerable quantities of ammunition and other war material to Durazzo, it seems to be doubted whether the Serbian military authorities will be tractable. One Austrian journal of military proclivities, which has been favoured with a special list of the stores sent by Serbia to the Adriatic coast, claims that if Serbia and Greece intend to confront Europe with a *fait accompli* at Scutari they will not only be opposed by one group of the Great Powers, but will have to reckon with a general insurrection in Albania, supported on this occasion by artillery. Should Montenegro occupy Scutari, adds this journal, she would hardly be able to ignore the urgent representations of Austria-Hungary, but the question of the Serbian tenure of Durazzo will be not less acute and pregnant with grave consequences than the question of Scutari itself.

How the Powers, or any group of the Powers, will behave in regard to Scutari is a question not to be answered until it is seen whether Scutari falls or not. In regard to Yanina a telegram from Rome to the *Nous France Presse* states on Italian official authority that Italy has no objection to the incorporation of the southern Epirus with Yanina in Greek territory, and will do nothing to prevent the incorporation. Should Scutari fall it would therefore seem to be doubtful whether Italy would take in regard to a disputed point in Northern Albania action which she is not disposed to take in regard to a point formerly disputed in the south. The question of Scutari acquires, however, particular significance because a suspicion, which may be nothing more than a suspicion, exists that the protraction of the Austro-Russian negotiations for a military settlement may be indirectly connected with the wish of influential elements in Russia that the Tsar's Government should not bind its hands until the military fate of Scutari has been decided.

Vienna, Mar. 11.

The comparative optimism of Mr. Asquith's speech is not entirely shared here. The points on which the Powers have yet to agree in the delimitation of Albania are described as vital, and the possibility that the course of events may impede a decision of the Scutari question in conformity with Austro-Hungarian wishes is held to justify the gravest apprehensions. Upon the sincerity of these professions opinions differ, but there is substantial concordance of view among qualified judges that should Scutari fall, with or without the co-operation of the reinforcements in men and material already landed, or about to be landed, at Antivari, San Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo the international situation may assume an acutely critical character.

The *Reichspost* in semi-official utterances resumes its former threatening language. "If to-day's meeting of Ambassadors in London adjourns without result," it writes, "Austria-Hungary will see herself obliged to protect her own interests without further regard for other." The Austro-Hungarian standpoint in regard to Albania, it adds, is totally different from that of Great Britain.

Unauthorized voices are, nevertheless, raised to declare that the question of Scutari is by no means a vital Austro-Hungarian interest, and that it is, on the contrary, a matter of com-

parative indifference whether the city belong in future to Albania or Montenegro. The Socialist organ, which frequently uses the language of common-sense, declares the question to be merely one of what semi-official writers imagine to be Austrian prestige, but, it adds, nobody commanded these in powers to nail their colours waiting for the issue of the Balkan War. Austrian prestige will recover from the loss of Scutari as rapidly as it recovered from non-intervention in the Sanjak of Novi Bazar. Count Sternberg, the *enfant terrible* of Austrian public life, declares roundly, in another journal, that the whole scheme of creating an Albania to be used as a counterpoise against Serbia and other Balkan States is a piece of folly. We, he adds, ought rather to give Albania to the Balkan States and let them enjoy their indignation—provided that we obtain in return markets for our goods and a clear trade route to Salonica.

But this latest and perhaps most dangerous phase of the Balkan crisis is not likely to be governed exclusively by reason or even by simple consideration for the permanent interests of Austria-Hungary. If it be true, as there seems reason to assume, that the attitude of Berlin in the Scutari question is at least as stiff as that of the stiffest Austrians, it would be permissible to ask whether there may not be some connexion between the attitude of German diplomacy and sundry other manifestations that go to make up the political situation required to justify the sudden and extraordinary increase of the German Army.

The Turkish Soldier and his Superiors.

(FROM A "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Mar. 8.

TWENTY thousand Turkish soldiers have been quartered at San Stefano. These men belong to the expedition which was repulsed on attempting to land at one or two points in the neighbourhood of Gallipoli. They are Anatolians, mainly from the districts of Tokat and Sivas. There are not tents enough, and many have been quartered in the houses of residents, who as a rule are absent in winter. The usual practice is to force the locks, remove the furniture from the ground floor to the upper rooms, and turn the men into the apartments thus emptied. The houses of Europeans are not immune, in spite of their ex-territorial privileges under the capitulations. Representations have been made to some of the foreign embassies.

Among the one or two Europeans who have stuck to San Stefano throughout is an Englishman who has an exceptional knowledge of the country and people. In conversations with the soldiers he has found a certain amount of jealousy among them at the favoured treatment of some corps, notably of Enver Bey's column, part of which is also at San Stefano. They also complain of scanty rations and neglect. A man from Sivas said: "I left my wife and three children at home with two loaves in the house and no money to provide more. How they have been able to live since, God only knows." It is an amazing fact that the majority of these men are not supplied with overcoats, although we are deep in snow at present. Some of them say with a laugh, "Our officers make themselves pretty comfortable." The Turkish peasant is slow, but he moves. He is not as he was, and he will not fight for a Government which does not act as though he were worth his salt. This war has been won by valour and intelligence, but it would not have been won so easily if the Turkish authorities had taken care to feed and clothe the men whose task it was to defend their country.

There is no doubt that the war has made a gulf between Western Europeans and Turks, and some of us regret the loss of the society of the latter, for at its best it is the pleasantest and most refined in the native element of the city. One feels a certain diffidence in calling on old Ottoman friends under present circumstances, and I was much pleased to be stopped the other day by one whom I had not met for a twelvemonth. He insisted that I should go home with him, and amid books and pictures, while my hostess dispensed tea such as I get nowhere else out of England, we touched upon the situation without discussing it. My host, who in appearance and speech might pass for an Englishman, and does so when he is in England, is none the less a Turk to the core. He lamented the "European" manner of the modern Turk, and maintained that the old Moslem education was the best for the nation. "We have not assimilated, but merely imitated, and we have copied bad models." He varied indignantly at the alliance of Europe about the partition and massacre of the Moslems of Macedonia by the Christians. "There must be some sort of Divine justice which will prevail in the end."

Internal Conditions in Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Mar. 10.

WHEN General Savoff denounced the armistice the Committee party, which hoped that even if the *coup d'état* of January 23 failed to impress the Bulgarians, the efforts of Enver Bey's fresh troops of the "expeditionary force," backed by Fakhri Pasha's hitherto unengaged army at Gallipoli, would be crowned with success, accepted the renewal of war with a philosophy which the Cabinet did not altogether share. It believed, and it had justification for the belief, that the elements in the Army which had opposed it would cease their opposition in face of the enemy. For the moment they were right. Though the denunciation of the armistice had been preceded by the resignation of Omar Yaver Pasha and other officers, and by the flight of Omar Yaver's chief of staff, Hadji Ali Bey, to the Bulgarians, not to mention several brawls among the rank and file, war once resumed, the Army fell into line again. The Committee counted on military success. Its more outspoken members openly discussed the convocation of the last Parliament, which had been "unconstitutionally" dissolved by Mukhtar Pasha, immediately after the conclusion of an honourable peace. Had all gone well there can be no doubt that most of the adversaries of the Committee would have accepted the *coup d'état* and its consequences without protest. Nothing succeeds like military success in Turkey.

EFFECT OF THE REVERSES.

Then came the disillusion. Whatever may have been the causes of the Turkish defeats at Hexamili and Sharkeni, the unpleasant fact remained that the early operations of the renewed campaign had proved unsuccessful, that Fakhri's army was still confined to the Gallipoli peninsula, that Enver's armada had returned to Constantinople, and that 10,000 men were *hors de combat*. The defeat of the Servians and Montenegrins at Scutari, which the Turks never hoped to retain, did not do much to attenuate the bad effect of the reverses in Thrace. A period of doubt and stagnation followed. The Government was able to obtain sufficient cash to meet its most pressing needs by the issue of Treasury bonds, the sale of concessions and other expedients, and the Committee was so far encouraged. But the civilian opponents of the Committee made party capital alike out of financial successes and military reverses. Arab and Armenian elements recommenced their criticisms of the Central Government. The Committee, or some of its representatives in the Cabinet, who understood that the Arab element in the next Parliament would gain a great relative increase in strength owing to the loss of the European provinces, seem to have temporarily pacified the "outherners" by vague promises of decentralization. The much-enduring Armenians were promised agrarian reforms.

THE ARMY AND ENVER BEY.

But the military chafed under the inactivity forced upon them by weeks of rain and snow. Inactivity revived the critical spirit. Soldiers pointed out that the prospects of relieving Adrianople had not improved, and military opinion, already agitated by the divergences between "Committee" officers and "Halaskaran," was further divided by the currents that eddied round the personality of Enver Bey. This officer had returned with the Tenth Corps from the failure at Sharkeni to San Stefano. He had been there but two or three days when he was accused by many officers, not a few of whom were politically neutral, of interfering with military appointments and promotions in a manner more calculated to benefit the Committee than to unite the Army. Izzet Pasha himself is believed to have protested to the Grand Vizier against his conduct.

How far the criticisms formulated against Enver were based on fact, how far on the obvious and natural ill-will that would be borne by many officers of any but a Central American army towards a comrade who, whatever his courage and professional attainments, had identified himself with a political party and had headed a political outbreak which involved the slaying of his Commander-in-Chief, it is difficult to say. In any case, echoes of military discontent reached and continued to reach the capital. The opposition of a section of the Press became more vocal, and the knowledge that the hare-brained conspiracy which was smothered out on March 1 might be the prelude to a more dangerous movement accentuated the belief of both Government and the Committee that the forces of opposition were stronger than had first been supposed.

THE PEACE QUESTION.

On February 23 the Porte demanded the mediation of Europe. Enver Bey, who had never concealed his desire for an honourable peace, and most of his colleagues in the Cabinet supported him. But it was not easy to persuade many of the members

of the Committee that peace might have to be signed, if not on the League's terms, at least on the basis of the Joint Note of January 17. The Rameliote delegates who attended the many meetings of the Committee that were held last week were especially hard to convince, though several members of the Cabinet who were present at these meetings did not conceal the difficulties of the situation. It is certain that no final decision was reached at these meetings. Given the circumstances in which the Committee regained power, the last word rested with the Army, and the party chiefs had to take into account the attitude of the actual or potential military opposition. They felt that, while the Government might fall after making peace, its members would run less risk than the promoters of the *coup d'état*. The word was then passed round that a general election would follow the conclusion of peace, and that the party would not diminish the prestige of the Throne by protesting against the dissolution of the last Chamber by Imperial decree. This did not disarm the opposition, and officers, among whom, it is said, was Enver Bey, were sent to negotiate with the hostile or critical elements in the Army. The message which they seem to have delivered may be summed up as follows:—"The country needs peace and internal tranquillity. We cannot make peace alone. To obtain your support for a peace policy we offer you a certain number of seats in the Cabinet. The Coalition Ministry will make peace and immediately order a general election. The new Parliament will judge between us. We demand your support on patriotic grounds."

The Committee Party is therefore attempting, or has attempted, to disarm its opponents by inducing them to share the responsibility of peace. Its policy is natural enough in the circumstances. Its leaders realize that they were too precipitate on January 23, and that, if they lose as much as or more than Kiamil Pasha was prepared to lose, even popular passivity may have its limits. The opponents of the new Government declare that the Committee's net has been vainly spread in the sight of the Opposition bird, and to judge from the attitude of the Committee Press, which is once more clamouring for war *à outrance*, the attempt to appease the Opposition has failed. It does not follow that its failure is due merely to political antipathies. A factor which Europe does not, perhaps, take sufficiently into account is the desire of great numbers of junior officers, quite irrespective of party, to try one more pitched battle in the open field, whether Adrianople surrenders or not, before they confess that Turkey is beaten. The wish is very honourable to their courage and must influence the decisions of the Government or of the party, on the support of which the Government is based.

The Arab World.

WHILE Turkey proper continues to turn her gaze to the north, something is brewing to the southward that gives Ottoman statesmen some unquiet moments when they have time to think of other matters than the war. What this something is none of us know, but every message from Syria speaks of a growing unrest, a growing contempt for and dislike of the Committee, a growing tendency to sneer at the military value of the Turk, which bodes ill for the future. While the war lasts there is nothing to fear. Islam may hold the Arab and the Turk together. But after? Shall we see a mere Parliamentary movement on constitutional lines, or shall we see an attempt to build the Arab Empire with the sword, a war between Turk and Arab, between Northerner and Southerner, between the desert and the sown? Or will all slowly effervesce, as so many movements have effervesced in the Near East since Constitution first became a panacea?—The Near East.

Reforms for the Beyrout Vilayet.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Beyrout, Mar. 1.

THE despotic form of the policy of centralisation, in which the Young Turk Government has been ill-advised enough to persist, has produced what has been aptly called the miracle of the Balkanic Confederation, and the same policy has now produced the no less miraculous Union of Moslems and Christians, which has found its supreme manifestation in the constitution of the General Assembly of Reforms that has been instrumental in elaborating the "Programme of Reforms for the Vilayet of Beyrout." The two great features of the programme are, firstly, the recognition by the Moslems of the full civic rights of Christians, and, secondly, the admission of the necessity of the largest possible measure of foreign co-operation and control. Indeed, the editor of Moslem and Christian papers, even including the ultra-Nationalist and Pan-Islamist organs, who has always been sworn enemies, have lately been exchanging editorials expressive of the deepest cordiality and extolling the beauty of harmony and good understanding among children and of a common soil and a common tongue. They manifest amazement at the fact that the evil influences of interested quarters should have been

allowed to act on the inhabitants of the same land, having common language and common interests and aims, as to blind them to the palpable truth that without union there was no national existence and freedom.

Cynics may smile at such an outburst of confraternal enthusiasm and idealists may refer to the embracing of sheikh and priest that followed the proclamation of the Constitution, but this is quite a different case. Here is a movement that has evolved slowly after months of calm deliberation, and has finally received official recognition. If the Turkish Government were to-day to confirm the programme the Moslems stand committed thereto. It is felt, however, by the promoters of the movement that there is the remotest chance of the Turkish Government granting any of the fundamental demands embodied in the programme. The object of the movement was more to awaken the national conscience and sow the seed of the modern principle of true constitutional government that is bound eventually to take root. With this end in view thousands of copies of the "Programme" are to be distributed broadcast in all the Arabic speaking provinces; and a Press campaign, in which Moslem and Christian papers of all shades of opinion, both in Syria and Egypt, are uniting with unprecedented solidarity, is being vigorously conducted. The Beyrout Press has, of course, taken the lead, since the movement originated here; and Beyrout has thus splendidly asserted its position as the great intellectual centre of the Arab Near East.

That the movement is sincere and earnest is evidenced by the fact of the voluntary closing of the Entente Club, with frankly declared object of eliminating every weakening factor and of merging all jealousies and rivalries in the general and vital cause of reform and binding together all activities and energies of the two parties that have hitherto been wasting themselves in wanton opposition. That the Turkish Government has not made light of this movement is proved by the fact that the new Vali of Beyrout, Hazem Bey, has had to postpone his departure from Constantinople in order to confer with the Central Government about the programme, which have been officially communicated; also by the fact that the new Vali of Damascus, who has just had an enthusiastic welcome there, is of Arab origin. Furthermore, the facts that Araf Bey El Maridai, the new Vali of Damascus, is said to have expressed his indignation when, in the course of an interview with a Press representative, the latter professed surprise that he should have been appointed by a Unionist Government, and that he had always been hostile to the Committee, certainly indicate that the present Government is ready to make great concessions to Arab public opinion.

"Turn out the Turk!"

BY ABDUL HAKE.

THE Lord of the Treasure has veiled his face—for a season our subjects, our abjects have turned against us in our day of weakness. We found Constantinople an almost lawless city, and again it has become so. We may even have to cross the straits and return to the land from which we came forth to conquer. Though it may please Allah to afflict us for our good, we can look proudly back on the part that Islam has played in Europe. More than a thousand years ago the Faithful took Spain, and, but for Charles of the Hammer, France too would have been ours. Four hundred years ago we stormed "The City," the bulwark and pride of Eastern Christendom, even though a Constantine and a Justinian stood against us in the breach. We took and we held it by our valour, but we were aided in our capture because Eastern Christians preferred a sultan to an emperor with a Western ritual—"better the Turk in Constantinople than the Pope's tiara"—and we have been helped in holding it because the Christians proffered worldly influence to the triumph of their creed. This discreditable aid may somewhat dim the brightness of our victory, but it dims still more the brightness of the emblem of the Nazarene. But the mark we leave on Europe is not of war alone, though Paris and Vienna once trembled at our name and what we lost in the Peninsula we more than gained on the Bosphorus. We also leave behind us lasting proofs of our victories in the arts of peace. No country can be prouder than Spain of its monuments of the past, but the Spaniard must not forget that the dream traceries of the Alhambra and many another architectural glory were begun and completed under Moslem rulers. It was not Christians that raised another Bagdad in the South of Europe. In the East we have done the same. In India we fought and conquered, we built and we embellished. England has now ruled India for 150 years, and done great things for the country and the people; but her rule has benefited chiefly the quill-driver and the infidel—the kalam-wallah and the kaffir—and it is not too much to say that if she ever gives up India her successors in power will not be those whom she has favoured

most, and the evidences of her rule will perish, while our mosques and our palaces and our tombs from Bijapur to Delhi will keep alive the memory of a conquering and cultured people.

ARCHITECTURE AND LITERATURE.

If Europe has to thank us for architecture she is equally our debtor in literature. Many Englishmen—educated Englishmen—do not know, and do not care to know, but at a time when Europe was ignorant and superstitious what little learning she obtained and what glimpses she had of the knowledge of ancient Greece and Rome came to her by translations from the Arabic. It is often said that much of this work was done not by Moslems but by Christians in the service of the sultans. Granted; and this but proves the enlightened and beneficent rule of those sultans who gave equal opportunities to all their subjects. Everyone who is interested in these things knows that when Christian Spain, carried away by excess of religious zeal, drove the Moors out of the country, she paralysed her own prosperity and made herself the poorer in arts and literature, in commerce, in husbandry, and in healthy emulation. Our very storming of Constantinople was an indirect boon to Europe. Owing to the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches Greek literature spread but slowly to the West, but our conquest was the beginning of a westward movement among scholars, and the knowledge of the literature of ancient Greece in the original helped to loosen the galling chains of feudalism and unclasp the numbing hands of Christian Rome.

THE CRUELTY OF THE CONQUEROR.

If we have been cruel, have we not had cruel foes? Our cruelty has been the cruelty of the conqueror, theirs the cruelty of the coward. Our Book tells us that the infidel who will not listen to the truth must be converted by the sword. We have obeyed our Scripture. Christians are told to turn the other cheek to the smiter. Have they done so? And perhaps we were not so cruel after all. An ancient and a modern instance may make this clear. When the Sultan Mahomed entered Constantinople in triumph a command was given to spare the unarmed citizens, and the entry into St. Sophia was marked by the solemn declaration of our faith. When two hundred years before Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders and the short-lived and ignoble Latin Empire founded the city was given over to a three days' sack, and Christian soldiers and abandoned women carried on ribald orgies in the Church of Holy Christian Wisdom! "The infidels," says a Greek eye-witness, "at any rate respect churches and women." The Ecumenical Patriarch, Joachim, of New Rome, died a short time ago. This ecclesiastic, head of the Orthodox Eastern Church, was a great personality, of commanding presence and graceful flowing speech. He was welcome wherever he went, beloved and respected alike by Christian and Moslem. He was a Turkish subject! The head of the Latin Church lives in a Christian land, as an Italian among Italians, and holds himself a prisoner in his own palace! When we have been cruel our cruelty has been against stubborn unbelievers, but Christians have reserved the Inquisition, the faggot and the stake for their own people!

MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN.

If we recross the strait it will be interesting to us to compare the Christian Europe we found with the Christian Europe we leave behind. The Latin Christian of that time was ignorant and superstitious, but simple, hardy, brave and ready to die for what he held dear in temporal and eternal things. Is Christian Europe at this moment guided by the spirit of its Book? In the far-reaching statecraft of Rome, in the self-righteous conceit of the smallest sect, is there found the spirit of this Lord? And how is it with us? Ignorant, superstitious, backward we may be, but we are simple in our ways and believing in our minds. Still the muezzin proclaims to the Faithful the oneness of God and the truth of His Prophet, still at the hour of prayer the believer kneels on his carpet with eyes and heart towards the Holy Place. We still make our faith a part of our daily life. Some Christian people do not now care if their little ones never hear the story of the Crucified, never shelter beneath the tree that grows for the healing of the nations.

"Verily (God forbiddeth wickedness and iniquity and oppression. He admonisheth you that ye may reflect." We will be admonished, we will reflect, and if we depart we may return—not the Turk alone, but all Islam, and with us a mighty host of those that know not the Path. And in that day the host will question with the trampet and argue with the armed, and ask: "Are the East and the South, are Asia and Africa, for ever to labour with unceasing toil while Europe alone put her hand in the dish of savoury meats and presses wine of pleasure from our sanguine grapes of pain."

The Case of Turkey.

(By Sir WILLIAM M. RAMSAY.)

A TURKISH WOMAN'S EUROPEAN IMPRESSIONS. By Zeyneb Hanoum. Edited by Miss Grace Ellison. Portrait by Rodin and 28 other photographs. London. Seeley, Service, and Co. Pp. 246. 6s. net.

"A Turkish Woman's Impression" is a fascinating book, interesting both to the ordinary reader from its direct simplicity and to those who want to understand better the strange phenomena of Western Asia and European Turkey—two different though related problems. The reviewer has read nothing so informing and illuminating for a long time—nothing since Lady Duff Gordon's "Letters From Egypt" and an old book, now wholly forgotten, the "Private Life of an Eastern Queen"; but the newest is in some ways the best of the three. He can vouch for the truth of the facts, most of which he knew from several good authorities; but the personality revealed in the letters is new to him, and full of charm; and Miss Ellison is to be congratulated on the tact and skill with which she has done her work, effacing herself (except in the footnotes, pp. 160, 207, &c., where she appears as a devout Catholic) and allowing Zeyneb Hanoum a free stage with just the needed explanations to the public. The "Higher Critic" who knows a little about Turkey might be disposed to find disquieting slips in one or two cases and might doubt whether the lady had been at Goudjeh "after having visited the ruins of Tauscheer," and might say that it could not be the case that "the foreign posts were searched through and through" (pp. 128, 133); but this would only prove how fallacious is the "Higher Criticism" when not employed with insight and sympathy and abundant knowledge. The foreign posts were inviolable to Government agents or police, and could not be searched through; very many Turks got letters and books regularly in that way in spite of Abdul-Hamid's disgust and attempts to prevent it; but the lady elsewhere explains how her own post was examined. She was, too, at Goudjeh, missed the train there, did not stay at the poor little hotel (as the company was Turkish and feminine), and found hospitality with the Hodja; but the ruins which she visited were not Tauscheer, and the morning baths ready for them in the Hodja's house are not to be found in ordinary Turkish villages. The fact is that Zeyneb Hanoum, after growing disgusted with Europe—and no wonder, considering the character of much that she saw,—viewed everything Turkish through the enchanting glasses of distance. She fled with her sister from Turkey, and soon began to long for it again. A few days of liberty to enjoy the sunlight were a delightful experience. Then came loathing of the artificial society which they saw around them; and this was naturally intensified when the sister married. It is more characteristic of the West than of the true Asiatic that people are dissatisfied with what they have, and long for what they have not, only to grow sick of it if their longing is gratified. She returns to Turkey, longing to tell her old Circassian uncle that he had been right when he warned her "Life does not consist in always asking for more . . . Live happily on as little as you can"; and she hears in starting that her uncle has just died. A Circassian uncle means that her mother was Circassian also. Her grandfather (as I have heard) was French. Turkish blood could come to her only from a possibly Turkish or half-Turkish grandmother. A Young Turk who quarrelled with and left the extremists of his party said to the present reviewer, "What is an Osmanli? I am called an Osmanli; but my father was an Albanian and my mother a Circassian."

The whole Young Turkish movement springs from the mixed blood and mixed education which is characteristic of European Turkey. You rarely find a pure Turk in blood among the governing class. Circassian, Georgian, and other foreign wives are, and long have been, so common among the wealthier Turks that these have become less and less Turk as the generations pass. In a remote Circassian village of refugees in the sleepiest part of Turkey the reviewer finds himself forthwith in a different atmosphere, surrounded by the eager questioning, aspiring spirit of the West. Though Circassians come into Turkey from the East they are not of the Asiatic type; if they ever really learn contentment it has been forced upon them as the lesson of a hard life. Moreover, in the wealthier Turkish households European governesses were common. The French governesses were not a healthy moral influence; they were selected at random and not from good surroundings, and Zeyneb Hanoum mentions how much evil thought and literature they introduced into Turkish families. English governesses were much better. They came from a more educated class, and they regarded their work as a profession, whereas the French looked on it as an episode to be brought to an end as quickly and easily as possible. The French language, however, was all-important; it was the language of diplomacy and government, where Turkish was not enough,

and French teachers were more needed than English. Another cause of mixture lay in the increasing numbers of Albanian and other non-Turkish Moslems who established their position in the governing class. The very idea of a governing class is non-Turkish. The Turks are tribal and patriarchal; there exists among them a feeling of freedom, ease, and equality in the real things of life, tempered by deep and voluntary respect paid by youth to age and experience, and by subordinate to superior in desert and knowledge; and this makes the society of the true Turkish kind extraordinarily charming. But this spirit is diametrically opposed to the deeper distinction of classes. Moreover, the natural unmixed Turks are usually unable to take on the training required for a governing class, and this class had to be recruited largely from the half or entirely European Moslem. Forty years ago or more the natural Turk in official position had a Greek or Armenian clerk to guide him in the discharge of his duty, read the documents to him, point out where he should affix his seal, and so on. Now he is expected, as member of the governing class, to do all this himself.

There never was a case in which so comparatively small a minority controlled the whole machinery as the government of the Young Turks. The question was being tested whether the new Western spirit could control the old, and also whether Turkey was one of the nations which can produce the right man when the need arises. Rarely has there been an experiment more interesting. In the beginning it seemed very hopeful, the spirit of enthusiasm and self-abnegation and personal sacrifice was for a time triumphant and pervasive. We hoped that after all a reformed Turkey was a possibility. The Young Turks, however, did not realise how big was the task, people in Constantinople talked of the rise of Japan, but never knew what work and time were expended on it, and never dreamed of doing such work in Turkey; Turks outside of the circle of Constantinople thought nothing at all. Simply to ignore difficulties is not to overcome them. The vast inert mass of Osmanli, i. e., real Turkish, feeling remained unmoved by the new spirit. The section of the Young Turks which was most active indulged in the German dream of unifying Turkey by a foreign war fought successfully; they forgot, or did not know, that such a war could only be fought by an appeal to the race feeling, which must annihilate their power, and to the Moslem religious feeling, which had little or no hold on their Europeanised minds. Peace for thirty years was the prime necessity for real reform; but they tried by force to impose on the non-Turkish parts of the country an Osmanli unity which was wholly unreal and which was alien to themselves, and they set about doing this by the old Turkish methods of oppression and torture. The army which they tried to create must, of course, consist of Turkish soldiers and officers, for the Christian contingent was small and not trusted. The present writer has known of Christian soldiers, but none of them had ever had a rifle in their hands; they were exercised with dummy weapons. The army was Oriental, the methods were German, and there was no sufficient means to put the methods into efficient use.

At the same time it is quite absurd and shows mere ignorance of facts to say that the Young Turks ruined the splendid Turkish army. There has not ever been in Turkey in modern times a splendid army. Abdul Hamid maintained in Constantinople efficient troops, well trained and well equipped, for his own protection. The rest of the army, even that of Macedonia, was unpaid, without ammunition or proper guns or equipment, a mere rabble, unfit to fight even a single battle against an army. Turkey could win the Greek War under Abdul Hamid because the Greek forces were undrilled and more like a rabble than a modern army. The Greek army is very different now from then. The Turkish army in the Crimean War was a jest to the Allies. In the last Russian War it was managed either with incompetence or with treachery by its officer. Plevna was an apparent exception; but, if the truth were told Plevna was not so glorious as Adrianople. Set aside a few cases in which a Turkish force was entirely controlled by a capable European—e. g., at Kars under Williams,—and it is evident that in war Turkey always showed itself quite incapable of using modern equipment. The young Turks improved their army; but every step in improvement was a step in the wrong direction and made for revival of the Osmanli spirit, and that spirit as it revived swept them away. Now they are once again trying to control to their own purposes the Osmanli pride of race; but the more success they gain, the more completely they deny their first intentions and estrange our sympathies. Just as formerly they resorted to the last great massacre of Adana in order to prevent an outbreak which they (perhaps needlessly, perhaps with reason) feared of Armenian national feeling in Cilicia, so there is grave reason to think that they are resorting to Abdul Hamid's method of preparing and conciliating the eastern Kurds to break the Armenians of the northern Turkish provinces. How they will try to conciliate the non-Turkish Moslems of Syria and Arabia, who dislike and tend to despise the strong and stolid Turks as dull and stupid, one cannot forecast. The

future for Turkey is black and threatening. What may be in store is not for mere man to imagine or foresee; but storm and disaster are more probable than peace, even if the dissensions among the Allies and the financial exhaustion and moral weariness of the Bulgarians should enable the Turks to avoid further serious disaster in this war and bring them out of it better than was expected. The task which would then be set to a few half-Europeanised Turks of controlling Moslem peoples of Asia Minor and Kurdistan and Syria and Arabia is one which promises very badly. Yet one thing is certain. The holding of an alien European territory by the Osmanli has long been a source of weakness. Anatolia proper is the stronghold of the Osmanli, and a reasonably efficient rule there would strengthen, not weaken, the Turkish Empire.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Relations of the Allies.

The Interests of Bulgaria.

Sofia, Mar. 14.

Replying to interpellations in the Sobranje to-day, the Premier M. Gueshoff, said:—

However desirous we may be of arriving at peace, this peace must fully recompense us for our enormous sacrifices before the armistice and for our considerable losses after the renewal of hostilities, which were provoked by the refusal of the new Young Turk Government to accept the unanimous advice of the Great Powers and the decisions not less unanimous of the Great Divan convoked by Kiamil Pasha. The elementary principles of justice demand that we shall be given more than we should have been content with before. Only people of superficial judgment can assert that after the renewal of the war we should gain no appreciable advantage. The failure of the Turkish landing, so long and carefully prepared, the destruction of a battleship in the absence of any warships on our side, the memorable defeat at Bulair, when the Turks, according to their own statement, had more than 14,000 killed and wounded, the inability of the enemy to show themselves outside the fortified positions—these are facts that, together with the brilliant capture of Yanina by our allies, the Greeks, prove irrefutably that our enemies have now no right to demand conditions more favourable than those which were offered to them by the Allies' delegates during the negotiations in London, and which they sent to the Great Powers to-day, and to express their views concerning what should be given to the Allies after the new and heavy sacrifices which they have borne, not by any fault of their own. We hope that the judgment will be such as by its wisdom and its justice will commend itself to both parties.—*Kreter*

Mar. 15.

The Sobranje to-day debated the statement made by the Premier yesterday regarding the war and the questions arising out of it. The leaders of the Opposition parties approved the general tone of the Premier's statement, which they said, would do something to calm the agitation in the country, but they did not share the optimism of the Government regarding the final results of the task undertaken by the Balkan union. They vigorously condemned the attitude of the Greeks and Servians, who, they said, were pursuing a policy of conquest to the detriment of the Bulgarians in the occupied territories, attempting to demoralize them by methods of intimidation and violence. The various speakers also condemned the policy of the Government in the dispute with Rumania, declaring that the demands presented by Rumania at the time when Bulgaria was occupied in the south were as extortionate as they were baseless. All the speakers, however, declared that the Government could rely on their entire support in the defence of national interests against the enemy and the ambitions of rivals.—*Kreter*.

Greek Aims and Hopes.

Athens, Mar. 15.

M. Venevelos, speaking in the Chamber to-day on the relations between the Allies, said that difficulties in the question of the annexation of the various districts must appear, for the feelings of national exclusiveness were always strong. He hoped that in spite of everything, the difficulties would be surmounted, and he was confident that the partition of the conquered territory would be traced not by the local military authorities, who regarded things from the somewhat restricted outlook of the soldier, or by Chauvinistic elements, but by the responsible Governments, and that the Governments would have enough patriotism to be inspired with equity and justice, having in view the future and the importance to the Balkan peoples of continuing a line of policy which would have results very different from those of their former antagonism.—*Kreter*.

Egypt and the War.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, Mar. 18.

THE fall of Janina came as a great surprise out here. In fact, in Turco-Egyptian circles the news caused somewhat of a shock. The peace negotiations are being followed with interest, and a certain amount of anxiety is felt as to the events that will follow the conclusion of hostilities. Advice from Constantinople and other parts of Turkey show that the country is in a very discontented state, and that the army is expected, once its labours in the field are at an end, to become somewhat of an element of unrest on account of its resentment of the murder of Naim Pasha. It is quite thought in Turco-Egyptian circles that Turkey is on the verge of another revolution, and in this connection it is interesting to note that Kiamil Pasha, in an interview which he granted to *El Mokattam* last Saturday, confirmed this view of the situation. The ex-Grand Vizier was further of opinion that the Powers would not allow the Allies to insist on the payment of an indemnity by the Porte, as such a payment would prejudice the interest of the foreign bondholders.

The Fears of Germany.

THE *Novos Vremya* is once more seized with an attack of melancholy at the idea of the opportunity which Russian diplomacy has allowed to slip without at least getting hold of the Straits. "The incessant wars," it says, "between Russia and Turkey have been conducted on various pretexts and under various watchwords. Every pretext had its proper value, but the chief motive power which always impelled the Russian nation in its attacks had the keys of the door which closes the Black Sea." To this end all Russian's actions were directed, though invariably in a roundabout way. "Instead of simply gaining possession of the Straits, Russian diplomacy always preferred to move towards them along the Balkan coast, freeing on the way Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and even distant Greece. As the result, in spite of all the disproportionate sacrifices in blood and treasure, Russian diplomacy has to this day been unable to achieve its aim." The present moment was specially favourable. "The Balkan War supplied Russia with the possibility of putting an end once for all to the unnatural situation which condemns the vital interests of the southern half of our country to depend upon the arbitrariness and even the whims of foreign politicians. We had a moment when with the least effort of will the question of the free passage of Russia to the Mediterranean might have been definitely solved without inciting any opposition. But the opportunity was missed, and who can say whether it will ever be repeated?"

It is no doubt this wild talk, supported by an entire chorus of lesser journals, which has acted on the nerves of Germany, or at least has supplied the German militarists with a fresh pretext for an increase of armaments. In his last review of foreign affairs Professor Schumann writes thus:—"In France the idea of a 'revanche' has never since the time of Bonaparte been so much alive as it is now. In Russia, on the other hand, a clique of unscrupulous politicians are working hard to impose their will on the Tsar, who is actuated by pacific intentions, and on his two best counsellors, MM. Kokortseff and Sazonoff, with a view to unchaining that war between the Slavs and the Germans from which their excited imagination is expecting the destruction of Germany and Austria-Hungary—this with the help of France and with the support of England. This is an ancient dream which as far back as 1848 was propagated by Bakunin at the congress of Slav revolutionists in Prague, and which has since then always recurred in varying forms. It is now once more alive, and the official and non-official celebrations in connection with the Bismarck tercentenary have given rise to fresh appeals against this country and her Austro-Hungarian neighbour. This movement has for its object the possession of Constantinople on the one hand and the domination over the Far East on the other. As for the French sentiments, the least that the French demand from us is a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine—a plebiscite which, in their opinion, will fall out in favour of France. Still more patriotic people dream even of the Rhine frontier, but all are agreed that nothing must take place that could be considered as an admission to the treaty of Frankfurt. There can be no doubt that M. Potemkin lives amidst these ideas; since he has sent to St. Petersburg as ambassador M. Delcasse, who, in addition to the general 'revanche,' has still to obtain, like M. Izvolsky, a personal 'revanche.'—*The Manchester Guardian*.

THE
ROYAL COMMISSION
ON THE
PUBLIC SERVICES IN
INDIA, 1913

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rule 20, of Act V of 1908.)

Suit No. 95 of 1912

IN THE COURT OF ADDITIONAL MUNSIFF, FYZABAD.

CHHEDI PLAINTIFF,

versus

DOOKHI DEFENDANT.

To

Dookhi, son of Gurdial, Sakhal, of Bazar Saadatganj, comprised in Aboosarai, Pargana Magalsi, District Fyzabad, presently residing in Rangoon Gurgur Company, city Rangoon.

Whereas the Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for 147-4-8 you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 29th day of April 1913, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 4th day of April 1913

By Order,

RAJ BHADUR,

Munsiff.

NOTICE.

- (1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.
- (2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.
- (3)—A * accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—If written statements are required, say—You are or such a party is, as the case may be required to put in a written statement by the day of

* Fill in "copy of the plaint" or "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be, Vide Order V, rule 2, Code of Civil Procedure.

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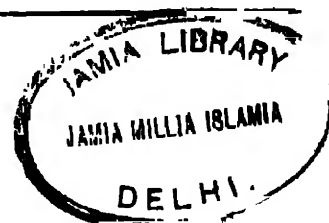
The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal

Edited by - Mohamed Ali

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.



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Indians in South Africa.

A message from Capetown states that in the Union Assembly the other day Mr. Fisher, Minister of the Interior, notified that he would introduce an Immigration Bill on the 14th instant. Mr. Polak, interviewed at Durban, said he had consulted with Mr. Gandhi regarding the Bill, and had come to the conclusion that it was entirely unacceptable to Indians. Unless it were materially altered, there would be a revival of passive resistance which would not be confined to the Transvaal.

Indian Finance Commission.

The appointment and constitution of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance is notified in the following *communiqué*:—The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate and report upon certain administrative questions relating to Indian Finance and Currency. The Commission is constituted as follows:—The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M. P., Chairman, Lord Faber, Lord Kilmorock, G. C. B., Sir Robert Chalmers, K. C. B., Sir Ernest Cable, Sir Shapurji Burjorji Broacha, Sir James Hoggie, Mr. Robert Woodburn Gillan, C. S. I., Mr. Henry Nevill Gladstone, Mr. John Maynard Keynes, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and lecturer in economics. The following are the terms of reference:—To enquire into the location and management of the general balances of the Government of India, the sale in London of council bills and transfers, the measures taken by the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India in Council to maintain the exchange value of the rupee in pursuance of or supplementary to the recommendations of the Indian Currency Committee of 1898, more particularly with regard to the location, disposition and employment of the gold standard and paper currency reserves, and whether the existing practice in these matters is conducive to the interests of India. Also to report as to the suitability of the financial organisation and procedure of the India Office and to make recommendations.

Police Torture in India.

In the House of Commons Sir William Byles raised the case of a police sub-inspector who was sentenced in September, 1911, to eight years' rigorous imprisonment for torture and who was subsequently convicted in February 1913 on another charge. Mr. Montagu, in reply, said: "Regarding an alteration of the law permitting confessions to be used against prisoners the Government of India is considering the views of local Government, and hopes soon to arrive at a decision. We are enquiring of the Government of India regarding the conduct of an Indian Honorary Magistrate who recorded extorted confessions as voluntary. The only satisfaction we can feel, and it is not much satisfaction, is that the number of torture cases is diminishing."

The New Delhi.

In the House of Commons, Mr. King asked whether it was an instruction from Lord Curzon that the Government of India

The Week.

Persia.

The survey for a new railway from Karachi to Eastern Persia has now been completed.

The Central India Horse from Shiraz have arrived safely at Koyunlu and expects to reach Beraujan on 14th April.

The Persian Legation announces that Government troops have captured the Boer Ahmadi rebels responsible for the murder of Captain Eckford and have destroyed their strongholds. Pressure has been brought to bear on Mohammed Ali Khan for the surrender of the leaders of the attack on Consul Smart and Captain Eckford, and Government hope that the culprits will soon be apprehended.

Sir W. Townley, the British Minister, on the 14th April handed the Persian Government £900,000, the British share in the joint Russo-British advance. The money will be under the control of the Russian General.

A message from St. Petersburg states that the Foreign Minister has submitted to the Cabinet a proposal for the creation of a Consulate at Karsin.

had declared that the site and architecture of the new Delhi were not to be discussed in the Legislative Council, and whether, in view of the fact that the whole cost of the new Delhi would be borne by the India taxpayer, Lord Crewe would recommend the Viceroy to lay the plans before the Council. In reply Mr. Montagu said that no such declaration had been made. In stating that it was not proposed to put forward questions referred to for discussion, the Government of India in no wise interfered with the liberty of members to raise and debate topics of public interest. Lord Crewe did propose to instruct the Government of India in the manner suggested. Alluding to a passage in the last report of the Consulting Architect regarding the increasing number of Chinese workmen in Indian building operations Mr. King asked Mr. Montagu whether he would undertake that Chinese labour should not be employed on the new Delhi. Mr. Montagu said that Lord Crewe has seen the passage, and sympathised with Mr. King's apprehension. He would bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India. The King further asked what security there would be for the necessary personal supervision of the work, in view of the fact that one of the architects of the new Delhi had his office at Johannesburg and the other in London. Mr. Montagu replied that an agreement with the architects would guard against the apprehensions on which the question was based.

Director of Public Instruction.

A *communiqué* issued by the Education Department states — On the recommendation of the Government of India the Secretary of State has appointed Mr. Hornell, formerly of the Indian Educational Service in Bengal, and now occupying a responsible post at the Board of Education in England, to the Indian Educational Service. Mr. Hornell is also appointed Director of Public Instruction in Bengal for five years. The Government of Bengal and the Government of India contemplate an active policy of improvement and expansion of education in Bengal, particularly in primary and secondary education. For carrying out this policy the Government of Bengal require an officer with special experience and qualifications, and a knowledge of modern development in education. While recognising the attainments of officers serving in the province the Local Government considered that none had the special experience and qualifications required. They therefore applied to the Government of India, under the terms of the Government of India Resolution No. 679, dated the 12th September 1900, and suggested the appointment of Mr. Hornell, who possessed in an exceptional degree the experience and qualification required, for a period of five years only, in order to carry out the desired reforms. The Government of India, while recognising the attainments of several members of the Indian Educational Service, were unable, in special circumstances of Bengal at this juncture, to make a suitable selection from the ranks of the Indian Educational Service in the other provinces. Their decision involves no departure from declared policy, the procedure which has been strictly followed, and certainly no reflection on the professional capacity of members of the Indian Educational Service. It was governed solely by the peculiar needs of Bengal at the present time. Mr. Hornell, having been in touch with modern developments of education in England, and having served as Inspector and Assistant Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, has exceptional qualifications for the post. Indeed another Local Government has recently applied for his services as Director of Public Instruction in that province.

The *Statesman* publishes the following special cablegram, dated London, April 14:—To-day's official announcement of Mr. Hornell as Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, had caused widespread astonishment in view of the repeated positive declarations in Parliament that the Secretary of State would adhere to Lord Morley's memorandum. Mr. Montagu now states that the appointment was made at the express recommendation of the Government of India. This will be challenged in the House of Commons, as the appointment is regarded as subversive of the whole policy of Indian Education, and is calculated to cause disquietude and dismay. The subject will also be raised in the Indian budget debate.

The All-India Medical Mission.

Dardanelles, Mar. 24, 1914.

I am afraid I was not able to write to you last week owing to the fact that just when I was preparing to write the letter some new patients arrived and I had to attend to them. After my last letter in which I said that the number of admissions in the hospital was 51, two more batches of patients arrived sending our total up to 116. These patients were also all medical cases with a few exceptions. Two of these patients arrived in the hospital in such a moribund condition that, in spite of every effort they died in a few hours. We have already returned

fifteen patients completely cured to their regiments, and another batch of twenty was to have left for Constantinople yesterday, but was prevented by the mistake of the Medical Officer of the hospital-ship. Our total mortality has been six, two of the patients dying as I have already explained to you. One was a hopeless case of intestinal obstruction; one died of tetanus contracted previous to his admission in the hospital and dying within fifteen minutes of his arrival. One died of septicæmia following moist gangrene and one in a most unexpected manner of internal hæmorrhage after a passage of a very large tape worm. I need not tell you that all the doctors and the nurses did everything possible for the patients. We have at present ninety-five patients in the wards, most of them well on their way towards recovery, a few suffering from grave maladies. Four operations have been performed on the in-patients and two on the out-patients with excellent results. There are about four more patients who will be operated upon as soon as they are strong enough to stand the strain of the operation.

We have got a daily increasing number of out-patients visiting our hospital not only from Chanak Kila town and garrison, but also from the fleet, from Kikedi Bahr and Midos across the Strait and from country places at some distance from this place. We have even had the high compliment paid to us by visits of patients from Gallipoli.

I must briefly mention some of the incidents happening in the wards, which have the cordial relations between the patients and the staff; for instance, on the day when the patients were being discharged to return to their army one actually fell over Khalik's shoulder and cried, the other kissed Manzoor's hands and cheeks, and another simply refused to go.

The patients simply worship the nurses. It is a sight to see their faces when they see the "Affondies" entering their wards. A very touching incident showing the esteem of the patients came from Omerli. Shonib had gone to Constantinople for a day and was delayed there for another day. On his return to his ward all his patients turned their backs on him and would not speak to him—because he had left them for two days! An Arab patient in his great desire to express his admiration and regard for him asked him to go to his country with him where his young and pretty sister would be very happy to marry and serve him.

Innumerable incidents happen every day in the wards—too many to be related; suffice it to say that the relations of our patients with us are brotherly. They are pleased with us without doubt, and we are happy and contented to serve them.

Izzat Pasha, Enver Bey and Ahmed Abouk Pasha are coming to our Omerli Hospital sometime next week, and so I am thinking of being present there on the occasion.

Besides I have to go to Omerli to arrange many other matters in connection with the medical staff of the hospital, as Dr. Naim is obliged to return to India by the boat leaving on the 5th April.

I have written to England for two other Muhammadan doctors, but I am doubtful of getting them. Dr. Mirza Raza Khan also wishes to return to Edinburgh by the end of this month.

The question of doctors is at present worrying me a great deal, but I hope to arrange it satisfactorily.

I hope you are well posted with the news from Constantinople. Unfortunately my absence will make some difference and even Abdul Rahman has been away from Constantinople on a visit to our hospital here. But I am hoping the Ottoman Agency has been sending you news as arranged through the Committee of Union and Progress. It seems there are some sort of peace negotiations going on about which the Press in Turkey is very ill-informed. If it is true I understand that the middle of April will see the end of all hostilities.

I have not yet heard of any definite proposal from you regarding the organisation of help to the refugees, but I will consult the Croissant Rouge and other Government authorities regarding the opening of an organisation for the relief of the refugees and settle them on farms in Asia Minor.

There are some half a dozen members of my Mission ready to take up the organisation of that work after the cessation of peace when our hospitals naturally will not be needed. Before my return I would make every arrangement for the relief organisation, but I will expect definite instructions from you on the matter.

With my kindest regards to all and love to you from the members of the Mission.

MURTAZA AHMED AHMED.

TETE À TETE



Dr. Ansari in his letter, dated Constantinople, 1st April, received with this week's mail, writes as follows:—"The news of the fall of Adrianople must have caused deep grief to the Mussalmans of India; but Shukri Pasha

The All-India Medical Mission.

and his garrison have convinced the whole world of the bravery of the Turkish soldiers. The Bulgars only got one great smouldering ruin when they got there. For the last two days Enver Bey has been pressing the enemy hard at Tchataldja. Yesterday he advanced to Biliiri and captured two batteries of the Bulgars and killed between three to five thousands of the enemy. The spirit of the army is splendid, and if God will help them they would do some considerable damage to the enemy. Last night the Powers presented their note for peace; the Midia-Enez line was proposed and the fate of the islands was to be decided by the Powers later on. It is most likely in three to four days peace would be concluded. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is here; but, owing to the great preoccupation of the Cabinet, has not been able to see many Ministers. In my next letter I will write to you at length. To-day I have only time to write a brief note. I arrived here yesterday from Chanak Kila, as, owing to Dr. Nam's departure, I found it necessary to personally conduct the Omerli Section. Most of the fighting is, as you know, at present on this side." Our readers will be interested to learn that Dr. Naim has safely returned to India, though he never gave us the least information when landing in Bombay or even when passing Delhi. Were it not for the fact that Nawab Vihar-ul-Mulk writes this to us there was every likelihood of our regarding it as a hoax and a poor one at that, for we could not have believed it. Dr. Naim is at Anraha where his father-in-law is Tahsildar, and intends to remain there for another fortnight. Three other members of the Mission have returned to India. Dr. Shamaul Barry wired to us from Bombay that he had posted a letter from Bassim Omar Pasha, but has not yet taken any notice of our complaint that this letter never reached us. Mr. Abdul Wahed Khan is still with his friends and relations, but we hope he will include us among his friends and pay us a visit. Mr. Husain Baza Beg is the only member of the Mission whom we have been enabled to see since his return. But considering that he lives only in Ghaziabad and has relations living in Delhi, it would have been strange if even he had given us a wide berth. We wonder whether Dr. Ansari—we mean Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, for if our contemporaries were to be believed, there must at least be a dozen Dr. Ansaris who favour them with very interesting letters every week full of sensational news with which we should be not favoured—we wonder if even Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari is here—in Delhi—now and to-day—having reached here a week ago, without informing us of his arrival owing to—want of time! According to his letter at least he is still in Turkey, and we have sent him a cable to-day requesting him to send us detailed proposals and estimates of relief work which some half a dozen members of his Mission are willing to undertake in Asia Minor even after his departure, and we have asked him to send us the names of the workers and of the Director whom he wishes to nominate for this work. So long as our readers will go on assisting us with funds we shall not stop working for the relief of the millions of sufferers from this the most terrible of all wars of modern times. Let us see who first cries "Halt!"

When a plan to expedite the issue of the Ottoman Treasury Bonds we sent the following cablegram to Dr. Ansari on the 12th instant:—"No information Bonds. Consent not replying for receiving money from Banks. Send Bonds. Inform when expected. Money lying in Banks. Arrange

"authority for Banks cabling money to Finance Minister at Ottoman Government expense." The following cablegram was received in reply from Dr. Ansari on the 17th instant—"Finance Minister cabling instructions Banks. Bonds ready two months. Capital redeemed five years by yearly payments Finance Department sending provisional receipts immediately. Forwarding sample." As we go to press we are favoured by H. E. Djafer Bey, the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay, with the following telegram:—"Replying your article 12 instant, inform you an Ottoman functionary has been specially sent Leipzig purpose ordering prepare stereotype plates print Treasury Bonds. But as you understand, that requires certain time. There is not other means but collect money against provisional receipts delivered by Banks. As to telegraphic remittance of sums of 16,688 which Ottoman Consulate received from Alliance Bank including branches till to-day which have not been cashed not being amount to be sent by telegram awaits large balance remaining in the Bank to be yet remitted." We fear we have been unable to understand the latter part of the telegram and are wiring for further explanation. What a pity,

لانو بلرمن ترکی ومن ترکی نسی دایم

The latest news about the Bonds is the telegram just received from the French Bank at Bombay which runs as follows:—

"Have received a telegram from Constantinople. They have sent original Bonds. Expect them two or three weeks. Please publish. Comptoir National."

Some correspondence has taken place between Mr. Pagan Dalsell, the Agent of the Alliance Bank of Simla, Ottoman Finance.

"Limited," Delhi, and myself in connection with Ottoman Treasury Bonds on account of an article in *Capital* to which Mr. Dalsell refers, which appeared under the heading "Ottoman Finance" over the initials "E. H." and runs as follows:—"The existing Ottoman Government in Constantinople, commonly known as that of the Young Turk, is reputed to have issued bonds to the value of £2,000,000 for distribution among the Mussalmans of India, for cash at face value of course. The Turkish Government is, without any shadow of doubt, bankrupt, and not for the first time either. If reports speak truly the Crown jewels have been pledged, a valuable concession for the construction of a railway in Asia Minor has leased at very much under the real value, Italy, acting probably on the prompting of Germany, has been in negotiations (not yet concluded) to practically purchase one or more of the Aegean Islands she is occupying. All these expedients have been resorted to obtain cash, and, if further evidence of the inability of the Ottoman Empire to pay its way is needed, there is the little matter of unpaid salaries to subordinate Government officials and there is the super-Dreadnought, to be called the "Neshed-el-Hamisa," which was laid down for Turkey in Vickers' yard in December, 1910, and is as yet unfinished and undelivered because the remaining money due on account of it has not been forthcoming. Therefore the Government of the Young Turkish Party, the men who are responsible for the death of Hussein Pasha Nasim and for driving Kamil Pasha into exile—the two most enlightened and upright men of the nation—are now descending to the issue of petty bonds among the people of the world who believe themselves to be the co-religionists of Moslems of European Turkey. It is believed that bonds to the value of £1,000,000 are being placed in Egypt and bonds to the value of £2,000,000 in India, and in view of this it is interesting to note what was the result of a previous similar issue. It was about the year 1863 that Turkey, then as now with a depleted treasury, issued several million pounds worth of bonds of the value of L. T. 1. and L. T. ½ each. When they matured the most enlightened Government of the Caliph met them by cancellation on payment of from ten to twenty piastres for each note (100 piastres equal L. T. 1.), or at from one-tenth to one-fifth of their face value. Those who protested were speedily taught the wisdom of bowing to the will of Allah as exemplified by the actions of Allah's elite, and of being glad to get anything at all. Whole families were totally ruined, and the distress amongst the poor was widespread. As a very natural consequence, with the recollection yet fresh of what had occurred before in the minds of the people, the attempts of the Turkish Government to issue treasury bonds in the Ottoman Empire itself during the present crisis have met with no response. Therefore, trading under the cloak of religion, the Government has apparently decided to seek pastures in other lands, notably India and Egypt. That it will succeed in getting in a certain amount of money is inevitable, but it seems necessary that the Moslems of India should, with the appeal of the Caliph in their hands, also be in possession of facts revealing the true financial situation in Turkey. The Ottoman Empire is bankrupt. In the light of past experience its own people refuse to come to its assistance, and with the present and future financial outlook, there is no reason to suppose that the present nebulous bond issue will, on maturity, or at any other time,

"can be met at anything like its face value. There is also the very definite uncertainty as to exactly how much of the money produced by the issue will be spent for the public weal and how much will go to swell the bank balances of officials and to decorate the denizens of their seraglios with jewellery. If the Moslem of India, the most living representative of his Faith, decides to respond to the issue, he can put business considerations on one side and make up his mind that he is contributing to charity, of a very nebulous kind at that. He may perhaps, in the far future, see a portion of his capital return to him, but even that is doubtful. If the Turk in his own Empire will not pay more than four shillings in the pound on his treasury bonds, he will not improbably conveniently decline to pay anything at all when the holders of those bonds are several thousands of miles away and are, moreover, a people so situated that they are powerless to enforce their rights. The Moslem of India should be warned before he commits his hard-earned capital to the keeping of the Ottoman Government in exchange for pieces of paper which will be worth their weight as paper and probably never anything more."

Who this "E. H." is, we do not know, but, as we have explained in our reply to Mr. Dalzell, we are not likely to discover in him a great financial expert more versed in Ottoman Finance than Sir Adam Block and the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, or the French and

German financiers who consider Turkey good enough to invest their money in Ottoman Railways and Irrigation Schemes. When the mask is removed, it will not be necessary to scratch Mr. "E. H." before we discover in him our old friend, the "friend" of Turkey, who hailed with delight the advent of the same Kiamil that declared war against the Balkan Allies, and then with the help of the late Nasim Pasha altogether mismanaged it. We have looked up our file of *Capital* to discover if "E. H." is a constant correspondent of the paper, and we find that at least this year the few paragraphs we have quoted above are the virgin effort of this writer. But he has not let the grass grow under his feet, for in the very next issue of the 17th instant he contributes some paragraphs on the "Pink Boll-Worm," technically known as *Golechia Gossypella*, which like its brother, the ordinary Boll-Worm, technically known as *Earias Insulana*, is a formidable enemy of Indian cotton and has even attacked the staple produce of Egypt. "E. H." refers to Egyptian experiences of the "Pink Boll-Worm," and it would, therefore, appear that he is one of the fine products of the Cromer and the Kitchener regimes that afflict a country possessing an unenviable scriptural record of pests and plagues. Between the expert in Boll-Worms, pink, yellow and green, and the authority on High Finance there is a considerable gap; but between the School for Financial Scandal and the writer on *Golechia Gossypella* there seems at least some affinity in sound. A strange contrast and still more strange analogy. Baster apart, there are two matters in the mischievous paragraphs of "E. H." to which we would like to call particular attention. In the first place, as everybody except "E. H." knows, it was not Turkey that appealed to Indian Mussalmans to purchase her Treasury Bonds. It was one of the Indian Mussalmans themselves that offered to canvass for a war loan for Turkey in this country after having secured a favourable pronouncement from His Excellency the Viceroy so long ago as the 1st of November, 1912. The files of the *Comrade* would readily bear us out, and we need therefore say no more about it. In the second place, it was the Government of that model enlightenment and uprightness, Kiamil Pasha himself, that informed us early in November in reply to our cables that the Ottoman Government intended to issue Treasury Bonds, and asked us to let his Government know the quantity that each bank would purchase in India. The Young Turks stepped into the shoes of the Kiamil Government only on the 23rd of January, and if they were the legatees of the damnable hereditas of a beaten army, of a disorganised commissariat and transport, and of empty arsenals and an emptier treasury, can we blame them if, while accepting all this, they also accepted the offer of Indian Mussalmans to lend them what little they could for carrying on this luckless war? If the desire of the Turks to borrow money from Indian Mussalmans is in reality to cheat them, it is Kiamil then and not the Young Turks that can be accused of cheating. Will "E. H." still maintain his theory of intended fraud?

We have reason to believe that in some quarters efforts are being made at this late hour to restrict the sale of the Bonds. Some such efforts were also made when the All-India Medical Mission was about to leave India, but these great personages had counted without

H. E. the Viceroy who knows a thing or two about statesmanship in difficult times which is not part of the paraphernalia of bureaucracy. We leave this matter also in his hands and are sure that even the others will prefer the Bonds to the boycott. In one of Kipling's stories the man who objected to three inches

of water in a Simla grave was buried in it with nine inches of that objectionable liquid. In the course of our letter to Mr. Dalzell, the Agent of the Alliance Bank at Delhi, we have said:—

"I do not know how far the Editor of *Capital* is committed to the views expressed by 'E. H.'; but even if these were the editorial opinions of that journal, Indian Mussalmans would like to know some more facts than are forthcoming in the allegations of this writer. As you know, I have myself invested Rs. 1,125 through you in these Bonds, and have even authorized you to remit the money to the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay in anticipation of the receipt of Bonds in India. I am, therefore, not recommending to my co-religionists an investment which I myself distrust. Similarly, His Highness the Aga Khan, as you must know, has invested Rs. 90,000 in these Bonds, and the *Comrade* published a long communication from him in which he strongly backed the Ottoman Bonds now being issued. His opinion seems, therefore, to be far more disinterested than the sweeping assertions of the writer in *Capital*. Moreover, there is a clear indication in the remarks of 'E. H.' of a political bias against the Government of the Young Turkish Party, the men who are responsible for the death of Hussein Pasha Nazim and for driving Kiamil Pasha—the two most enlightened and upright men of the nation.' In another part of the paper another writer, who signs himself 'Ariel,' writes as follows:— 'The most unedifying chapter in the war in Turkey is that which is now exposed to the world and which might fitly be entitled 'Montenegro and the Big Bullies.' It makes me blush to think that England is numbered among the latter. It is not hard to predict the end if the loyalty of the Allies to each other is steadfast.' To my mind it would have been more to the point if instead of rescuing from the lumber-room an instance of the year 1863, half a century before the Young Turkish Party came into power, the writer had given a more recent instance of Turkish malpractices in financial matters. Nor is it at all relevant that the Crown jewels have been pledged, that a valuable concession for the construction of a railway in Asia Minor is leased at very much under the real value, that Italy is negotiating to practically purchase one or more of the Aegean Islands she is occupying, that the salaries of subordinate Government officials are not paid, and that the money due on account of the Super-Dreadnought laid down for Turkey in Vickers' yard in December, 1910, which is as yet unfinished, has not been forthcoming, and the ship is undelivered. For all that we care these allegations may all be true. We all know that Turkey is at present in financial difficulties, and it is just because she is in this condition that Indian Mussalmans have, of their own accord, and without a previous invitation from Turkey, offered to lend money to her in her hour of need. What is relevant is, whether Turkey, as reconstituted after the war, will be in a position to redeem the Bonds within five years. As you are probably aware, and as the European 'friends' of Turkey have only too often stated, Asiatic Turkey has to a considerable extent been paying for the maintenance of European Turkey, and when Macedonia and Albania are no more Turkish, there is a greater likelihood of surpluses in the Turkish Budgets than of deficits to which the military needs of her European Provinces made her liable. I understand that European financiers were prepared to advance large loans to Turkey if her European Provinces were signed away by the last Government, and you have no doubt read the telegraphic summary of the German Foreign Minister's speech who promises Turkey the support of his country in the development of her Asiatic possessions. These are facts which have wholly been ignored by the writer to whom you refer, and in view of these facts, I do not value his remarks as more than an indication of his financial ignorance brought into all the greater relief by his political bias. In this connection I may add that I sent a wire to Dr. Ansari the other day enquiring about the Bonds and requesting him to arrange with the Ottoman Finance Minister that authority should be given to the Banks here to cable money for the purchase of the Bonds to the Finance Minister at the expense of the Ottoman Government. In reply to this, Dr. Ansari wires to me on the 16th instant that such authority is being sent to the Banks, and I trust when you have received such authority, you will inform me of it and also let me know the action that you are taking in the matter. The Ottoman Consul-General also wires to me from Bombay that a special Ottoman functionary has been sent to London to get stereo plates prepared for the Bonds, but that as this will take some time, money should be paid provisionally against British receipts. I quite appreciate your care and solicitude for those who are dealing through you, and I am sure you are only maintaining the tradition of the best English firms in the matter. But it appears to me that after the publication of the article in question, it is quite sufficient if, in the absence of fresh instructions from your clients cancelling their previous instructions, you act on the only instructions then in your possession. You would have done your duty and nobody would blame you if anything went wrong afterwards." We trust you

readers who have deposited money with the Alliance Bank will instruct the Agent that such writings as those of "E. H." have not altered their desire to assist Turkey with a loan so that the Bank may feel secure and act on their previous instructions.

CAPT. OWEN BERKELEY-HILL, I. M. S., one of our valued correspondents and a constant reader of the *Comrade*, writes to us the following which will no doubt be read with interest:—"I do not know if you are prepared to accept from utterly obscure persons like myself any criticism of your strikingly able Memorandum of Evidence given before the Royal Commission which has appeared as a Supplement to the *Comrade* of March 29th; but, should this be the case, will you allow me to offer you two?

You emphasise, and quite rightly, the astonishing ignorance of the majority of Europeans in India of the vernaculars of the country, and to remedy this evil you suggest on p. 8 of your Memorandum certain alterations in the conduct of the examinations in these languages. I am not in a position to criticise the value of your suggestion, but as an European who has tried hard to learn at least one vernacular of India I have come to the conclusion that the real reason why so many of my countrymen fail to speak a vernacular so as to 'be understood of the people,' (and this is the prime importance), lies not with the examinations but with the teachers. The wealth of any language is in the spoken tongue, in the living utterances of the people. Instead of being taught these Europeans studying Urdu, for instance, are made to learn a great many Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit words which are seldom or never used in speaking. To cull these choice exotics out of dictionaries and foist them on to their European pupils is the peculiar delight of book-learned Munshis and Pundits. These men have banished the people's mother-tongue and forged in its place the artificial language which divides the people and the ruling classes. With might and main they have laboured to keep out the spoken vernacular from the the written language of books, legal procedure and official correspondence, and what they were unable wholly to thrust out of sight they have mutilated, mangled and crushed. They are ashamed it appears, of their mother-tongue. They speak one language in their houses and another when they appear in public. They lavish the most extravagant panegyrics on the pedants who are skilled in weaving elaborate patterns of Arabic inflexions, flowing Persian periods and mystic Sanskrit 'words of lengthening sound.' How large a part of our most grievous political blunders and administrative weakness may not be set down to the use of the vehicle for 'mystification'! How different it might have been if the rulers and the ruled could have communicated with one another in the language of the people. The only way to the mind and heart of a people is through their language. Without this key there can never exist that accurate knowledge of the people and real sympathy with their condition which are the basis of good government. Exemption from the labour of acquiring the people's language is purchased at an incalculably heavy cost, when a small section of the people only is able to learn the foreign language of their rulers or the highly Persianised and Arabic-ridden Urdu of the Courts of law, and so to stand between the governing class and the great body of the people. As the Bengali proverb expresses it—*sāheb bāgān, amla ti berhā!* No, Sir, we Europeans do not consider you 'impertinent' for saying that the English are poor linguists. We know it and, generally I think, are willing to acknowledge it. But to be fair, and I am sure from reading your Memorandum you desire to be nothing else, you must lay some of the blame on the men of this country who teach us Europeans the vernaculars. In Burma where 'Munshis' are rare Englishmen know the language of the country so it should be known, i. e., they can converse freely with classes of society, from the fisherman to the prince." We agree with much of this and invite our readers to suggest remedies for the existing evil. But we may add that the selection of good teachers is after all the duty of the learners and we believe they are not too rare. But when self-opinionated gouty colonels pose as authorities on the vernaculars both text-books and teachers have a tendency to be antique

CAPT. OWEN BERKELEY-HILL has some equally interesting observations to make on social intercourse. He writes:—"You say: '...there is a distaste among Europeans for intimate social intercourse with Asiatics.' This may or may not be the case—I do not share it myself—but may it not be asked if there is not a still greater distaste among Asiatics for 'intimate social intercourse' with Europeans? In support of this contention may I quote the opinion of a distinguished Turk, Vefyk Pasha, who was at one time Minister at Paris? Vefyk Pasha writes about Paris: "What I complain of is the mode of life. I am oppressed not by the official duties but by the social ones. I have had to write fifteen notes this morning, all about trifles. In Turkey life

is *sans gêne*; if a man calls on you he does not leave a card; if he sends you a nosegay he does not expect a letter of thanks—if he invites you he does not expect an answer. There are no engagements to be remembered and fulfilled a fortnight afterwards...There is no dressing for dinners or for evening parties; evening parties indeed do not exist. There are no letters to receive or to answer. Life glides away without trouble. Here everything is troublesome. All enjoyment is destroyed by the forms and ceremonies and elaborate regulations which are intended, I suppose, to increase it or to protect it.....this social despotism, this despotism of salons, this code of arbitrary little règlements, observances, prohibitions, and exigencies, affects everybody, and every day, and every hour.' Surely Vefyk Pasha fairly sums up Oriental feeling about Western modes of life! What we think duties, you think worries, needless obligations on life to make it more tiresome. The Western manner of living has no charm for the vast majority of Asiatics, therefore 'intimate social intercourse' between Orientals and Europeans is more trying for the former than for the latter. Asiatics do not want to dine when they are asked but to dine out when they wish, and the mere notion that if they dine out and have the whim to be silent they may not be silent, is fatiguing to them. Then again, 'intimate social intercourse' for Europeans implies, if it does not involve, the presence of both sexes, and to this the Indian will not, as a general rule, agree. Until Indian ladies are permitted to accompany their male relations, 'social intercourse' between Indians and Europeans can never be 'intimate'. In conclusion, may I quote from a sympathetic writer on India whose works are less well known than they deserve, namely, Mr. Meredith Townsend? Speaking of the separation between the two races Mr. Townsend writes: 'The wall is not, as we believe, difference of manners, or of habits, or of association, for those difficulties have been all conquered by officials, travellers, missionaries, and others, in places like China, where the external difference is so much greater.....The wall is less material than that, and is raised mainly by the Indian himself who, whatever his profession or grade or occupation, deliberately secludes his mind from the European, with a jealous, minute, and persistent care,' etc. But in his most facile moments the Indian never unlocks his mind, never puts it to yours, never reveals his real thought, never stands with his real and whole character confessed, like the Western European.' Without accepting the view that the complaint of Vefyk Pasha is the only or even the main cause of the absence of intimate social relations between Indians and Europeans we are prepared to say that the Asiatic does find European conventions very irksome. But great Empires and narrow insular conventions cannot always go together, and is it not time that having Anglicised the Indian so much the Englishman should himself get a little Indianised? We wrote sometime ago that "we hold that Indians have made considerable sacrifices and have gone more than half way to meet the Englishman socially. Whereas the Indian has adopted the costume that suits the sombre civilization of England, in spite of its expense and discomfort, and—let it be whispered—ugliness, the Englishman has made no concession to Indian sentiment, and almost none to the climatic needs of the country. Similarly an Indian entertaining an Englishman provides not only European cookery, but whether through sheer moral weakness—as we think—or the unbending fastidiousness of his guest—as we are often told—has to supply intoxicants and meats forbidden by his religion, and is willing to draw upon himself the displeasure of his God and the opprobrium of his co-religionists in order to please his European friends. We do not know, on the other hand, of any European host who has kept among his domestic servants a *harachi* who could cook an eatable curry, let alone a *ralabdar* who cooked *kachchi biryani*, *anannas pulao* or *galathhi*. We know all this and feel the ridiculousness of further demands made on our countrymen before admitting them into the social circle of Europeans." To this view we still adhere. As for the exclusion of women, is there no intimate social intercourse between Indian themselves whose ladies do not mix with the gentlemen in society, or is there intimate social intercourse between Indians whose ladies do not observe *pardah* and Europeans? As for the "mysterious East" of Mr. Meredith Townsend, the greatest "mystery" is that of ignorance and the Western self-sufficiency that is the mother of ignorance. We hope our valued correspondent will deal with these questions at some length.

IT WILL be remembered that Lord Lamington recently asked a question in the House of Lords about the cruelties practised by the Balkan States on Muhammadans in the course of the war. It was, in fact, a protest against the policy of Sir Edward Grey, who had deprecated all references to the Balkan atrocities in the House of Commons on the score that it would incite Moslem feeling in India. Lord Lamington maintained, on the contrary, that it was exactly this attitude of studied silence which gave a just cause of suspicion and resentment to Indian Moslems. We noticed the attitude of Sir Edward Grey

at the time as well as the feeble plea put forth by Lord Morley on his behalf, though we accidentally omitted to refer to the question asked by Lord Lamington. A few days ago, we received a letter from Lord Lamington in which his Lordship, while calling our attention to this omission, says that he specially asked this question in the House of Lords "in the hopes of getting an answer to show Muhammadans in India that there were fair-minded people in this country." Need we assure his Lordship that the Indian Moslems have not yet lost their confidence in the sense of justice and fairplay of the British nation as a whole, however disappointing the attitude of individual British politicians may have lately appeared to them. As a matter of fact, we made full acknowledgment of it at the time in our Urdu daily the *Humaid*, as the following extract from its issue of the 23rd February will show:— "May God bless Lord Lamington, late Governor of Bombay, who never fails to raise his voice and call the attention of those responsible for the British Government to the distressed condition of Muhammadans whenever any misfortune befalls Islam. It can not surely be said in the case of Lord Lamington that he is a member of an irresponsible class, inasmuch as he was for some time the ruler of an important province of His Majesty's Indian dominions. The English people, in fact, should be grateful to such fair-minded Englishmen as his Lordship, for it is they who screen the nation. Our readers must have learnt through yesterday's cablegram that Lord Lamington called the attention of His Majesty's Government towards the atrocities committed by the Balkan States over the Moslems of Macedonia. The effect that these atrocities have produced on the hearts of Indian Moslems is well-known to us and our readers. Lord Lamington forcibly contradicted the assertion of the Foreign Minister that the questions that were being asked in the House of Commons on the subject of atrocities would cause further incitement to feeling in India."

WE HAVE received a copy of the prospectus of "the Aligarh Preparatory School for English Universities and the Professions." The school will be designed primarily for those students who desire to proceed to England to prosecute their studies there. Its principal objects will be "to provide in India at a comparatively small expense an education, which in England is very costly both in money and time, and to make a student pass in India an examination, which will admit him into any English University or into any Profession in England without the worry and uncertainty of a preliminary examination in England." To secure these objects candidates will be prepared for the Cambridge Junior and Senior Local Examinations held in India twice a year. Provision will also be made for preparing candidates for other preliminary examinations of the English Universities and for the earlier stages of the Civil Service Examination. The school was to be opened about the middle of this month. We are told that "the services of a European Professor of great experience have been secured. He will reside with the pupils and will be assisted by a sufficient staff of assistants." The inclusive charges for board, lodging and tuition will be Rs. 75 a month, "the cost will be about one-fourth the cost of similar education in England." The prospectus does not give the period of training for candidates nor does it specify qualifications necessary for admission to the school. The need for the creation of a school such as this is obvious, and if a really competent staff is secured, the success of the scheme may be confidently looked for. The public will naturally have to be satisfied on this score before "candidates" are expected to avail themselves of the facilities provided by the school in adequate numbers. The active association of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami with the undertaking leads us to hope that all necessary efforts will be made to render the Preparatory School an efficient and well-equipped institution. We will await further particulars about the success of the scheme with considerable interest.

Italy's Task in Libya.

Rome has recently been cabling random messages from Rome which suggest renewed energy on the part of the Italians, and a serious movement to penetrate the hinterland of Tripoli and Cyrenaica is said to be in process of execution. Several successes have been reported, and the Arab resistance has been declared to have been finally overcome. We are familiar with the early accounts of the Tripolitan war that used to emanate from Rome, and we need not put greater credence in the latest reports about the victories of the Italian arms than we could spare for the earlier legends in which thousands of Arabs and Turks were sent to death in phantom encounters from a safe distance. A correspondent of the *Morning Post* (London) sums up the existing situation admirably. He says that Italy has been set a disagreeable and formidable task

by the commencement of hostilities between herself and the semi-independent State of Jebel. The Arab forces are well equipped with modern rifles, and there is no lack of ammunition. Large bodies of men are arriving daily from the hinterland anxious to fight against the Italians, and already actions have been fought at Znara, Ajilat, and Gharian. Sheikh Saliman Barni, formerly member for Tripoli in the Ottoman Chamber, is the head of the State, which he at once began to organise on the conclusion of peace between Italy and Turkey. The Sheikh has thoroughly reorganised the postal and telegraph service, and a contingent of well-trained men in uniform has been sworn in. A deputation has recently been sent to the various European capitals asking for the recognition of the new independent State. The Arabs say they cannot accept the Italians, whom they consider they have beaten in battle. The massacres of non-belligerents—women and children—many of whom were killed by shells dropped from dirigibles—etc., they say, for vengeance. Italy is now faced with guerrilla warfare in a mountainous and arid country, a task which the British, after their costly experiences in African campaigns cannot carry. The conclusions of the *Morning Post* correspondent are based on facts to which every impartial and independent witness has borne testimony. The European correspondents who were in Cyrenaica and Tripoli in the Turkish camp and left only after the peace was signed between Italy and the Porte, have labelled with graphic detail the character of the resistance that still awaits the Italians in their task of conquest. There were some Indian Moslems, too, on the scene who saw with their own eyes how the new Imperialist adventure of Rome had fared in its earlier phase, especially in Cyrenaica. One of these Moslems is Mr Abdul Wali Khan of Peshawar whose departure for Constantinople just after the outbreak of the war in Tripoli was noted in the *Comrade*. After a short stay in Constantinople he left for Cyrenaica via Egypt. His zeal and perseverance safely carried him across the Egyptian frontier to the Turkish camp at Derna. He was received with great kindness by Kaver Bey and took part in actual fighting on several occasions with a small contingent of Afghan Mujahidin who had reached Derna before him. He returned to India only a few weeks ago. His extremely interesting experiences bear out the fact that Italy has so far miserably failed in her adventure and that the conquest of the hinterland will prove a task that might well be beyond her utmost resources.

A JARLEKHAM from Sheikh Abdul Aziz Shawish, dated Constantinople, 19th instant, informs us that an Imperial *irade* has been issued for the creation of a University at Medina. It has been further decided that Arabic will, in future, be the official medium of instruction in the Arab provinces. The effect of both these decisions is bound to be salutary and far-reaching. We need not dilate on the enormous influence for good that will radiate from a great educational centre at Medina. The proposal is full of possibilities to which imagination can hardly set limits. Ideas for such a university had long been in the air and much discussion on the subject has recently been going on in the Arabic Press. Marfana Shibli Sahib in his proposal to found a University at Mecca—a proposal that has for long been under the consideration of the Porte,—remarks that the Turks do not like to promote education among the Arabs. The allegation is incorrect and based on misapprehension of the facts. As a matter of fact, the Turks have had little leisure to plan and execute measures for the spread of education in the Empire. The Imperial *irade* may be taken as a proof that the Turkish Government not only realises its duty in this connection but also is alive to the great advantages of creating a university at Medina. The other decision, recognising Arabic as the medium of instruction in the Arab provinces, is based on sound political policy and is fully as important educationally. The enemies of Turkey have not failed to take full advantage of the misfortunes of the Turks in Europe, and have been inciting various nationalities in the Empire to mischievous agitation for independence or autonomy. The wire-pullers are not new—they are the old "friends" of the Turks and of Muhammadans. Armenia has already been declared ripe for autonomous government, while Syria is represented to be seething with discontent against Turkish rule. It would be satisfied with nothing short of a large measure of self-government. The Arab is being played off against the Turk. As usual there are unfortunately enough fools, imbeciles and selfish intriguers amongst the Arabs themselves who become willing tools in the hands of the enemies of Islam. The situation is no doubt grave, but we hope Turkish statesmen will be able to handle it with insight, wisdom and patience before it grows critical. These recent decisions of the Porte lead us to believe that no time will be lost in taking the necessary measures in order to cope with the disruptive tendencies and consolidate the Empire on a basis of unity, justice and brotherhood.

The Comrade.

Council Government.

THE debate on Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru's motion in the Provincial Legislative Council, urging the creation of an Executive Council in the United Provinces, has been of much more than provincial interest. Though the mover confined himself to the statement of his case mainly from the provincial standpoint, he reinforced his arguments with considerations of wider scope. Those considerations were carefully noted by Sir James Meston, who fully recognised their weight when he opposed the resolution as the head of the Provincial Government. The motion was lost—His Honour's casting vote decided its fate. But though it was lost, the debate has revealed, as nothing else could do, the enormous strength of the popular demand as well as the force of the arguments of general application on which the demand is based. The coming of Sir James Meston had inspired great hopes among the advocates of this great constitutional reform. The fate of Dr. Sapru's resolution has come to them as a surprise. The Lieutenant-Governor, no doubt, urged the rejection of the motion on formal grounds and purposely refrained from committing himself to a decisive expression of opinion. He summed up the non-official standpoint with admirable lucidity and held out every assurance that the question would be considered with sympathy and in the light of the considerations advanced by the non-official members. And yet, after reading his speech carefully, it is difficult to avoid the impression that Sir James Meston is at present far from convinced as to the need of an Executive Council in his Province. To many this must have come as a revelation.

We need not discuss at length the demand for an Executive Council in the United Provinces on its merits. Council Government has been officially recognised to be a higher and more satisfactory form of government than one-man rule. Dr. Sapru stated the case for the United Provinces with cogency and passed the history of the question in brief review. Opinions reinstate in time might appear to be academic merely, did we not know that authoritative opinion in recent years has invested the question with practical importance. The Decentralisation Commission gave their support to the proposal of creating Executive Councils in Bengal and the United Provinces. They even suggested the appointment of a Governor. They declared themselves in favour of the system "on administrative grounds and as a means of promoting decentralisation." Lord Morley's pronouncement on the question is even more clear and decisive. When the new Councils Act was introduced in Parliament, it was originally intended to create an executive council at once in the United Provinces under the new statute. But clause 3 of the Bill met with opposition in the House of Lords, and it was consequently dropped. This is the recent official history of the question. As regards the public opinion of the United Provinces, Dr. Sapru showed conclusively that "the expressed opinion of all schools of political thought in these Provinces is emphatically agreed in demanding an Executive Council." Out of the 24 non-official members present only 3 voted against the resolution. The value of the dissentient votes need not be analysed too closely.

Apart, however, from the long history of the question and the force of public opinion there are some general considerations which render the demand a live issue of practical politics. "Why should we not get an Executive Council?" asked Dr. Sapru with great pertinence. The United Provinces are the largest among the provinces of India in point of population. They are administered on practically the same lines as Bengal. They yield the largest amount of land revenue. The people have made considerable progress in education and some of the most vital educational movements have taken their rise in the Provinces. There is no reason, then, why the form of the Provincial Government should be less advanced even than that of Behar, the youngest province of India. Council Government stands in no need of defence in theory. The advantages of this form of government were summed up by the Decentralisation Commission in memorable words. They include "(1) provision for suitable distribution of work and relief to the head of the Province; (ii) greater continuity of policy, collective consideration of important questions, increased public confidence and, consequently, less necessity for outside official control, and, (iii) greater efficiency of the provincial governments in relation to their legislative councils." It would be difficult to deny the force of these pronouncements, and as a matter of fact they constitute what may be called an official and authoritative recognition of the principal that council government is the most effective means of securing efficiency in the administration of the Indian provinces. There is another consideration, that the mover of the resolution urged, which is, in the circumstances of the case, the most vital consideration of all.

The demand for an Executive Council is, in the last resort, based on the desire of the people to see an Indian admitted into the inner counsels of the Government. The desire is natural and inevitable and it should be satisfied in the best interests of the country and its Government.

The arguments that we have summarised above present the case for an Executive Council in a form that leaves little room for vital difference of opinion, at any rate, on the score of principle. The only differences worth considering may relate to expediency and circumstance. The attitude of the local Government must, after all, be a decisive factor; and this makes all the difference. When the question was discussed in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911, the late Sir John Jenkins deliberately refrained from discussing the proposal on its merits and said that the Government of India would take no action towards providing a Council for the United Provinces as long as Sir John Hewett continued to be Lieutenant-Governor. This was in itself a novel attitude for the Government of India to adopt. A question involving a vital principle of Indian administration was deliberately shelved because a masterful Lieutenant-Governor did not like to share with any person his immense authority and power. If the matter is to be decided in accordance with individual likes and dislikes, there is no need to make any fuss about merits and principles, and the pronouncements of a body like the Decentralisation Commission would be sheer irrelevance. Sir James Meston in his speech on the subject referred to the criterion which Sir John Jenkins said he would apply in determining whether the Province ought to have an Executive Council. "Is the work of the Province a task such as one man cannot properly discharge, and does it compel him to delegate his functions to irresponsible subordinates?" If so, then, said Sir John Jenkins, the time had come to resort to Council Government; if not, let the Province "on all grounds of economy and good administration" remain the charge of one man. "That stage," said Sir James Meston, "the stage when Government breaks down under its own weight, had not, in the Government of India's opinion, been reached in these Provinces in January 1911. Gentlemen, I confess that I do not feel conscious that this stage has been reached even now in April 1913." Sir James Meston admitted that the work of the Lieutenant-Governor is heavy, but he explained that its great variety and its consuming interest prevent it from being a greater burden than one man can carry. We know Sir John Meston's great love of work, his keen sense of responsibility and his devotion to duty. We can, therefore, well understand what he means when he says that "so far as these arguments go—the argument that the work is too much for one man and the argument that he performs delegates duties peculiar to himself—I repeat that I do not accept them for these Provinces as true either in fact or implication." Can we, however, be sure that every Lieutenant-Governor that comes after Sir James Meston will be able to say the same words? Is there any reasonable certainty about the succession of uniform talent, capacity and moral fervour? At best we can only depend on chance and accident. And even if there were the possibility of a single adverse chance or accident the provision of an Executive Council would be a justifiable safeguard. But the criteria laid down by the late Sir John Jenkins are not the only or even the most vital considerations in determining whether the United Provinces or indeed, any other Indian province, ought to have an Executive Council. Sir James Meston himself is fully alive to other considerations as well and regards them as of great weight and entitled to respectful examination. But he refrained from discussing them. "It is impossible," said Sir James Meston, "for the local Government to-day to argue the question on its merits." He promised, however, that as soon as the report of the discussion was ready he would submit it to the Government of India, who would, he knew, give it the full weight to which it was entitled.

The net result of the debate has been that the question has been shelved indefinitely again. Sir James Meston sympathised freely with the demand of the people, but he carefully refrained from saying anything that would lead one to hope that he would welcome an Executive Council to assist him in the duties of his high office. Indeed, his speech leaves one rather doubtful as to his attitude, and the burden of some considerations, manifestly not very favourable to the creation of a Council, seems to weigh on his mind. Be this as it may, it must be frankly confessed that the inconclusive nature of the debate will cause some amount of disappointment in the province both because the United Provinces, according to any test whatever, deserve a Council Government and because Sir James Meston's appointment had raised considerable hopes that the consummation of a popular desire had been brought measurably nearer. It is difficult to estimate the time that will elapse before the Secretary of State or the Government of India come to decide the matter of their own volition. Meanwhile "the patriotic sentiment which counts for so much" will be far from gratified, and the people will have to wait indefinitely before they are able to feel that the British Government, by creating an Executive Council with an Indian Member, "have extended to them a signal mark of confidence and fellowship."

Aligarh and the Press.

I.

Observants have noticed in Europe a stage mania among young ladies, dazzled by the brilliance of the footlights, who rush to the stage, like so many moths round a candle, only too often to have their wings singed a little. Even those that are not permitted by their relatives and friends to make these burnt offerings to the idol of the stage cannot help feeling within their youthful breast the desire of the moth for the "star" of the stage. With age or experience disillusionment follows only too often, and the desire of earlier years gives place to a feeling of relief that all the world is not a stage and that men and women are something more than merely players. In India there is, however, another profession which has some light beating on it, although it is not as fierce as that which beats on the stage in England. This is the profession of journalism. Before the Legislative Councils were reformed and extended, membership of a legislature was confined to such a small number of Indians that few indeed could aspire with any chance of success to the coveted distinction of an "Hon. Member." But even after the extension of the Councils, it is not easy for those who lack money and influence to get elected to the Imperial or the Provincial Legislatures. Journalism, however, acts like a magnet for all youthful aspirants to fame, and the journalist's life is considered to be altogether a bed of roses. But just as those who are on the stage know that acting is not all lovely frocks and lime-light and the publication of one's name in large letters on monster placards, so also those who have worked as journalists know that it is not as lordly a profession as is implied in the general conception of an editorial sanctum from which criticism and comments are hurled recklessly at all and sundry from kings and governments down to municipal crossing-sweepers and street mendicants.

We read daily of the birth of new journals and periodicals, and if the whole of this spawn-like production had survived and grown, there would have been thousands of newspapers. Even out of those that are published to-day there is hardly any likelihood that even a fourth would be published five years hence, and newspapers that have had a life of ten years and possess a circulation in thousands can be counted on the fingers of one hand in each Province. Now whatever the individual merits of each of the journals included in the last category, it cannot be gainsaid that much labour and money has been spent on their production, although they can seldom challenge comparison in these respects or in point of ability with journals published in Europe. Like Touchstone's spouse, they may be ill-favoured things, but after all they are our own. If they are not good, they should be improved, and public criticism and public support should both be judiciously employed for that purpose.

The Mussalmans have long deplored the fact that they have so few journals owned and edited by members of their own community, and such of those that exist as are weeklies are called upon to answer in all seriousness the charge that they are not turned into dailies, as if there is nothing easier in the world than to bring out a daily paper. Now like most things in the world a community has the papers that it deserves, and if the Moslem organs of opinion are no better than what they are, it is entirely due to the Moslem community. When so many feel an overpowering desire to be journalists, and so many more regret that the Mussalmans have no daily papers in English like other communities, one would have thought that a combination of demand and of desire to supply would result in the production of several daily newspapers. But the fact is that even this combination is sterile and the only conclusion to which we can come is that the demand is at best a pious wish and the desire to supply is felt by those who have not yet realised how thorny is the vale of journalism.

Whatever the character of Indian journals to-day a growing clientele is making a daily increasing use of them for furthering all sorts of interests. Public platforms and the public Press are everywhere the two great means for the propagation of views, and when the establishment of the British Government in India introduced the principle that the administration must every day be carried on more and more in conformity with popular wishes, it became necessary that public speakers and journalists should grow in numbers. In one way, however, in the India of to-day the Press is the more indispensable means of the two, for here the distances are so tremendous that even after touring a month the very best orator fails to convey his message to more than a few thousand people, whereas in Europe a speaker can address the same number of people in a single day. At the present time, therefore, the most effective means of propagating one's views is the public Press, and this is sufficiently well understood by every propagandist. Whosoever has something to say comes to the journalist sooner or later, and if the keeping of confidences was not one of the chief virtues of journalism, the confessions of a journalist would prove most interesting reading. Editors of newspapers could easily double their incomes by letting the world

know how its great ones approached them cautiously and skilfully, and after much circumambulation and periphrasis and expressions of most patriotic and noble sentiments introduced the desire of stark selfishness to give Their Lordships "a leg up" in the public life of the country. Very few in the world can afford to despise journalism without despising the uses to which they themselves occasionally desire to put it, and, if truth be told, in India there are more whom honest journalism despises than those who despise journalism, whether honest or dishonest.

When Sir Syed Ahmed Khan entered public life, he found he could not do without journalism, and as Muhammadan journals either did not exist or were in the hands of such people as could not understand the mission of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, he himself established more than one organ for the propagation of his views. His successors were unable to revive the journal which did so much to remove the religious prejudices and superstitions of Indian Mussalmans, but they have carried on the other journal which was mainly concerned with matters educational, although the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* has never since attained the commanding position among Indian journals which it enjoyed in the life-time of its founder. But in the meantime other organs of public opinion have grown up in the land and an increasing use is being made of them by the successors of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for the spread of the Aligarh Movement. Even now appeals are made every day through what are known as *Qaumi Akhbarat* for everything in which those in power at Aligarh happen to be interested.

We have never labelled ourselves as a journal devoted to the exclusive advocacy of the claims of any single community, but when we found that so few of the organs of Indian opinion concerned themselves with Moslem interests, and that many of them kept up an active hostility to those interests, we considered it our duty to deal with them, and whenever we considered Moslem claims right and just we undertook their advocacy. This was done more often than we would have done if many of our contemporaries had not been so flagrantly partisan and hostile to Moslem interests. It is not for us to say whether we have deserved the thanks of the Mussalmán community or not, but it is a fact that we have received many a generous acknowledgement and considerable practical support for what little we have been able to do. It is only fair to add here that such acknowledgements have been received from every quarter of the Moslem community, and we have been assured that in the conduct of this journal we never permitted the interests of individuals or of cliques and coteries to override the interests of the country or of the Moslem community. But to-day the voice of criticism is heard in some Moslem quarters, and although it is yet a mere whisper we deem it best to forestall the loud chorus that may be heard later. It is proposed to clip our wings and yet it is expected that high journalistic flights will be possible after such a treatment of journalism.

We are not accused for commenting too adversely on the conduct and views of non-Moslem communities in India. We are not charged with criticising too severely the legislative and executive measures of the Provincial and Imperial Governments or the acts of individual officers of Government. We are not indicted on account of condemning Europe for its treatment of Asiatic States, countries, and races. We are not arraigned for accusing the Liberal Cabinet and Sir Edward Grey of indifference to the susceptibilities of Indian Mussalmans. These are just the purposes for which journalists exist; and, if in doing their duty they incur the displeasure of Governments and powerful personages, it is only part of the day's work and it is expected that newspapers would not worry their readers with their own troubles. Every man and every institution must be criticised at all risks and at all cost, but there is one institution and there are just a few men connected with that institution that must always be immune from criticism. This sacred institution happens to be the one great constructive work of the Mussalmans which was designed by its Founder to be maintained by the united efforts and according to the united wishes of the Moslem community. We, of course, refer to the Aligarh College. As regards the men connected with this institution that must remain above all criticism, it is not possible to be equally definite, for sometimes it is the English staff of the College, sometimes it is the Honorary Secretary and sometimes the governing body of the institution.

Nobody tells us why this peculiar Benefit of the Clergy should be given to a single sacrosanct institution. There are many Government educational institutions in this country, but although for their management Indian communities are not responsible, we do not know that when anything worth criticising happens therein, anybody particularly feels that they must remain immune from criticism. In England too there are universities which, although not national in the sense that Aligarh is national, are frequently the subject of criticism in the English Press, and there are even instances of Royal Commissions being appointed in view of these criticisms to enquire into their affairs. It was not so long ago that eight Oxford tutors wrote a series of articles in the *London Times* on the work and administration of the Oxford University and the colleges affiliated to it, and its Chancellor, Lord Carnarvon, was moved to write on the

subject at great length—writings which he subsequently published in book form—so that the reform of the colleges and the University should be undertaken from the inside before outside pressure compelled the University to undergo reform from the outside.

But although there seems to be a theory that Aligarh should not figure in the public Press, the practice has been entirely different. Whenever the needs of Aligarh have to be announced to the world at large, so that the Moslem community may contribute funds wherewith to meet those needs, nobody has been known to despise the Press. Again, there have been times when some measure of Government or of its individual officers has been considered to be opposed to the best interests of Aligarh, and those who held this view did not hesitate to make use of the newspapers to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on the Government or the officer concerned. Again, there have been times when the views of some of the Trustees of the College have appeared to other Trustees to be wrong, and they and their views have never been spared criticism and condemnation in the Press by their colleagues who differed from them. Nor is this all. The Honorary Secretary of the College has not always been able to please the Trustees. Did he then escape criticism in the Press? Certainly not. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan himself did not escape such criticism. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk who often adapted himself to his environments did not escape criticism in the Press. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk was the last Secretary of the College, and although it was generally thought that the Press would support him in a controversy with the Trustees, even then the voice of criticism was not hushed. As regards the English staff, can any Trustee say that it was spared criticism and condemnation in the Press in the year 1909 when Mr. Archbold sent his resignation to the Local Government and the English staff sent a Joint Note threatening the Trustees and their Honorary Secretary with an appeal to the Government for interference? We challenge anyone to prove that those who are so shocked to-day at criticism in the Press did not at some time or other criticise the Trustees, the Honorary Secretary and the English staff of the College in the public Press or deprecated such criticism by others, who were often their agents or tools.

When the decisions of the Secretary of State in connection with the Moslem University were announced, and it became impossible to keep anything in connection with the University Constitution confidential, the public and the Press were admitted to the meetings of the Constitution Committee. Things were then discussed in broad daylight and the Constitution Committee arrived at a unanimous decision. One important member, however, happened to be absent on the first day of the meeting and, on joining at a later stage, desired to re-open the whole question. This he was not allowed to do, and it appeared that he himself acquiesced subsequently in the conclusion at which the Constitution Committee had arrived. But this did not evidently satisfy him later on, and the same Press which is so often despised was utilised most skilfully to disseminate views which had failed to convince the Constitution Committee. Since then the Constitution of the University has been discussed from every aspect in the public Press. How, then, is it possible to avoid a discussion of the Constitution of the Aligarh College which is to expand into this University? How is it possible to ignore the experience gained during more than a generation of educational work done at Aligarh? And how is it possible to keep out every reference to the state of affairs existing to-day, and particularly the relations of the community to the Trustees and of the Trustees to Government and the English staff? Those who desire that Aligarh and its affairs both in the past and at the present moment, should be kept out of the Press should tell us how this can be done without desiring to have a University like Pallas Athens born fully armed out of the head of Zeus.

Now, we go farther then that. In spite of every assurance given to the Secretary of the College by the English staff and by the Secretary to the Trustees anxious for the welfare of Aligarh, the head of the Government of the Province, who is the official Patron of the College, was alarmed at the exaggerated and possibly manufactured stories of tremendous excitement at Aligarh—excitement such as we were by implication asked to believe was never heard of in the history of the world at any institution where, as at Aligarh, more than a thousand boys and lusty youths live together and are taught throughout their college and school careers to feel for their community and sacrifice themselves in its interests. Without waiting to consult the Trustees of the College and their Honorary Secretary, H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor gave expression to his alarm in a public gathering and offered advice to the students and the Trustees, which implied that the action of both was open to criticism. We ask if it is desired that the observations of the head of the Local Government and official Patron of the College should have been altogether ignored by Muhammadan students? No doubt this would have been considered an insult to some of our persons, and the silence of the Press would have been condemned even more than its speech. We have no manner of doubt that if a newspaper had shown the same alarm as the Patron of the College, and if it had preached long sermons to all except the English

staff of the College, those who seem to desire to keep Aligarh out of the public Press would have had nothing to say against this so-called "interference." But if a journalist thinks he knows the affairs of Aligarh a little more intimately and believes that things are not as bad as they are painted, and that there are others besides students and the Trustees of Aligarh to whom a little advice would not come amiss, is he to be condemned to eternal silence and let judgment go by default against a hundred Trustees and more than a thousand students?

We may mention that in 1909 one Trustee who wrote anonymously had dared to differ from the other Trustees in the matter of Mr. Archbold's resignation and the advice of the Local Government, and almost the entire Moslem Press promptly jumped upon the offender and, as he was alleged to be a prominent Trustee of the College, curious steps were taken by his brother Trustees to discover the identity of the black sheep in the fold. Does this not show that the desire to keep Aligarh out of the public Press is nothing more than the desire to have only one set of opinions expressed in public about Aligarh and its management; that so long as this set of opinions is supported the public Press is not only good but very very good, but that immediately the least difference of opinion is shown the public Press is not only bad but horrid? Out of the same mouths that preach silence bold and frank speech has been heard, and when these dumb mouths of to-day have been eloquent they have neither spared the Trustees nor their Honorary Secretary, neither the staff nor the head of the Local Government who is the official Patron of the College. Even to-day what is the meaning of the change in the editorial conduct of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*? Does it only mean that the Honorary Secretary feels a laudable desire to assure himself that this journal is properly conducted, and does it not even remotely signify that his "Cabinet," as one of his chief supporters has called it, is now entrusted with publishing the particular set of views that should be preached to the community, and with keeping out everything different from those views from the columns of that journal? May we ask if no Trustee of the College is to be allowed to discuss the affairs of Aligarh and Moslem educational policy in the *Institute Gazette*; or if all the Trustees would be allowed to do so without any invidious distinctions and illogical discrimination?

Whether Aligarh affairs are, or they are not to be discussed in the public Press, we must have a definite decision, and we must be assured that this is to be respected by all. We are not so self-opinionated as to think that our individual wisdom is greater than the sum total of wisdom of the world, and if an intelligent public opinion decides that the soil of Aligarh is too sacred for the desecrating feet of journalists, we promise that we shall either bury the *Comrade* ten fathoms deep or our footsteps will never be turned towards Aligarh. But we shall take care to mount guard at the gateway of this new heaven along with any new St. Peter who may stand there, and we shall see to it that the key is never turned to permit other journalistic trespassers. The Trustees of the College will be permitted to "strengthen the hands of the Honorary Secretary," no matter to what use those hands are to be put. The Honorary Secretary will be permitted to submit to every thing that Government or the English staff may demand. The spirit of the students will be allowed to be crushed much in the same way as, according to Judge Parry in one of his "Vacation Judgments," the rebellious originality of the first young monkey was put down who presumed to walk on his hind legs only, and was immediately forced by the older monkeys to walk on all fours—in the interests of discipline. But if this is done, we will not at the same time permit an appeal to the Moslem community for funds to carry on the institution, nor any complaints that owls screech in empty lecture rooms and bats do gymnastics on the ceiling beams of the debating hall. Whoever desires to run an institution on these lines shall be required to furnish money for its maintenance from his own pocket and to educate therein his own individual progeny. Many individuals spend large sums on the education of their children, and, unless their example is likely to infect others, the public press permits them to handle their finances and educate their children in any manner they please. But if public funds are required for the maintenance of any institution, and if the youths of a community are publicly invited to share the benefits of the education that it imparts, the public Press will then fail in its duty most flagrantly if it fails to keep an eye on the manner in which those funds are spent and those youths are brought up. The public Press cannot accept one Decalogue for Aligarh and another set of Ten Commandments for every thing else in the world. We do not insist on devising a code of laws ourselves to regulate our conduct. But whatever code of laws is devised, and whosoever devises it, it shall be the same for all and we shall see to it that no departure from its inflexible rules is permitted.

What that code of law is to be we now leave to the public to decide, and we invite the expression of public opinion on the subject. We shall devote three or four columns of each issue of the *Comrade* to a full and frank discussion of the matter, and so long as ordinary journalistic rules and procedure are respected we shall not withhold from publishing any expression of opinion that we may receive. To permit a large number of people to take part in this discussion we shall only beg our

correspondents to be concise and to the point and to pay more attention to substance than to the mere form of their literary contributions. No one can say after this that we are self-willed and adverse to public consultation in matters that affect our own conduct of this journal. But when we do not dodge round corners ourselves, it is only just that we should refuse to permit others to do so. Here is an opportunity for all, and those who refuse to take advantage of it cannot legitimately condemn us afterwards if we abide by the decision of the public.

There is just one more point, and we have done. It has been whispered of late, and one august Visitor of Aligarh has not hesitated to say it openly, that a Trustee of the College should have nothing to do with a public discussion of its affairs in the Press. We have already written a good deal, but we may just add here that we have not yet heard why a person possessing the expert intimate knowledge of Aligarh affairs and entrusted by the public with its management should be precluded from discussing its affairs and keeping his constituents informed about its real condition. Is a Member of Parliament to be the only person who should not speak on the politics of the country to his constituents, nor write on it in the public Press? It may be that on some rare occasions it may be inadvisable for a time to publish certain facts about Aligarh. Such occasions should always be rare, and public institutions have little business with confidential matters. On such occasions the Trustees would be justified in imposing silence for the time being on all their colleagues, and no Trustee would then be justified in betraying confidences. But this is quite different from imposing a perpetual silence on the Trustees, nor has such silence been adhered to in the past by a single prominent Trustee of the College. This peculiar doctrine can only be compared in absurdity with a similar doctrine that no Trustee of the College should ever look into the affairs of Aligarh himself. He is not to see the students; he is not to talk to them; he is never to discuss Aligarh affairs with its staff or offer suggestions to them on any matter connected with the work or administration of the College. And yet these deaf mutes are to be the Trustees of the greatest trust of seventy million people! The proposition has only to be stated to be condemned. But we shall not condemn it ourselves, and even this matter shall be left to the decision of the public.

The Storm on the Stage.

IV.

WE HAVE dealt in the last three issues with everything worth noting in the proceedings before the meeting of the 29th December and now come to the meeting itself. When the ill-fated resolution was moved the Editor of the *Comrade* first read out the terms of the resolution, including names of the Committee, in English, and when the audience requested him to translate them into Urdu, he did so and once more read out the names. When the resolution was put to the vote those names were read out a third time by the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad who presided at the meeting, and there was therefore no excuse for anyone who had taken part in the deliberations of the previous night to confuse the proposed Committee with any other Committee that he may have had in his mind. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, however, pleads ill-health and infirmity as his excuse for mistaking the proposed Committee for one which he had in his own mind, and we are quite prepared to accept this as in every way a reasonable justification. But that does not prove that there was a desire on the part of the mover or anyone else to deceive the Nawab Sahib, and it also proves that the Nawab Sahib was not at the time in the full and normal enjoyment of all his faculties, which, in view of his age and state of health, was after all not in the least surprising.

In the course of his speech the Editor of the *Comrade* explained at great length all that had taken place on the previous night, mentioning the names of some prominent gentlemen who had taken part in the deliberations, including Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, and, so far as his memory goes, he deliberately chose some words to the effect that the resolution which was put to the house was resolved upon by those who were present without in any way suggesting that Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk was also one of those who had agreed. Evidently the Nawab Sahib misunderstood him, and while he was still speaking a message was conveyed to him requesting him to mention the fact of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's disagreement. As this was quite opposed to the promise of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk made only a few minutes ago, the mover of the resolution did not comply with the Nawab Sahib's request and hoped that the Nawab Sahib would not go back on his promise. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk did not speak on the motion at all, and it seemed to the mover of the resolution that he refrained from doing so as a fulfilment of his promise, namely, that he would not disturb the agreement that had been secured by proposing any amendment to the resolution. The Nawab Sahib himself explains in his letter the laudable motives which urged him to remain silent on this occasion. But, in view of the letter

published by him five weeks after the meeting, we wish he had spoken at the meeting and explained his views then and there, instead of doing so after all this lapse of time, with results that are bound to prove far more disastrous than the most determined opposition in the meeting of the 29th December would have been.

We have dealt at length with every point of any importance in connection with the meetings of the 27th and the 29th December, and the deliberations that took place between these two dates. We have often and often enough been compelled to refer to the state of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's health, partly in justification of him, and partly as an explanation of what he has done or omitted to do. There was no need to dwell long on the subject of his unfortunate infirmities after the many references to them in the Nawab Sahib's own letter; but as some of our contemporaries have embroidered the text of his letter with their own glosses, commentaries and readings between the lines, we have been compelled to refer to it very often in the course of these articles. We would add one more instance which would conclusively show how far the accuracy of the Nawab Sahib's statements can be accepted, and as this confirmation of all that we have said is contained in his own letter, we are justified in complaining that so few have read his letter with anything like the care it deserved. On page 10 of the *Institute Gazette* of 5th February the Nawab Sahib states as follows:— "Just after the meeting, a gentleman came to my room and informed me that there was no name from his Province in the proposed deputation. I informed him that his own name was there. He said 'no,' and I once more told him that his name was included in my own hand-writing. On this he once more enquired and I then learnt that indeed his name was not included in the list of the deputation which had been submitted to the meeting along with the resolution. This was the first time when I learnt that after the Raja Sahib of Jahangirabad, the Hon. Raja Syed Abu Jafar and I had left the consultation meeting that night the list prepared in our presence had been changed."

This unexpected procedure threw me in great amazement and I drew the attention of the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, who was then presiding at the meeting, towards this procedure, to which I got no answer. After this, when some Punjab gentlemen complained that sufficient consideration had not been paid to the representation of their Province in the deputation, and the powers that be did not consider it advisable to displace them, the Raja Sahib asked me, who was then acting as the *Honorary Secretary*, to issue a notice that in the evening sitting also some proceedings of the Foundation Committee would take place. In compliance with this request I issued a notice, and I informed the Raja Sahib in a letter that, although according to his instructions I had issued the notice, I would beg to be excused from attending such an irregular meeting; and, in fact, I did not attend the meeting. But I heard that the names of some Punjab gentlemen were added to the list of the deputation. This lengthy passage shows such an amount of confusion of thought as to rob the letter of most of its merit so far as accuracy of statement is concerned. For although in one place the Nawab Sahib states that it was just after the meeting in the forenoon when a resolution appointing the Committee was passed that he learned for the first time about the change of lists of the deputation, only a few lines later he states that he complained of this to the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad in the meeting itself. Again he writes as if the dissatisfaction of the Punjab came to be known to the Raja Sahib in the forenoon meeting itself when the Nawab Sahib was acting as *Secretary*, and as if, he was requested before he left the meeting to issue a notice for a further consideration of the Punjab representation in the next sitting which took place in the afternoon, whereas in reality all this took place after the forenoon meeting and when the Nawab Sahib was not acting as *Honorary Secretary*. He could not have alluded to any other sitting, for he himself did not attend the afternoon sitting, and we are now given to understand that, as a matter of fact, some representatives of the Punjab were added to the Committee not in a formal meeting but in an irregular gathering in the Baradari before the Educational Conference began its second day's afternoon sitting.

The recital of the above facts has been far more painful to us than its perusal can be to any of our readers or to Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk himself, and the only reason which kept us silent so long was that any contradiction published in newspapers was certain to drag the Nawab Sahib into a controversy that was bound to be as lengthy as it would be futile. Moreover, we do not expect that a letter bristling with such palpable contradictions as we have pointed out above would be read with such little care as to need any refutation other than its own contradictions. And we are still of opinion that if one or two of our Urdu contemporaries had not thought fit to indulge in such chieftain sensationalism, the letter in question would have roused nothing like the feeling it produced in the public mind after the perusal of

their blood-curdling headlines and highly ornate romances so unique in journalism. We were approached week after week and day after day by some who had taken part in the consultation on the night preceding the 29th December with the request that we should publish a contradiction without further delay. But we remained silent and felt confident that we were quite capable of the little self-sacrifice involved in the matter if our silence only condemned the Editor of the *Comrade*. The Indian world is not yet so used to newspaper controversies carried on without selfish motives and personal recriminations that we could have entered the lists and yet have convinced the public that we meant to cast no aspersions on the motives and the unassailable reputation of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk for truth of character and honesty. It was far more desirable indeed that the Editor of the *Comrade* should suffer in silence than that the least pain should be caused to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, who has now earned rest and tranquillity after a long life of arduous work. It was only when Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque availed himself of the opportunity offered by the Nawab Sahib's letter to proclaim his resignation from the house-tops and by beat of drums, and there appeared to us some danger of others following his heroic example, thereby endangering the continued existence of the Committee, that we decided to speak out and thus prevent a communal disaster. Even then we advised the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad to request the Nawab Sahib to be present at a meeting of the Committee to be held at Lucknow on the 22nd March and correct his memory by a personal investigation of the facts from those who had taken part in the Lucknow consultation, so that, instead of a newspaper controversy being commenced, the Nawab Sahib might himself, if convinced, publish a statement that he was convinced as regards the *bona fides* of those whom he had accused of deceitfulness and unworthy motives. It was only when all these efforts failed that we brought ourselves to offer this long and detailed explanation.

But even now it is better, a thousand times better, that the Editor of the *Comrade* should be buried under a mountain-load of accusations of deceitfulness and unworthy motives than that the least particle of the dust of suspicion should attach itself to the person of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. We are convinced that old age and ill-health have told terribly upon his none too strong constitution. Those who bear in mind that when he was at Lucknow in December last, he was, on his own showing, really too ill to be there; that when he attended the meeting of the 29th December he was suffering from the evil effects of prolonged deliberations till the early hours of the morning, which were unfortunately not followed by sufficient rest, and that when he wrote the letter which appeared in the *Institute Gazette* of the 5th February he had just had a stroke of paralysis near the brain, those who bear these facts in mind will be convinced that the discrepancies between his statements and those of others are due to the confusion of his memory. But if all that we have written, and all that others have yet to write, fails to convince them and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, we shall still say he is right and we and the others are wrong. He has practically closed his account with the community, while ours has just commenced, and we are unwilling to put a single item to the credit of our account if it is to be debited to him. There can be no score on the debit side however large that cannot be wiped away by subsequent honest work for the people. In any case we are prepared to plead guilty to every count in the charge which Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk would still press, and we shall not feel ashamed to throw ourselves on the mercy of the court. As for him, we are confident that whatever his failings, nothing would, and nothing should lead the world to suspect for a moment his veracity and honesty of purpose.

Whatever record leap to light
He never shall be shamed.

May we now permit ourselves the expression of a little grievance? It is true that the *Comrade* has been in existence for little more than two years; but the public life of its Editor, however humble, has been considerably longer. During all that time there have been two great movements in which the Moslem community has taken any interest, the spread of Western education and the protection and advancement of Moslem rights and interests. Without accepting any office the Editor of the *Comrade* had taken his fair share in these two movements, and to the Moslem public, at least, he was not wholly unknown when he founded this journal. He may even claim that in both these public activities he has been one of the very few whose views and record have been consistent as regards the attitude towards Government and towards other communities which has from time to time been recommended for the Moslems of India. Since the *Comrade* commenced its career, events of world-wide importance have happened, and this journal has been able to have moulded as well as voiced public opinion. The fall of Turkey, both in Tripoli and in Europe, and of Persia and Afghanistan have known more than one crisis which will be chronicled in its pages. In India itself these great political changes have affected the Moslem and brought of Moslems in a striking manner. For the first time in their history, Pan-Islamism showed itself to be some-

thing more than a sterile sentiment, and large sums of money were sent to Turkey to assist the war-sufferers, and even more important than that, a number of Mussalmans were sent out to the seat of war as members of Medical Missions. Last, but not least, practical steps were taken to assist Turkey with a war loan. Apart from the organisation of these efforts, a series of delicate negotiations had to be carried on to ensure the friendly neutrality of Government—which could well have been alarmed at some of these new departures—and the assistance of such Mussalmans as could not bring themselves to do that which was permitted by law if it was not also permitted by official opinion. Then there was the great question of the Moslem University for which large funds had to be collected, a workable constitution framed and public opinion and the Government view reconciled for the common benefit of both. Strictly speaking this was no part of the ordinary work of a newspaper; but to us this journal has always appeared as a means to an end, never as the end itself. We, therefore, threw ourselves during these abnormal times into every movement that seemed beneficial, and we believe we achieved a fair measure of success also, though it was to a great extent at the expense of our journalistic work, of the deficiencies of which during all this time we are far more conscious than any of our critics could be. These abnormal times which brought a windfall to most newspapers actually reduced our income while they increased our outgoings very considerably, and in fact unhinged our finances altogether. After all this it is a little discouraging to find those responsible for this journal assailed with such recklessness and, in some cases, with so much venom. Not that we were not prepared for the tactics of some who thought this an excellent opportunity for making a bold bid for fame as the champions of independence and courage. Of these we are not so foolish as to complain. But we were certainly not prepared to find the public so fickle in its likes and dislikes and so easily gullible.

To our mind the ideal publicist must ever keep before him the line of Ghalib if he does not wish to be discouraged and disappointed:

نہ سبائے کی تمنا نہ سہ کی پروا

But a public that changes so readily, that makes and unmakes its heroes and idols with such amazing rapidity, will succeed before very long in losing some of its best workers, and then losing its own reputation and power. Surely the Moslem public is something better than a mob with unstable opinions and effervescent enthusiasms. As it is we are being inocked ourselves with having taught the public to dethrone pretenders from thrones which they had usurped too long with the result that now it loves nothing so much as disorder and anarchy. If it is only we that suffer from the "archery" we have taught the Moslem public, it will be no great matter. But we fear its random shots would discourage some of the best men from taking part in public life. And that is not all. Even with anarchy there is no interregnum. The charlatan is always there to take the place of the real worker, and those who do not like to be served by honest men would soon get served by cheats. This is, therefore, something more than a personal vindication, and we have no hesitation in drawing public attention to this aspect of the question even at the risk of being misunderstood in some quarters. The storm was after all only a scene effect, merely a storm on the stage. It is over, but if it hurts the great cause in the interests of which it was alleged to have been raised, it will not be without its lessons. We have yet to wait and see. So far as we are concerned it leaves us unaffected.

As regards the Committee appointed on the 29th December it deemed it best to strain public confidence no further by continuing to do the work for which it was called into being. It has handed over its powers back to the Foundation Committee, and it now remains for the Foundation Committee to choose its own deputies for further negotiations with Government. We only hope that Committee would soon meet and that its Honorary Secretary will not spoil matters much more than they are already spoilt by delaying an appeal to the Committee for its final verdict. We warn him that if he delays any longer he will find himself engulfed in a sea of troubles. The community does not wish to be jockeyed and must be allowed a fairly loose rein at this moment. We cast no aspersions on Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahib when we say that among his many great qualifications for the office that he bears he does not include experience of public life. He is unable to feel the public pulse, and he does not possess the patience which gives to a leader of men a *mens agna in ardua*. Therefore, in a situation like this he gets flurried and is apt to seek assistance in the thick-and-thin support of men who do not themselves possess public confidence to the extent that an unquestionable leader needs in times of stress and storm. We say this in no unfriendly spirit to him or to those on whom he is apt to rely too completely. We wish to see him achieve success, for his success means the success of his community and his failure is the failure and shame of us all. It is for him to take or reject the advice and assistance which the public Press can offer him; but if he rejects them, the responsibility must indubitably be his and his alone.

CONFIDENCE



The Royal Commission and the Medical Profession

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—May I crave for the indulgence of your usual favour for publishing this letter in your valuable paper in welcoming the Royal Commission on the Public Services which has not come a day too soon to redress the grievances of progressive India.

If ever any branch of the Public Service first required investigation, it was the Medical, and if any class of His Majesty's subjects required justice, they were the Indian doctors. We Medical men, therefore, welcome the Commission most heartily. But we regret that whilst other interests are fully represented, such an important service as the Medical has no representation on it. Let us hope that one of the Members will be a Non-Official Indian Medical Practitioner when the question of Medical Profession is being taken up.

The most important duty of the Commission is to investigate carefully whether or not, the Indian Medical Service checked the development of an independent Medical Profession in India? Does it stand in the way of its growth? What is the present situation?

The answers to all these questions are very clear for right thinking people. As the I. M. S. class has the monopoly over all the higher services of the country, therefore, if any change in the system is contemplated there is a hue and cry against it. The vast majority of the Indian doctors are the product of teachers belonging to the Indian Medical Service. This Service has laboured hard and imparted the best it had in training these doctors. When these gentlemen aspire to the higher places held by their masters they are at once confronted with the legend that they are the last persons qualified for these posts. This is sufficient condemnation of the true qualifications and abilities of the Indian Medical Service to impart the necessary standard of scientific knowledge. It is the more condemnable because they have had ample time, for they have taught now over half a century and yet they are not able to produce doctors of the standard type. Fortunately the undoubted genius of the Indian has been proved beyond dispute in Law, Mathematics, &c., and even in Medical science as far as the facilities are available. In fact, where there was no artificial barrier and hindrance the Indian has acquitted himself splendidly.

It is to be regretted more than ever that no high Medical appointment can be filled by anyone of whatever Medical qualifications he may be, European or Indian, only because he is not a member of the Military Medical Service. The law of the land also permits these highly-paid officers to crush out the non-official practitioners by being allowed to engage in private practice with all their influence, official and social. In no civilized country it is allowed that those who are paid by the State, and paid handsomely too, should enter into private practice. It not only hinders the rise of the non-official doctors, but it is an injustice done to the tax-payers. The time that ought to be given to public service is devoted to gain private ends. Naturally, such a state of affairs in the Medical line should lead the Royal Commissioners to consider whether the I. M. S. is still to continue as an exception to the general rule that the servants of the State should be allowed to sell their status for a earning livelihood, and, further, whether the I. M. S. officers should alone be eligible to fill the highest appointments, either Civil or Scientific.

It causes a great heart-burning that the private medical practitioners in this country are given no encouragement by the Government whatsoever, while the members of the legal profession get every support and help from the State. The growth of the independent medical practitioners of this country, being without the stimulus

of State recognition and also being overshadowed by Civil Surgeon practitioners, is to a large degree stagnated. Medical science has developed enormously and it has become almost impossible for one man to master the different branches of the science; and, as a consequence, in civilized countries people are getting more and more inclined towards specialising in a particular branch of that great science. In India it is only the practitioners who can, if given help and encouragement, specialize. At present, however, it is sadly lacking.

Now the point at issue is, whether these Civil appointments should be recruited solely from a Military Service or whether they should be thrown open to private practitioners. Further, it is still more important to consider from the financial point of view whether the post of Civil Surgeon for the districts is unavoidably necessary or be abolished altogether throwing open the appointments to Civil practitioners of all nationalities on special allowance.

We are greatly surprised and dismayed by the flimsy pretext of "War Reserve" theory. It is said that the I. M. S. officers who are lent for the Civil duties are on efficient war reserve placed temporarily on economical principle. Nothing could be more fallacious than this. "Fancy a worthy Lieutenant-Colonel lent to the Civil side whose abdominal circumference has considerably outgrown his martial belt, and who puffs and fumes on going one flight of stairs, being fit for a long march at a moment's notice. Why he has no more physique than physical training for carrying out military command!" The pith of the facts is that India as a country, like other countries of the world, wants to have doctors in the true sense of the word, may they be Europeans or Indians, but not a Col. or a Major, whose abilities and scientific researches ought to be confined to the requirements of field-hospitals.

In conclusion we trust that the Royal Commission with a fair mind will go into all details with a view to finding out where the shoe pinches. It will be the duty of the Commissioners to suggest bold and radical measures of reform which will be an act of bare justice to the injured party.

Lucknow, 14-3-'13

S. M. VARIS,
M. D.

Political Gymnastics.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE"

SIR,—Self-government for India on the Colonial model had always seemed to me an exotic fetish, but as neither the *Pioneer* nor the Muhammadans of India had approved of the ideal, it never appeared hopelessly wrong. Now, however, that the Muhammadans have made a tentative pronouncement on the subject and have favoured the scheme, there could be no doubt that self-government on the Colonial model must be a most unsatisfactory affair. But the question arises why should Muhammadans—although one may have unbounded respect for their genius for appearing and being consistently absurd—dabble in things so far beyond them and why should they be such marplots? Unaided the Hindus could have surely got this Colonial self-government. All that they wanted was the stern, unbending opposition of the Muhammadans and, to a minor extent, the cold indifference of the official bureaucracy. But when the Muhammadans come to their aid the plan is ruined. That this is not merely fanciful could be judged from the facts that the Hindus succeeded in upsetting the partition of Bengal and failed in getting the Primary Education Bill passed. So much for Muhammadan opposition and support. In a word, Muhammadans as adversaries are mighty pillars of strength to the opposite side. As allies they get the day lost. While on this point one is tempted to throw out the hint that if Muhammadans really hate the mixed electorate system their best course is to support it. Nothing could wreck the scheme more speedily.

The rôle of the Muhammadans being to serve the other side, can they not confine their political frolics and auxiliary manoeuvres to such harmless spheres as the Turkish Relief Fund and leave for Friday prayers? Must they romp into the fastnesses of imperial politics which some even of the Sikhs eschew? I, for one, fail to see the necessity for a display of such high spirits. The community should busy itself with the tendering of thanks for the care of penurious pilgrims, with the denunciation of enemy monarchs and with dirges over the dead past. Let nothing interfere with our beautiful dream of converting England to Islam. A student is already there and more are to follow. One thing at a time. Let us wait and hear if the monarchs arise out from the manors in Windsor, the factories in Birmingham, the dockyards in Liverpool. But if the community persists in debating this high politics, let us in the name of Allah to desert for the sake of our Imperial and Provincial legislatures a few elementary books on finance, taxation and statistics. They will not be dry the while, but the consciousness of some members of the community will be set at rest.

High Trust

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, April 10.

A wire from Vienna states that the blockade of Montenegro began yesterday.

Reuter understands that the reply of the Powers to the Balkan States accepts Bulgaria's modification of the frontier line from Enos to Midia. It reserves the question of the Aegean Islands, the majority of which will go to Greece, for further consideration. The reply further says that the indemnity question, together with other financial questions, will be referred to the Financial Commission which will meet in Paris. It finally recommends the Allies to cease hostilities.

A message from Vienna states that a more hopeful feeling prevails in consequence of the news that the Serbians have ceased sending reinforcements to Albania; and the crisis, with regard to Scutari, is considered as taking a more peaceful turn.

Reuter learns that Greece has protested against the Turkish warship *Hamidiyeh's* repeated passages to Suez. The Greek authorities declare that the vessel has been allowed to provision at Alexandria and that chartered colliers have communicated freely with Constantinople. They point out that the *Hamidiyeh* has infringed Suez Canal regulations, which constitutes a dangerous precedent for future wars. The *Hamidiyeh* is at present in the Red Sea.

Sir J. D. Rees, in the House of Commons to-day, asked a question with regard to the alleged ill-treatment of returned Muselman refugees in Macedonia, including the violation of women, forcible conversions, and so forth. Sir Edward Grey replied: "All I can do is to bring reports that reach me before the Bulgarian Government and the Imperial Government. I have done, and will do this, as readily in the case of Moslems, as of Christians. Sir J. D. Rees then asked whether Sir Edward Grey was aware that the impression prevailed that Great Britain sympathised with the Allies and not with the Moslem victims. He declared that such impressions were most unfortunate, especially in view of their effect in India. Sir Edward Grey replied that it would be very undesirable that there should be any impression that Great Britain was less ready to take up abuses against Moslems than against Christians. It was not a question of creed, but of humanity.

The story of the rescue of condemned criminals at Smyrna on the 7th instant has not been confirmed. The story was apparently either greatly exaggerated or untrue.

A St. Petersburg message says that an Army order prohibits all ranks from taking part in the demonstrations in favour of the Balkan States. Officers have been conspicuous in the recent Pan-Slavist demonstrations. A circular to schools prohibits scholars from demonstrating in the streets.

A message from St. Petersburg says that in view of the present relations between Russia and Austria the venerated ikon of the Virgin at Potchaïeff, on the Austrian frontier, which was brought to St. Petersburg, for the recent tercentenary, will remain in St. Petersburg until the possibility of a frontier complication is averted. This step was ordered by the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg in agreement with the Archbishop of Volhynia. A decree of Nicholas I. provided that the ikon should be placed in safety at critical times.

Reuter states that the feeling among diplomatists with regard to the satisfactory solution of the difficulty with Montenegro and the early conclusion of peace are increasingly hopeful. Italy and Russia are acting in Cetinje with a view to offering compensation for the loss of Scutari, while powerful un-official influences are at work in London to effect a better understanding between the Powers and Montenegro. Semi-official statements published in Berlin and Vienna confirm the above. They emphasize that territorial compensation cannot be granted at the expense of Albania, or at the expense of Serbia, or in the plain of Scutari. A Cetinje wire states that the Montenegrin Royal Yacht, while making three flour boats, has been captured by the blockaders off Antivari.

London, April 11th.

A message from Adrianople says: General Broadwood has arrived here and is attending the sick Turkish prisoners. Ambassadors with British doctors and American attendants and much medical stores have arrived. Mr. Samson, British Consul, daily supplies the thousands of leaves and other food to Musulman soldiers.

A message from Belgrade says: The entire Press confirms the reports that the Serbians have been ordered to cease hostilities at Scutari. The Chambers of Commerce and Industry have declared a boycott of Austrian merchandise. The banks have decided to cancel the credits of merchants dealing in Austrian goods unless Austria abandons her anti-Serbian attitude.

A message from St. Petersburg says: The following *communiqué* has been issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "The principal object of Russia, which was to secure to the Balkan States the fruits of their victories, has been attained, as the result of complicated and difficult negotiations. Russia has preserved Prizrend, Ipok, Djakova and Dibra for the Slavs, but she thought it necessary to concede Scutari to Albania, in order to preserve peace, the rupture of which, in such a case, would be manifestly absurd, as Scutari is a purely Albanian town and the seat of a Catholic Archbishop. Moreover, the Russian Vice-Consul at Scutari has proved that the Montenegrins are essentially a military race, incapable of assimilating the several thousand Albanians who have been settled in Montenegro for thirty-five years. Consequently the annexation of a portion of the Sandjak of Scutari, bringing in a hundred thousand Albanians, would tend to make Montenegro merely a Montenegrin Albania. King Nicholas broke his undertaking to warn Russia in the event of war and to obtain Russia's consent to it. Nevertheless the Tsar magnanimously sided the Montenegrins when the question of Scutari was being settled. A friendly notification was sent to King Nicholas, who was simultaneously warned of the grave responsibility of continuing resistance and of pursuing personal aims, which could only condemn Montenegrins to needless slaughter. These representations had no effect upon King Nicholas, it being clear that he was basing his calculations on the embroilment of Russia with the Powers in a European war. It is impossible, therefore, for Russia to oppose measures necessitated by the refusal of King Nicholas to submit to the decrees of the Powers. Russia cannot abandon the hope that Montenegro will cease her obstinacy and submit to the will of Europe, supported by an imposing naval display. Europe will then find means of alleviating the lot of the Montenegrins, who have been overwhelmed by the sacrifices they have made in besieging Scutari." The *communiqué* reminds the Balkan States that Russia, which gave them life, continues to be necessary to them for the purpose of mutual reconciliation, without which they cannot acquire vigour. The relations between Russia and the Slav people exclude the idea of hostility towards other nations.

A message from St. Petersburg states that the police did not interfere with the Great Slav banquet. Speakers from the various parliamentary parties arraigned the Government for its attitude.

London, April 12.

Reuter learns that an official telegram from Cetinje received yesterday evening states that the Montenegrin Government is prepared to consider a proposal of compensation for the loss of Scutari.

The *communiqué* published by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is regarded by diplomats as most opportune. It is possible that terms of peace will be signed within a week. The fact that Sir Edward Grey is leaving London, and M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, is going to Paris, is regarded as evidence of the improved outlook.

M. Popovich, the Montenegrin delegate in London, has gone to Paris; it is believed, in connexion with the proposed pecuniary compensation of Montenegro.

It is affirmed in the Continental Press that Bulgaria and Greece are making military preparations to assert their respective claims with regard to the possession of Salonica. A Salonica wire says that the possession of Monastir is likely to cause trouble between Bulgaria and Serbia.

Dr. Daneff, addressing the Progressive Deputies yesterday, referred to the fears in connection with the future relations between Bulgaria and her Allies. He said that Bulgaria would not be satisfied with less than what she was entitled to. She would resolutely insist on the strict application of the treaty with Serbia. The Bulgarian Convention with Greece permitted the delimitation of the acquired territory of the basis of the sacrifices made in the war. He hoped that none of the Allies would forget their own interests to the extent on provoking an odious and fatal conflict in the Balkans.

Reuter learns, with reference to the recent speech of Dr. Daneff, that the Bulgarian treaty with Serbia is precise. It provides that

the Tsar of Rumania shall be arbitrator in case of differences over the settlement. The treaty with Greece was concluded in hurry and contains no provision for arbitration, but the delimitation of territory can be based tolerably exactly upon the number of troops employed and the losses suffered and treasure expended.

London, April 13.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* dwells on the unanimous resolve of the Powers not to allow the decision on the essential points of the peace negotiations to be taken out of their hands. The journal adds that Montenegro and Serbia have not yet intimated definitely their abandonment of their determination to capture Scutari, but diplomacy is continuing its efforts to end the attacks and ensure Scutari remaining a part of Albania.

A wire from Belgrade says: The Russian *communiqué* has caused a very strong impression there. The general opinion is that peace is a question of days only. Merchants are preparing to resuming business which has been suspended for six months.

A wire from Vienna says Austria has concluded arrangements with Austrian and German banks for a loan of £6,140,000 sterling, at 4½ per cent., for railway purposes. The Minister of Finance made a reassuring statement with regard to the foreign relations of Austria-Hungary and the prospective development of the Balkans.

A telegram from Rome says that transports, escorted by a division of the fleet, have landed troops, at Tolmetta to the north-east of Benghazi. The enemy made no resistance. An officer and sixteen blue jackets were drowned by the capsizing of a boat in a rough sea.

London, April 14.

Serbia, while agreeing to suspend attacks on Scutari, insists that the Turkish garrison shall cease hostilities, otherwise she will resume fighting. Consequently, Turkey has ordered the Commander of Scutari to adopt a passive attitude.

A message from Sofia states that the reply of the Powers to the Balkan States has been presented. It confirms the forecast issued on the 10th instant regarding the Thracian frontier, the Aegean Islands and financial questions.

During the discussion of the Foreign Estimates in the Reichstag Herr von Jagow, the Foreign Minister, repudiated the idea that German diplomacy had failed in connexion with the Balkan crisis. He paid a tribute to the part played by Russia in clearing the situation regarding Scutari, and added that Germany would co-operate with the Powers in enabling Turkey to fulfil her mission in Asia.

London, April 15.

An armistice of ten days has been concluded between Turkey and the Balkan Allies. A message from Constantinople says the report of the conclusion of the armistice was premature, but there is good ground for believing that the Turkish and Bulgarian commanders have already broached the question; and that some form of truce has already been decided upon, which is expected to be the precursor of the definite suspension of hostilities.

A Montenegrin official statement declares that the reports in foreign newspapers that Montenegro would give way in connexion with Scutari, as a result of the cessation of operations by the Serbians, are incorrect. Montenegro may yield to *force majeure*, but only in streams of blood.

In the Reichstag to-day Herr von Jagow said he had supported the Roumanian wishes in the negotiations with Bulgaria as far as possible, owing to the long standing friendliness between Germany and Roumania. Moreover, the latter was the sole Balkan State which had listened to the advice of Europe and refrained from warlike intervention. Turkey had emerged from the struggle badly wounded, but with honour. She would find in her rich, but hitherto partially developed Asiatic territory a wide field in which to seek fresh vigour. Germany hoped to co-operate in facilitating the task before Turkey.

London, April 16.

Reuter learns that diplomatic quarters expect that the Peace Delegates will shortly assemble in London.

A message from Cetinje says that the Montenegrin Government has telegraphed to its representatives abroad that Montenegro rejects the idea of monetary compensation for the loss of Scutari, as deeply wounding to the honour and glorious history of the Montenegrin people. Montenegro will only yield Scutari to overwhelming force.

A message from Rome states that the *Tribuna* says Italy will oppose with all her force the annexation by Greece of Lemnos, Samothrace, Chios, Mytilene, Kos and Rhodes, and also the part of the Adriatic coast which is Corfu.

The following special cablegrams were received by the *Pioneer* from its London correspondent:—

The *New Free Press* states that Bulgaria suspects that Serbia and Greece are delaying the peace negotiations in order to keep the Bulgarians at Tobataldja, while concentrating their own armies. Already

almost the whole of the Greek army concentrated in the neighbourhoods of Salonica, Drama and Serres, while the Serbians are taking up a position along the right bank of the river Vardar. Bulgaria is sending the Adrianople troops to Macedonia, while those at Tobataldja will follow on the signing of the peace preliminaries. Dr. Dillon in the *Daily Telegraph* opines that if the Allies cannot agree the Powers will leave them to settle their differences. The *Times* Constantinople correspondent believes that the reports that the Triplets favour Bulgaria's claim to Salonica seem to have some foundation.

The Fall of Adrianople.

According to the *Daily Telegraph's* Belgrade correspondent the fall of Adrianople was the direct result of the Serbian heavy artillery fire. With the arrival of the Serbian siege guns and howitzers (he says) the destiny of Adrianople was sealed, because its guns, lacking precision and effect, were no match for the Serbian artillery, which has always had the best reputation, and fully deserved the high praises of the hero of Plevna, Ghazi Osman Pasha, who learnt to appreciate the Serbian artillerists when, in 1878, he crossed the Serbian frontier at Zajetchar.

After five months' siege the Serbian and Bulgarian generals, convinced of the superior fire of their artillery, resolved to take Adrianople by storm. Last Sunday evening (the 23rd March) a terrible bombardment was begun from all sides of the fortress, straining to the utmost the already exhausted vigour of the defenders.

On Monday, after stubborn fighting, both the Bulgarian and Serbians obtained surprising successes. In some places their troops advanced within reach of the streets of the town, and deserters and prisoners arrived in great numbers. On the southern sector alone the Serbians made 1,200 prisoners, who all spoke of the exhausted state of the garrison, which only the indomitable will of the heroic Chukri Pasha induced to continue fighting.

THE WEAKEST POINT.

The eastern forts, where the Bulgarian infantry operated, seconded by the whole Danubian division of Serbian artillery siege guns, under the command of Major Zhivojin Vanitch, were found to be the weakest, and therefore on Tuesday the efforts of the besiegers were concentrated mainly on that front. The Turkish artillery in the eastern forts was silenced piece after piece, and a terrible onslaught of infantry was prepared.

On Tuesday evening the besiegers advanced from all sectors within 300 yards of the outer forts, having captured, besides many hundreds of prisoners, six howitzers and twenty-one guns, of which seven quick-firing pieces were immediately used against the defenders.

Throughout the nights of Tuesday and Wednesday, desperate conflicts took place; having as their results the taking of the prominent forts of Fokat Bar on the southern front, attacked by the Serbians, and of Ekmerbiller, on the north-western front, captured by the Bulgarian troops. By Wednesday morning all the eastern forts—namely, Ayas Babo, Aydjioğlu, Kestanklik, Kuru Cheema, Ildis Tabia, Tipiolu, Kovkar Tabia, with all their artillery, had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, who entrenched themselves as speedily as possible in the captured positions.

DEPÔTS SET ON FIRE.

Thus, the iron gates of Adrianople were wide open, and, seeing that their stronghold was doomed, the Turks began the work of destruction, setting fire to all the store depôts, ammunition, and other war material.

While the attackers engaged in entrenching themselves in the captured positions the effect of this action by the Turks was rapidly visible. Great tongues of flame poured out of the various buildings and storehouses in Basyuk, Kemer Kadirlik Kask, and Karager, and tremendous detonations shook the air as their explosive contents blew up. All the artillery depôts and depôts, together with the small barracks along the northern front between Yanikikla and the town, were also on fire and blown up, and fire also appeared in many parts of the city itself, creating panic and confusion among the members of the civil population, who ran hither and thither like leaves driven before the wind.

SERBIANS ENTER THE TOWN.

Advancing meanwhile on the southern front, the Turkish Serbian Regiment was the first to enter the town. It was quickly followed by Bulgarian and Serbian cavalry. The streets in the outer districts were found to be empty, the terrified folk having retreated into the central quarters, but as the Serbian cavalry penetrated deeper into the city some of the inhabitants appeared round the corners of the houses, and greeted the conquerors in a manner which bespoke mingled joy and anxiety. The day's approach was over, and then came some Bulgarian and Turkish

but thousands of the inhabitants had run headlong to seek shelter among the squalid quarters of the town and at those forts which still remained in the hands of the Ottoman troops.

CHUKRI PASHA SURRENDERS.

Notwithstanding the loss of all the eastern forts, Chukri Pasha had intended to continue his resistance, relying upon the western and northern forts, which were reputed to be the strongest, but in the meantime the Servian troops in the western sector stormed and took with the bayonet the forts in the western front. Chukri Pasha, then convinced that all further resistance was useless and impossible, offered to capitulate to the Servian General Stepanovitch, who had entered Adrianople with the 20th Regiment. But General Stepanovitch declined to negotiate, as it had been arranged that General Ivanoff should have the supreme command of all the Servian and Bulgarian troops at Adrianople, and he alone had power to negotiate for capitulation. Chukri Pasha, his officers, and the garrison, surrendered at three in the afternoon.

The exact number it is difficult to verify but, according to reliable reports, it was about 35,000 men.

The announcement of the fall of Adrianople produced indescribable rejoicing at Sofia. The bells of all the churches were rung and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired to celebrate the event.

General Ivanoff sent a curt telegram saying merely, "I have accepted the capitulation of Chukri Pasha and his staff."

The Bulgarian Cabinet has voted £4,000 to be spent in aiding the population of Adrianople without regard to difference of religion or nationality.

The Captured City.

By HENRY W. NEVINSON.

THE historic and beautiful city has fallen at last after a siege of about five months a month longer than we endured in Ladysmith. At the beginning of the war all eyes were directed to the great fortress. Whichever side attacked first, it appeared that Adrianople would be the point of interest. Its position gave it the highest strategic importance. Not only does it stand at the junction of the three rivers, the Maritsa and Tundja (both flowing down into Turkey from Bulgaria), and the Arda (flowing from the west, along the foot of the Rhodope mountains), but, what is even more vital in modern warfare, it absolutely commands the only railway connecting the two countries. It also stands beside the only highroad between the Bulgarian cities of Sofia and Philippopolis on the one side and Constantinople on the other. In fact it forms the only possible point of contact where the two opposing armies could approach each other. Westward the frontier follows the Rhodope range, only passable by a few mountain paths, and eastward the mountains begin again, running with only one important interruption to the Black Sea. But at Mustafa Pasha there is a broad gap through which the River Maritsa, the railway, and the highroad run, and the forts of Adrianople itself are hardly more than 15 miles across the frontier.

A SUDDEN CHANGE

If only Bulgaria could mobilise first the obvious strategy was to strike hard at the city before it could become the base for invasion. It was known to form the headquarters of two army corps, supported by another army corps at Kirk Kiliseh, about 40 miles east. Bulgaria did mobilise first, and undoubtedly General Savoff's original intention was to attack Adrianople in force as soon as he had destroyed the flanking army at Kirk Kiliseh. Sending an army under Dimitrieff, the Bulgarian hero of the war, down the Tundja valley and the road from Yamboli (that interruption in the mountains eastward from Mustafa Pasha), he struck with entire success at Kirk Kiliseh, and everyone then expected a right wheel of that army against the main fortress. Suddenly, by the most brilliant piece of strategy in the war, General Savoff resolved to deliver his main attack against the main Turkish army, which was still mobilising on the line Luleh Burgas to Vizeh, and to leave only enough troops to "contain" Adrianople or keep it surrounded. Complete success rewarded this bold determination and the main course of the war was diverted from the great fortress itself. Instead of being the base for the invasion of Bulgaria, Adrianople became an almost helpless possession, the only possible utility of which was to delay the union of all the Bulgarian forces for a final attack upon the lines defending Constantinople. This result was entirely due to the slowness and disorder of the Turkish mobilisation and supply, especially in regard to the troops coming from Asia.

SHUKRI'S GALLANT DEFENCE.

The city itself, under her gallant commandant Shukri Pasha, actually did her utmost to fulfil her one possible service. The place had been carefully provisioned, probably with a view to serving as a base of supplies for an advance into Bulgaria, and in itself the city is rich, being the third largest Turkish city in Europe and still a prosperous place surrounded by a fertile plain, though its com-

mercial importance has long been declining. The ordinary population was estimated at about 60,000, but the crowds of refugees from the neighbourhood must have nearly doubled that number. The garrison at the beginning of the siege was reckoned at 40,000 men, and the city was surrounded by about 25 forts in a rough circle covering a circumference of nearly 80 miles.

Upon reaching Mustafa Pasha a day or two after the town was actually surrounded, I perceived at once that the Bulgarians had no intention of seriously attacking or taking the place by storm. General Ivanoff, commanding the Second Army, was being served almost entirely by reservists, Macedonian volunteers, and irregulars, good enough to keep a fortress blockaded, but hardly to drive an assault home. Nor were the guns the heaviest or best that Bulgaria could put into the field, though several 6 in. guns were brought up later by ox-waggons, and about the middle of November two Servian divisions arrived and were regarded with a certain amount of jealousy. Against these mixed forces Shukri Pasha devised every form of defence that a beleaguered garrison can undertake. There was no hope of breaking through the lines. In a siege there never is such a hope. The utmost that Shukri could do was to delay and ward off the approach of the enemy's lines as long as possible and so to relieve the pressure upon the Turkish armies elsewhere, and if possible to retain the city till peace was made and better terms secured owing to his tenacity. This he gallantly attempted by repeated sorties, especially at night. He gave the besiegers no rest. Sometimes day and night together the booming of the guns could be heard. Probably the greatest exploit of Turkish garrison was the recapture of two forts, Papan Tepah and Kartal Tepah, near the junction of the Arda with the Maritsa. Had the Bulgarians been able to retain them they would have commanded the one bridge over the Maritsa and connecting the city with its suburbs. But with astonishing courage the Turks drove them out of the position, and I believe neither side permanently occupied them again.

THE UNKNOWN END

What has happened since the armistice ceased is still unknown. One can imagine the bombardment increasing in severity as the lines gradually drew in closer. One can imagine the aeroplanes daily flitting over the city and dropping bombs or discouraging news among the weary troops. Worse than all, one can imagine the increasing starvation of soldiers and citizens alike, for the store of provisions must long have been approaching exhaustion, and no fresh supply was allowed during the armistice. But now there is an end, and one cannot help regretting it no matter how favourable to the Allies one may be. For it is an end with fire, and only too probably with sword. The wretched victims of the siege will be in no condition to resist. The city herself, including the most beautiful mosque in the world, may not escape destruction. The losses of the besiegers must also have been heavy, and Bulgaria can ill afford more men. And all this has happened within sight of the peace which was in any case almost certain in the next few days, and the only result is to ensure to Bulgaria a city which had been ensured to her already without further bloodshed on either side.—The Manchester Guardian.

The Defender of Adrianople.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

THE mantle of Osman Pasha, the defender of Plevna, has fallen upon Shukri Pasha, the defender of Adrianople. The task in the one case was as hopeless as it was in the other, but in the military Valhalla of the Ottoman Empire the two names will shine with equal lustre. "We shall honour him," said a Bulgarian officer before Adrianople of Shukri Pasha, "as no other Turkish officer in the present campaign."

Yet Shukri Pasha is little known to the outside world, and just because he is little known he looms in the imagination of the public as one of those old wild boars of the Janissary type whom Moltke once described as the most ferocious animals on earth when driven to their last stand. But Shukri Pasha is nothing of the kind. He is a most modern Turkish officer, with a thorough Prussian education, a disciplinarian and lover of detail, full of system and method, with nothing of that spontaneous patriarchal, and elemental war spirit which distinguished the object of Moltke's admiration. In addition, he is not even a Turk proper, but an Albanian born, however, at Erzerum in east of Asia Minor. All his family consisted of military men and he himself was early devoted to a military career. He was first educated at the Idadieh School in his own native town, and then, in 1876, a young man of 2, he was sent to the Artillery School at Constantinople, where he remained for three years, afterwards entering the army with the rank of lieutenant. Six years later he was sent to Germany, where he first served in the Second Field Artillery Guards Regiment and then joined the Artillery School. He became one of the best and favourite

pupils of General Robee, now the greatest German authority on artillery questions. He was reported to the Sultan Abdul Hamid by the old Kaiser William I. as reflecting great honour upon his regiment, and when he returned to Constantinople he was at once made aide-de-camp to the Sultan and given the command of an artillery regiment. It was this regiment which he led past William II. during the latter's visit to the Sultan, and the delighted Kaiser bestowed upon him on that occasion a high decoration.

Shukri's career was at first very rapid, and he soon found himself in command of an artillery division, with the rank of a brigadier general. But one day his father-in-law, Nuri Pasha, hitherto an omnipotent courtier, fell into disgrace and was sent away to Damascus. Thereupon Shukri Pasha, too, was removed from the capital and appointed inspector of artillery at Adrianople. It was thus an arbitrary act of Abdul Hamid which first created the connection between Shukri and the scene of his present exploits. His activity while at Adrianople constitutes one of the finest pages in the modern history of Turkish military organisation. Favoured by the intelligence and good-will of his superior, Madjar Mahmud Pasha, a former Hungarian officer who had taken service in the Turkish army and became a Moslem, Shukri worked day and night to bring his branch to the highest pitch of perfection, and his success was so great that the Sultan was reluctantly compelled to promote him to the rank of a "Birindja Ferik" (*premier divisionnaire*), which carried with it the rights of a commanding general. In this capacity he was in 1903, at the outbreak of the revolt in Macedonia, given the arduous task of putting down the rebels. What followed is somewhat obscure. He was formally accused of plotting against his chief, Field Marshal Arif Pasha, and was acquitted. But there can be no doubt that the Field Marshal did not like him—according to one version, because of Shukri's success in arms; according to another, because he refused to spy upon his officers. However that may be, Shukri, instead of being given a high command or brought back to Constantinople, was sent into honourable exile at Salonica as inspector of artillery of the Third Army Corps.

Here, on the eve of the fateful year 1908, Shukri's political convictions must be mentioned. He was not in sympathy with the Young Turkish propaganda which was being carried on under his eyes among the officers. A military man after the Prussian model, he regarded all preoccupations of an officer with anything beyond his military duties as treason. Hence his stern treatment of all officers suspected by him of political leanings and hence the choice of Abdul Hamid in appointing him early in the summer of that year as a sort of commissioner to investigate the temper of the army and to report upon the individual officers suspected of Young Turkish sympathies. By this attitude he rendered himself highly unpopular among the conspirators, but while Shevki Pasha, who had been engaged in similar work, was killed, he was not even touched. The Young Turks had no occasion to rue the respect which they showed for him at the time, for it was none other than Shukri Pasha who, on gaining an insight into the strength of the officers' movement, reported to the Sultan that all resistance would be vain, and that he must restore the Constitution of 1876. It was by his advice that Abdul Hamid, on the receipt of the famous telegram from Resna, gave in on July 23 without saying another word.

But of course, not being able to share the Young Turkish sympathies, Shukri Pasha could not expect high posts under the new Government. At first he was offered the post of Vali of Tripoli, but he refused it. Thereupon he was appointed commandant of the Jordanelles district, afterwards commander of the First Redif Division at Constantinople, and lastly, when the war seemed imminent, he was sent to Adrianople, which he knew so well, as its commandant. Five days before the declaration of war he entered Adrianople, and within this brief period he succeeded in making all the necessary preparations for the long siege which ensued.

Shukri Pasha has all through his life served his country, not this or the other party or Government. He was a great friend of Nazim Pasha, and Nazim's death must have come as an acute shock both to his feelings and to his military ideas. He is also said to have been an admirer of Kiamil Pasha's policy. But whatever his feelings against the present Government and his future attitude towards it may be, all the stories of his having threatened punishment to the authors of the recent coup d'etat may be dismissed as fables. He has been only concerned to fight the enemy of his country and to save the honour of the Turkish arms.—The Manchester Guardian.

The New Turkish Army at Tchataldja.

("MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND "DAILY CHRONICLE" TELEGRAM.)

Turkish Headquarters, Hadem Koy.

Apr. 23, via Constantinople.

I HAVE just made a tour of the Turkish position from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea, and I must admit that the Tchataldja

army of to-day is a vastly different force from that which was composed of the starving and emaciated human wrecks, the survivors of Abdullah Pasha's terrible retreat, whom I saw falling back on those lines towards the end of the first phase of the war.

The experiment which Turkey has tried since the reopening of the war of shutting out the special newspaper correspondents from the theatre of operation is now officially admitted not to have been altogether a success, even from the point of view of the authorities themselves. Thus it has come about that the stringent regulations for the exclusion of correspondents have been somewhat relaxed.

The hitherto carefully closed door which gives access to the front has been opened slightly, and two representatives of the English, French, and German press each have been allowed to squeeze through. I had the honour of being one of the two Englishmen favoured with this mark of confidence, the other being Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.

A HISTORIC RAILWAY CARRIAGE.

We were very cordially received on arriving at the headquarters of Izzet Pasha, the successor of the lamented Nazim Pasha. The General and his staff occupy a railway train at Hadem Koy, one of the carriages of which is that which carried Abdul Hamid into exile and in which the armistice was signed. We two Englishmen were provided with temporary quarters in the train and invited to the officers' mess. On Friday Izzet Pasha placed his own motor-car at the disposal of Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett and myself, with Major Edib Bey as cicerone, and in it we made the tour of the Turkish position which I have mentioned.

The famine-stricken, cholera-ravaged Hadem Koy which I saw during the black days of November exists no more. I could not repress a shudder as we passed the station enclosure with its barracks adjoining, places which recalled a vision of hundreds of blackened, cholera-distorted victims whom I saw lying there on the occasion of my previous visit to headquarters four months ago. Here no longer is that army, broken with battles, with hunger, disease, and the victorious Bulgarians. Someone has worked wonders in the interval. Order and organisation have been evolved out of almost hopeless chaos. Food is no longer a rare luxury, for the Turkish soldier is now well fed, well clad, and well housed, and his long-overdue pay has evidently been forthcoming in full.

The town is a high morale and excellent efficiency, and Izzet Pasha to-day commands a first class fighting force of a calibre vastly superior to the famished divisions which bore the brunt of the Bulgarian slaughter at Luleh Burgas and on the Thracian plains.

Round Hadem Koy, now rebuilt, the former excreable roads have been remade, permitting motor traction. A light railway has also been laid down for the revictualling of the army and for carrying ammunition to the forts. These are a few of the administrative miracles which some Turkish Kitcheners have worked on the Tchataldja Lines.

That name is somewhat confusing, since the defensive works are eight miles eastwards from Tchataldja village, while Hadem Koy itself is no longer the centre of the historic defensive lines of the Turkish army. From Hadem Koy the position, descending the intervening valley, has advanced westwards across the Kara Su, the village of Tchataldja has been reoccupied, and a strongly entrenched position made on the mountains westwards.

THE BULGARIANS' PRESENT POSITIONS.

I must refrain from mentioning the strength and dispositions of the Turkish forces. As the result of a Turkish reconnaissance a few days ago, a piece of work smartly carried out with slight loss, there was revealed the presence of a strong Bulgarian detaining force. There were four divisions—the fifth at Istrandja, the sixth at Tchahildjik, the tenth at Fener, immediately west of Tchataldja, while the fourth division of reserves was located at Sinekli.

The Bulgarians show little disposition to resume the offensive. They will probably wait till the fall of Adrianople brings to their assistance the besieging army before they venture upon a final effort to push back Izzet's army and penetrate the hitherto impenetrable lines.

I was received most cordially by Izzet Pasha in his saloon. He is a light-complexioned, stout-featured, agreeable Turkish gentleman of the German Young Turk military school. He has been fighting for two years in Yemen, and has the reputation of being a very keen soldier with a certain strategical shrewdness. His political opponents even admit that if he had had an earlier opportunity for high command Luleh Burgas might not have ended so disastrously for the Turks as it did.

Izzet, I gathered from our conversation, is a shrewd, well-hearted optimist, who, while admitting the impossibility of relieving Adrianople, still maintains that the Turks have by no means fought their last fight in Thrace. It is true, the Turk was beaten to his knees, but Izzet is one man who believes that if the opportunity arises the Tchataldja army will retire for Turkey some, at all events.

of her lost military prestige, if not some of her lost European empire. Paradoxical as it may sound, Izet holds that the longer the struggle continues the greater is Turkey's chance of military success in the field. At present he is content to act vigorously on the defensive.

MARTIN H. DONOHUE.

Montenegrin Ambitions.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Cettigne, Mar 18

THE reply of the Montenegrin Government to the request of the Powers that the civil population of Scutari be allowed to leave the town is a document of considerable interest, as becomes evident from a comparison of the statements contained therein with former official declarations. On October 8, the day upon which Montenegro declared war, King Nicholas issued a proclamation in which the following passages occurred:—

"We do not attack an Empire from presumption, but from the noblest of motives, to save from destruction our brothers on the far side of the frontier."

And again:—

"Follow me, soldiers, to reach out our hand to our brothers in misfortune and to the noble Malissars, who for two years past have been fighting for their rights, their freedom, and for union with Montenegro."

Although, from the plan of campaign, it was at once evident that the liberation of the Serb brother played but a secondary part in King Nicholas's aims, such phrases were valuable at the moment. They placed Nicholas before the world as the leader of the Serb race in the struggle with the Turk; and they served as arguments to convince Europe—naturally sympathetic towards a small country which for generations had withstood all attempts at conquest—of the justice of his cause.

In the middle of January Montenegro, having failed to accomplish the real object of the war—the capture of Scutari—presented to the Ambassadors' conference in London a memorandum purporting to show reason why, on the conclusion of peace, the town should be included within the borders of Montenegro. One of the arguments adduced in support of the Montenegrin claim was that "the population of Scutari, through the mouth of the Catholic Archbishop of the town, demanded in emphatic terms the help and protection of Montenegro." That is to say, while stress was laid upon the necessity for Montenegro of possessing Scutari from the point of view of Montenegro's future, Europe was led to believe that the Skutarenes themselves desired Montenegrin rule. To those who were in touch with passing events it was clear that, once the foundation of an autonomous Albania had been decided upon, this reported desire of the population of Scutari for union with Montenegro was as hollow an argument in favour of Montenegrin acquisition of the town as the liberation of the brother Serb had been a secondary motive in the declaration of war.

Any doubts, however, that might still exist as to the reasons which prompt King Nicholas to prosecute in the face of a united Europe the siege of Scutari are dispelled by the Montenegrin Government itself in its refusal to accede to the request of the Powers to permit the civil inhabitants—other than foreigners—to leave the town. This communication, with its callous refutation of former declarations, contains the following statements:—

"La guerre balkanique a été, en effet, entreprise pour la délivrance non des co-religionnaires et des co-nationaux des Etats alliés en Turquie, mais le principe inscrit au premier chef sur le programme de leurs revendications leur prescrit précisément d'entreprendre toutes les mesures pour faire cesser la plus tôt possible un état de guerre que le gouvernement royal est le premier à déplorer."

At the close of the reply the Powers are begged to remember—

—that the population civile de Scutari se trouve être, en grande partie, dans les rangs des combattants ennemis.

In view of the above statements it is impossible that the pretence of altruistic motives can be any longer maintained. Since the population of Scutari are fighting against the Montenegrins the eventual capture of the town could not be a fulfilment of the desires of its inhabitants; since the war is not being waged to deliver co-religionnaires and co-nationals the object cannot be the liberation of the Christian from the Moslem. The object for which thousands of men have been killed and wounded, and for which a repetition of heavy losses is threatened, becomes one of pure conquest—and conquest actuated as much by dynastic reasons as by the widely proclaimed economic necessities of the country. Failure to obtain Scutari means the failure of King Nicholas to achieve what his people trusted him to perform. The town must, therefore, be wrested from its owners. The day of Turkish sovereignty over Scutari is obviously past; but in its place the Powers threaten to set up Albanian rule. Accordingly the Albanian has become

the enemy. He must be driven out at all costs to make room for the Serb; and even by responsible persons the opinion is expressed that the less that is left of the existing town when Montenegro takes possession the better. As I have already telegraphed the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires here has found it necessary to protest to the Montenegrin Government on the subject of the indiscriminate dropping of shells in the neighbourhood of the Austro-Hungarian Consulate and of the Catholic Cathedral in Scutari, while other reports from the front also point to a definite bombardment of the town being in progress. Little is heard nowadays in Montenegro of the "noble Malissars", rather has "Albanian" become synonymous with all that is detestable. With a besieging army imbued with such a spirit the prospect of an eventual entry into Scutari by force of arms cannot fail to arouse the gravest apprehensions.

The Boundaries of New Albania.

ON Wednesday, March 26, Sir Edward Grey and the Ambassadors formally accepted on behalf of all the Powers the frontier adopted on Saturday, March 22, as a compromise between the various proposals considered during the last three months. No one line has anywhere been adopted in its entirety, but on the whole the new frontier strikes a reasonable mean between the suggestion put forward in the first place by Russia and Austria-Hungary respectively, the claims advanced by the Balkan Allies on the one hand and those advocated by the Albanian Provisional Government in their memoranda being more extreme than those of their supporters in the negotiations at the Foreign Office. These extreme claims were illustrated in a map published in *The Times* of January 11 last.

The new frontier, which will have to be delimited locally by an International Boundary Commission, is to start from a point on the right bank of the Boyana, about five kilometres up stream from the former Turco-Montenegrin line as settled by the "Duligno Arrangement" of January 28, 1881. Leaving Gorizia, in spite of its Slavonic name, to Albania, the new line is to strike the lake of Scutari between Skja and Zogaj. The latter village which is almost entirely Moslem, and the whole of the Tarabosh ridge, which has been such an insuperable obstacle to King Nicholas's army, will be Albanian. This alteration of frontier will give more than 40 square miles of new territory to Montenegro south of the Lake, and the line chosen forms a mean between the San Stefano proposal and the frontier of 1881. In view of the future possibility of draining the Lake a frontier was proposed which, in such an event, would have brought Montenegrin territory to within little more than a mile of the town of Scutari, but for this there has been substituted a line running out to the centre of the lake as shown on the map. The frontier suggested by the "Corti Compromise" of April 18, 1880, has been adopted through the north-eastern arm of the Lake, from which the new line will follow the established tribal boundary between the territory of the Hoti and Gruda Clans of the Malsia Madhe group of the Malissor Confederacy, which will be Montenegrin, and that of the Kastrati, Shkreli, and Klementi Clans, which will be in Albania. The new boundary will join the existing Montenegrin frontier at a point about 10 miles due east of Podgoritzza.

The whole of the Klementi tribal area, part of which lies outside the old Ottoman *vilayet* of Scutari, is retained for Albania. The new boundary leaves the actual Montenegrin frontier at a point a little to the south west of Andrievitza and gains the line of the watershed between the Drin and Lake Plava. This it follows for some distance, coinciding here with the proposed line of the Treaty of Berlin. By this arrangement the greater part of the Plava and Guranje District which the Montenegrins were unable to retain 33 years ago, in face of the opposition of the Albanian League, will be restored to them. It is inhabited almost entirely by Moslem offshoots of the neighbouring Klementi Clan, which is itself of mixed religion. The Albanian frontier then turns southward and follows the western watershed of the Djakova Valley, leaving that town, although inhabited almost exclusively by Albanians, well outside the new State, and joins the White Drin at its junction with the Erenik, the main stream of the Djakova Valley, about five miles from Djakova. The frontier will follow the course of the White Drin until it reaches a point about 12 miles west of Prisrend, a town which is to be retained by the Serbs for historical reasons, as having at one time been the capital of Serbia, whence it will divide the territory of the Lynna Clan from the canton of the Gova with its Slavonic inhabitants. All the Lynna country will be Albanian, but the Reka Valley, through which the Redika runs and the episcopal town of Dibra, largely inhabited by Bulgarians, will not be included in the new State. From a point a little below the latitude of Dibra the Albanian frontier will follow the *thalweg* of the Black Drin upstream until it reaches its intersection with the western boundary of the Qaza of Ochrida to which it will adhere until it arrives at the Lake of Ochrida. South of this its course has not as yet been decided.

It will be observed that the western boundary of the Turkish *Qasa of Ochrida* was that fixed for Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano, as being thoroughly in accord with the ethnography of that locality. Of the new boundary it may be said that it includes no Slavonic population with the exception of that of Vraca, a Serb village on the Lake a little to the north of Scutari, and excludes a very considerable number of Albanians, notably the Gruda and Hoti clans the people of Plava, of Djakova, and of the Reka Valley. The latter, owing to the unhappy incidents of the present war, are now a perhaps negligible quantity. The greater part of the north of Old Serbia is also thickly sprinkled with Albanians, but their presence there represents a comparatively recent immigration into territory which for many centuries has been predominantly Serb. If the essence of a compromise is that it should be distasteful to both parties, then in this sense the new frontier of Albania may be considered as an unqualified success.—*The Times*

Forced Conversion in Macedonia.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Mar. 21.

Witnesses in many different districts allege that a campaign of proselytism and extermination is being waged by the Bulgarians against the Mussulman population of Eastern Macedonia. It appears that the Bulgarian troops at first behaved well, and that the campaign is considered due principally to Bulgarian priests and *komitadjis*. King Ferdinand and his Government are not responsible for the outrages committed, but they have not interfered. An indication of the nature of these outrages is given in a petition recently presented by a deputation of the Mussulman inhabitants of Osmanieh to one of the European Consulates in Salonica. The petition says that the Mussulman inhabitants of Osmanieh had at the beginning of the occupation of the region by the Bulgarian army taken refuge in other kazas. Relying on a promise made to safeguard their property, their honour, and their religion the Mussulmans returned to their homes. As soon as they returned, however, the inhabitants of fourteen villages were attacked by Bulgars. The petition proceeds: "All the young girls of these villages were violated, and all who were good-looking were forced to adopt the Christian religion. All widows were made to marry Christians. To compel the whole population to accept Christianity all possible and imaginable atrocities were committed. The villagers who would not become Christians were beaten and killed. Terrified by these dreadful spectacles some Mussulmans were obliged to accept the Christian religion, and to sign a paper by which they were made to declare that no violence had been used to effect their conversion."

The petitioners added that one day it was ordered that on the ringing of a bell everybody was to go to church, and that whoever disobeyed should be shot. Thereupon the petitioners fled. A similar position existed in other kazas. The petition concludes:—"Have civilised nations lost all feeling of pity? Has humanity disappeared from the earth? How can people remain calm spectators of atrocities surpassing those of the dark ages? We lay our complaint before you, begging you in the name of our unfortunate brethren to do what is needful to put an end to this state of affairs."

The Young Turks.

(BY ONE OF THEM.)

An article appeared recently in *THE NEAR EAST* entitled "Why the Young Turks Failed," but the author would, perhaps, have served a better purpose had he told us "How the Young Turks Might Succeed." It is always so easy to be wise after the event. I venture, with all diffidence, to suggest a programme for future application—not merely a criticism of the past; but, conscious as I am of my limited knowledge of a subject which bristles with difficulties, I beg a large measure of leniency. It appears evident to me that if Turkey is to move forward on the lines of modern development and civilisation her hopes lie with the Young Turks; yes, even with the much-maligned Committee of Union and Progress. I do not think any careful observer of the events of the last four years can deny that the Committee programme and the Committee ideals are progressive, liberal, and advanced beyond the mental grasp of the majority of Ottomans, and, as such, hold forth the best hopes for future progress. I do not think I need enlarge on this point, for history shows that the extremists of to-day are the moderates of to-morrow and the Conservatives of a generation hence, when the forefront again is occupied by others of still more advanced tenets. A potent reason for the unpopularity of the Young Turks was that they were anxious to break away from traditions national and religious. Looking, therefore, at the situation broadly I maintain that the hope of a progressive Turkey coming into being lies with the Young Turks. I am not blind to the faults of the Committee

of Union and Progress. There are good and bad elements in all sects and parties, and the wiser are sometimes overruled by the less wise. But I believe that the faults of yesterday are less likely to be repeated in the future, as the lesson has been learnt or, at least, a great part of it has been taken to heart. On the other hand, Europe and the Balkan States separately and collectively must not hinder us. We feel, perhaps without justification, that Europe is better pleased with our failures than if we were to succeed; that a decadent Turkey suits their policy better than an independent and progressive Ottoman Empire.

For the time being at least, however, it is to be hoped that Turkey will shortly be afforded a respite from the difficulties that have so closely beset her in the past. The question is, how can Turkey best benefit by this respite? As a Young Turk of methodical mind, I would roughly tabulate the dangers to my country, external and internal, and, after providing such measures as are required to counter-balance these, I would estimate the natural vitality, recuperative power, and desire of the country to live independently.

Of external dangers I would have to place in the forefront the Russian menace in the Anatolian provinces. The second danger is foreign financial control, which will drift into administrative control and foreign occupation. Third, British hindrance to genuine progress in the provinces from Baghdad south. The precise meaning of this last point is difficult to explain and would require more space than is available. I will confine myself to begging my readers to believe that the conditions I refer to are real.

Of internal dangers I would limit myself merely to the most pressing. First the danger of national bankruptcy; second, the Arab question; third, the Kurdish question; and finally, the Armenian difficulty. Let us take these separately.—

THE RUSSIAN MENACE.

The material remedy lies in the maintenance of an efficient, well-organised and mobile force in our existing fortresses on the eastern frontier. Recent history has proved how valuable such armed centres can be, as witness the stubborn resistance of Janina, Scutari, and Adrianople. The moral remedy is to interest other Powers (France, the ally of Russia, and Germany being indicated) in the maintenance of Turkey's independence. Therefore, encourage foreign enterprise in the country more than has been done in the past.

FINANCIAL CONTROL.

We cannot ignore the symptoms of Europe's desire to impose financial control upon Turkey, probably immediately after the conclusion of peace in the present war. But, if we are firm, we can maintain our financial independence. As long as we meet our engagements the Powers would hesitate to use coercive measures to impose their will; the danger of a conflict in which Europe might become embroiled is a sufficient deterrent. We, on our part, must, however, show a serious intention to place our finances on a sound basis. It will be necessary for us to economise on our expenditure. We cannot ignore the fact that better administration means increased expenditure on administration and productive works—compare, for instance, the budget of Egypt to-day with those of thirty years ago—but we can, and must, economise on our army. We shall no longer require the same force in Macedonia, and a considerably reduced, but thoroughly well organised, army will be sufficient for defensive purposes. We believe also that we have made lasting terms of peace with the inhabitants of the Yemen (the insatiable vampire that has for so long sucked the blood and wealth of the Empire). Finally, our internal financial control, the "four *dan* omekts," though still in its infancy, is making itself felt and is enforcing a considerable check on expenditure. Europe will also recognise that, of all the "advisors" so often employed by Turkey in years gone by, those in the service of the Young Turks are the only ones who have been given any help. This is notably the case with regard to the Customs administration (I appeal to Sir Richard Crawford). Wherefore I believe that, if Turkey is firm and shows a desire to help herself, the menace of foreign financial control may be conjured, the more so as the resources of the Empire are far greater than is supposed to be the case.

Coming to the British aspirations in Baghdad and southwards, I see Egypt to the west and India to the east. Between these two lie Baluchistan (British), South of Persia (British sphere of influence), the Persian Gulf with its tribal chiefs (Britain having kept the seas free from piracy, and having represented any law that ever existed there for a hundred years or more), and Turkey. Well may Britain expect the reversion of interests some day and oppose, or at least refuse to encourage, any development by foreign capital that would endanger her inheritance. As a remedy for this I would recognise Britain's vested interests in the Persian Gulf (including Kowts) and the Red Sea, and ask in exchange that Britain should help in the development of the country. We have never seen Britain oppress our religion or misuse our people, and

why then should we fear her preponderance in Baghdad and southward? That part of the Empire may become less ours to boast about, but more ours as a wealthy and progressive province.

THE CAPITULATIONS.

Before passing from the question of external to internal dangers there is one more point I desire to make. In this I know I do not see eye to eye with many of the Committee leaders. They, I think, are more satisfied with the shadowy but high-sounding title of "Independence," though it may, in fact, entail chains of slavery, than recognition of certain racial and mental differences which are largely accountable for the existence and continuation of the Capitulations. I would say to Europe, I desire to confirm all the Capitulations if, on your part, you will agree to their just application. Turkey loses nothing in dignity by allowing foreigners to settle their own quarrels amongst themselves, and as to lawsuits with Ottomans, it is common knowledge that the best conducted tribunal, and the most just, is the mixed tribunal for Ottomans v. Foreigners, or vice versa. But all foreigners do not show the same loyalty in compliance with the law, notably in regard to the execution of judgments adverse to them, and it stands greatly to Britain's honour that we have no cause of complaint against her in this respect. I feel that, if Europeans are assured of their privileges under the Capitulations, they will be the more anxious to maintain an Ottoman Government in Constantinople, whereas, if they are deprived of them, the foreigners would welcome intervention, or, at least, would be indifferent to Turkey remaining independent.

Coming now to the internal situation, I can only glance at the four points I have raised in the briefest manner, as foreign readers would fail to follow a profound examination of this complex question.

NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY

This question overlaps, to a great extent, the points I have raised with regard to the steps which should be taken to avoid foreign financial control. It will suffice if I add that Turkey should be left free to make commercial treaties without having to obtain the consent of the Powers, all of whom are not, perhaps, too altruistic in their intentions. Certainly an increase of import duty is necessary, not as a protective measure (for we have little or nothing to protect), but as a source of revenue. This is the less objectionable from an economic point of view as we produce our necessities and import luxuries which can well bear an increased tax. We should also be free to place high import duty on imported alcohol—not a necessity—which alone would ensure a reasonable market for the produce of our vineyards, and the public would benefit by having a wholesome spirit instead of the inferior alcohols which Russia and Austria force upon our market. In like manner many other luxuries could be taxed with advantage. Our internal resources are great and steadily progress in spite of anything that was done during the late régime to run them, and we have every reason to believe that, with peace and security, sufficient foreign capital will flow into the country for mining, industrial and agricultural purposes to ensure a normal budget in the course of a very few years.

THE ARAB QUESTION.

It is impossible for us to shut our eyes to the aspirations of our Syrian fellow-subjects. They come of a civilised race, their language is superior to ours—us, indeed, the language of our religion. They show some capacity for self-government. They are seeking for autonomy; and though this is more than can be accorded, there is no reason why a middle course should not be followed with every advantage to the Empire. Our present Minister of the Interior is studying the question in a liberal spirit, and I have no doubt that, if the present Government is left to carry out its programme of reform, this question will find an early and favourable solution by the application of the decentralisation scheme (Law of the Vilayet) already framed by the Committee before their overthrow last summer, and which would have been in force by now had the usurpation of power not taken place in July, 1912.

The Kurdish question is much more serious. Here we have an ignorant and savage people not readily susceptible to civilisation nor easily coerced into obedience. They have been accustomed from time immemorial to live on the Armenians, as the Highlanders of Scotland lived on the Lowlanders. A strong hand will be necessary, perhaps even punitive expeditions; but if the latter are well organised and humanely carried out the Kurds can be soon subdued. In the handling of this difficult thing, cannot do better, than to benefit by the experience of Britain on the North-West Frontier of India, and we should be well advised to set for the loan of Indian frontier officers to aid us in a task of equality, justice and brotherhood.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

This is largely dependent upon the settlement of the Kurdish difficulty. The Armenians have shown themselves loyal subjects and brave soldiers in the present war, and have earned for their nationality the grateful respect of all thinking Turks. We know that the Armenians are too scattered over to be a menace to our predominance, and that they have no protecting European Power of the same race to intrigue for their independence. They are willing and ready to throw in their lot wholeheartedly with us if only we show them some small measure of justice. This the Young Turks are fully resolved to do, and I therefore think that this difficulty is also easily solvable.

Before ending I must beg leave to add my reply to a question which I know will be asked, namely: "Can you ensure the application of equal justice to Christian as to Moslem, or will the Moslem population overthrow your Government in the event of your daring to punish a Moslem when he has been unjust to a Christian?" My answer is in a negative, but Turkey must first organise a thoroughly efficient government under foreign officers with executive power. Finally if there is to be equal justice for Christian and Moslem it is to be looked for from the "Young Turks," since it is they alone who have the will and the courage to break with the traditions of the past, even at the risk of incurring the iniquitous contumely of the Turk of the old school.—*DIENNAH in the Near East.*

Decentralisation in Turkey.

(FROM ASSOCIATION FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, Mar. 16.

NOTWITHSTANDING the cares and worries of the general situation the Government has found time to occupy itself with various important legislative measures which are calculated to have widespread consequences in the future development of the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps the most important of the new laws, from a political standpoint, is that which provides for the decentralisation of the provincial administration in the disposal of certain local revenues which had hitherto all been paid over to the Treasury. This measure is part of the Provincial Law which the Young Turks attempted to pass through Parliament during their previous spell of office but which was shelved when the mutiny at Monastir compelled the Committee to retire into the background. The revenues which are to be left at the disposal of the vilayets are the "surtaxes" on the tithes set apart for public education and public works, the upkeep-of-roads tax, the slaughter tax, and finally the income from all property belonging to the vilayets. In certain circumstances, and with the previous consent of Government, the Councils General of the provinces are also to have the right to levy additional fractions upon direct taxes. The Councils may also raise loans upon their special receipts. The powers thus conferred upon the provincial administration mark a considerable degree of decentralisation, and it is suggested that the Government is anxious to forestall the agitation which has been gaining ground in some quarters, especially Syria, for reforms along these lines.

Other Government measures deal with the question of tenure of real estate. The old laws on the subject are based on the Sheri, or religious code, and they have constituted a serious and almost insurmountable obstacle to traffic and investment in property in the past. The new measures fundamentally alter the laws both as regards the holding and the inheritance of real estate. In future, subject to certain restrictions, companies, syndicates, and other corporate bodies may hold property in their own names, while in the matter of inheritance the rights of next-of-kin are clearly set forth and made valid even in the case of vakuf property (ecclesiastical endowments). The Young Turks have made several attempts in the past to secure the adoption by Parliament of bills on these lines, but opposition was always too strong, the deputies fearing that facilities in the matter of tenure would lead to the transfer of too much property to foreigners.

Ottoman Finance.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" FINANCIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Mar. 22.

THE payment of 2,000,000 lire per annum which, by the Treaty of Lausanne, the Italian Government agreed to make to the Ottoman Public Debt Council for the loss of the Tripolitan revenues assigned to the service of the Public Debt, has been capitalised at 4 per cent, and amounts to 272,164,502. Of this sum 271,742,806 represents the loss sustained by the ceded revenues, 3 per cent. Customs surtax,

tobacco tithe and tobacco monopoly, not only owing to the occupation of Tripoli, but also from the blockade of the Red Sea ports. The loss to the fisheries revenue, assigned especially to the 4 per cent. loan of 1903, capitalised at 4 per cent., gives £781,147. The Tobacco Régie Company's losses owing to the seizure of its revenues in Tripoli, Rhodes, Cor, and Claymon, as well as by the blockade of Hodeidah, have been capitalised at £765,742, making in all a total of £1,546,889. After this sum has been deducted from the total, as above stated, of £2,164,502, there remains over a sum of £617,613 to be paid by the Debt Council to the Ottoman Government. This sum has already been advanced to the Government so that the Treasury has nothing further to receive under this heading.

It is the intention of the Debt Council to invest the £1,546,889, the interest on which—say, some £80,000 a year—will be paid into the general receipts of the Administration. On the extinction of the Funded Debt this sum, like the £2,000,000 reserve fund, will be handed over to the Imperial Government. It will be seen, therefore, that the bondholders have no cause to complain that their interests have suffered through the loss of the Tripolitan provinces, and it must be added that the Italian Government have acted with a spirit of equity which does them credit.

It is reported on good authority that when the settlement of outstanding financial questions is discussed in Paris, Russia will ask to have a representative on the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, and that France will be prepared to look upon this request with favour.

Since my last letter the question of the tobacco monopoly has entered into an entirely new phase.

A new, but not wholly unexpected, competitor has taken the field in the shape of an Anglo-American combination not unknown in the tobacco world. This combination is now represented here by Mr. John Brown, of New York, and Mr. Owen, who have put forward officially a proposal of which the following are the essential points. They are asking for a concession of the tobacco monopoly, and it is believed that they are prepared to pay in return a royalty of £1,000,000 per annum to the Public Debt Administration. The surplus over and above the amount required for the royalty and interest on the capital will be divided between the company, the Debt, and the Government.

The offer is an interesting one, and will be examined shortly by the Debt Council. The present Régie Company will doubtless make a counter-proposal, and should they offer the same terms they have a right of preference. The matter has to be definitely decided before very long.

The entry into the arena of a serious competitor cannot but have a beneficial effect on the interests of the bondholders and Government.

Sir E. Grey on the Balkan Situation.

In the House of Commons on the 26th March on the order for the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill, Colonel Yate (Melton, Opp.) called attention to the insecurity of life and property of British subjects in Southern Persia. He contrasted the state of things with that in Northern Persia, where order was kept by a certain number of Russian troops, while our officers and men, shut up in Shiraz, were not allowed to retaliate. The British Government seemed to be absolutely impotent, while the spirit of the Indian soldier was being ruined. That was not the way to maintain the honour and prestige of the Indian Army. Persia herself was powerless to alter this state of things, and to talk of being able to maintain the independence of Persia was to talk absolute nonsense. The All-India Moslem League had passed a resolution at Lucknow recommending that Persia should be left to work out her own salvation without foreign intervention. But it was the unsettled condition of Persia which had brought Russia into Northern Persia, and if the Russian troops left Northern Persia would relapse into the same state of anarchy that Southern Persia was in now, and the ultimate result would be to break up the Persian Kingdom. To suppose that the Persians in the present circumstances could work out their own salvation without foreign help was to suppose an absolute impossibility. They had had an example lately of what Persia really was in the series of brilliant letters to *The Times* from their Teheran Correspondent. He thought the personality of that writer ought to be the test of the truthfulness of what he said. In his letter of March 7 he gave a description of the Persian aristocracy and Persian officials, of whom he said:—"Intrigue was their only art and lying their most cultivated talent. Their sole inspiring motive was greed, and the embezzlement of public funds from a

stricken Treasury was their principal pursuit." Of the warriors of Persia he said:—"I am inclined to think the tribesman is an overrated warrior, whose prowess lies in terrorizing helpless villagers." In fact this correspondent had shown that the Persian Government and officials were utterly corrupt and untrustworthy, that there was no spirit of nationality in the country, and that the so-called warriors were mere robbers with no fight in them. Persia required strong and reliable financial administration and that was impossible under Persian administration, and he suggested that Russian, English and Indian representatives should form a board for the financial administration of Persia. Referring to the *Gendarmes* the hon. and gallant gentleman dwelt on the necessity of having British officers who had had experience of raising levies on the Indian frontier to protect the trade routes. We were now withdrawing our troops and trusting to the *Gendarmes*, and if they failed the only plan would be to lend Persia a sufficient number of British Mahomedan officers and non-commissioned officers to help the Persian Government to raise levies to guard the roads.

Sir E. Grey's Statement.

Before I deal with the points raised by the hon. and gallant member, I want to make a fuller statement to the House than has yet been made relating to Balkan affairs. (Hear, hear.) I do not propose to enter on any general review of the European situation. I will leave that where it was left by the Prime Minister at the opening of Parliament, but I want to supplement the statement he made by stating to the House one further progress which has been made of a favourable nature in Balkan affairs since Parliament opened. I think it is due to the House that when it is possible for the Government to say anything to the House with regard to Balkan affairs and give information it should be given as soon as possible (Hear, hear.) That feeling and the fact that partial disclosures do appear in the Press from time to time I think make it not only justifiable, but necessary and fair to the House that I should say what I propose to say this afternoon (Hear, hear.) I would ask the House to bear in mind that the Balkan question falls into two heads, and that hitherto the most urgent and important as far as the Great Powers have been concerned has not been the war between Turkey and the Allies—important as that is—but it has been the task, the most important and urgent task, of securing agreement between the Great Powers themselves on points that might cause, if not settled, serious difficulties between the Great Powers (Hear, hear.) In other words, important and serious as the war between Turkey and the Allies is, the most urgent thing for all the Great Powers has been to secure that the war should be localized and should not spread and involve any of the Great Powers in disagreement which might lead to a breach of the peace between themselves.

THE TASK OF DIPLOMACY.

I deal under the first head with the diplomacy of the Great Powers. If anybody recalls how for years past the great apprehensions which would arise whenever a catastrophe in the Near East of Europe did come, and how this has been a commonplace in European diplomacy in years past, I think it will be realized now that the task has come, that it is creditable to the diplomacy of the Great Powers that they have weathered the storm up to the present time and that they have reached now, I hope, a point at which there is every prospect that the storm will be weathered altogether. The Powers started with the assumption, which is a great asset on the side of peace—an assumption accepted and acted on by them all—that none of them would make use of the situation to acquire territory for themselves, either on the Continent or amongst the islands. That, at any rate, was one asset with which to start. That being assumed, the greatest point of difficulty and danger was the question of Albania and its delimitation. Before Christmas some progress had been made with that. In the first place, an agreement had been come to between the Powers that there was to be an autonomous Albania. That in itself was important, for it was important to have gained an agreement upon that principle. Also before Christmas the Great Powers came to an agreement about the littoral—that is to say, the Adriatic coast. That was another point gained and another danger removed. There remained to be discussed the inland frontiers of Albania—a matter of great importance, because if Albania were to be too small it could not have a separate existence in future; if, on the other hand, it were to be too large it would approach unhealthily on the legitimate aspirations and aims of Montenegro, Serbia, or Greece. The Great Powers have not hitherto dealt with the southern frontier of Albania. I would ask the House to distinguish carefully between the south and south-east frontier and the north and north-east frontier, because, though no agreement has yet been reached as regards the southern frontier, and though there may be differences of opinion on some points relating

may be troublesome to settle in connexion with that, we do not feel—I do not think any of the Great Powers feel—that, whatever differences of opinion may arise, or whatever trouble there may be in settling the different points on the south or south-eastern frontier, there is any question connected with that part of the frontier which is likely to be so much a cause of difference between the Great Powers as to be a source of danger and anxiety. But on the north and north-eastern frontier of Albania the matter is different. The difference is that if that had not been settled undoubtedly questions might have arisen between the Great Powers which would have been a cause not only of anxiety but of danger. The differences were concerned especially with Scutari on the north and certain other towns on the north or north-east. One by one the Powers virtually came to an agreement on those points, but so long as any one point was outstanding it was understood that any agreement which might have been reached on any of the others was conditional upon an agreement upon the whole. For some time past we have seen within sight an agreement between the Powers on the whole of the geographical line of the north and north-east frontier of Albania provided the one remaining outstanding point could be settled. At the end of last week an agreement was come to on that one outstanding point of the north and north-east frontier. I cannot give the details to the House as to what the geographical line actually is because it is for the Powers themselves to communicate it in detail in the first place to Servia and Montenegro, who are especially concerned. Until they actually make that communication and make it public, I cannot go into details, but I think the fact that the last outstanding point which stood in the way of a complete agreement as regards the geographical territorial frontier line of the north and north-east of Albania having been settled at the end of last week is so important that it ought to be known to the public that the Powers are agreed as to what the line of the north and north-east frontier of Albania is to be.

QUESTION FOR SETTLEMENT.

There are, of course, many other points to be discussed in connexion with the question which are points of detail. For instance, it would be essential that there should be some guarantees for the protection of Albanian, Mussulman, and Catholic minorities in that territory ceded to Servia and Montenegro. (Cheers.) The races, creeds, and population are so intermixed in certain parts of the territory that there ought to be some guarantee of that kind, but the important thing is that there is no longer territorial disagreement between the Powers as to what the geographical line of the frontier should be. One wishes to be very cautious in making forecasts. We have been confronted for weeks past continually with unforeseen contingencies, and no doubt the appearance of something unforeseen may upset calculations. There remain those questions connected with the debt, questions connected with commercial considerations, questions connected with the *Ægean Isles* to be considered, but in none of those questions ought there to be found the same anxiety as regards the preservation of peace which did exist until agreement had been come to about the littoral of Albania and the north and north-east frontier. After the weeks of labour and anxiety the Powers of Europe have gone through, I think they may well have reached this point that they may be positively grateful that the questions, however troublesome they are, do not involve anxiety. That should be, and I believe must be, one consequence of the progress which has been made. Another consequence which ought to follow is that once an announcement has been made to Servia and Montenegro that the Powers have come to an agreement and of their decision, there ought to be a cessation of hostilities in what is in future to be Albania. There ought to be a withdrawal as soon as possible from points in that territory which have been occupied by Servia or Montenegro, and in particular there ought to be a cessation from the attacks upon Scutari itself, because, if the destiny of the place is not to be decided by things like the siege of Scutari, to persist in these means useless slaughter and really amounts to criminal folly. If the siege of Scutari is persisted in when the Powers have decided to take into their own hands what its destiny should be, if the bloodshed which accompanies that siege is to go on, and if the place is taken greater bloodshed will follow, the taking of that place would involve a useless, purposeless, and criminal amount of suffering which I am sure would alienate all sympathy to this country. That is one of the reasons why it is desirable that the fact that the Powers have come to an agreement should be known as soon as possible. If the decision of the Powers is not accepted, then I trust that those who dispute it will be contented not with any separate action on the part of one Power which may divide the Powers, but with the united pressure of all the Powers. Having come to an agreement, the first step is for the Powers to take collective diplomatic action at Belgrade and to announce the decision to which they have come and to

bring about a cessation of hostilities in territories to be allotted to Albania. I trust that step is going to be taken without delay, for until it is taken there is a greater risk of untoward incidents or unsettling or disturbing elements than I think there will be after the Powers have taken the collective diplomatic step of announcing their decision and their agreement. So much with regard to the first head.

THE POWERS AND MEDIATION.

With regard to the second head, the war between Turkey and the Allies, as has appeared in the Press, the Powers have offered their mediation and formulated certain conditions as being in their opinion a reasonable basis of peace. The most important of them are with regard to the frontier line. They have suggested a line from Enos to Midia, a line which I trust will be accepted because that line, if accepted, will avoid the raising of any questions connected with Constantinople and the Straits and, of course, connected with Asia Minor. The second point of importance is that the *Ægean Islands*, the situation of which, or the destiny of some of which, at any rate, is a matter of interest to more than one Power, should be left to the decision of the Powers. That, of course, does not apply to Crete, from which Turkey, according to these terms of peace, will unconditionally withdraw all interest. This is only a mediation of the Powers. I do not mean to say that the Powers have made up their minds to enforce a compulsory arbitration or to impose terms; it is mediation. What I want to point out is that the Powers having suggested a frontier line in Thrace, having at present shown every disposition to leave everything west of that line to the decision of the Allies themselves, with the exception, of course, of Albania, of which I have spoken, the Balkan Allies if these terms are accepted by Turkey, are assured of an arrangement of the terms of peace—exclusive of such particular questions as Albania—among themselves without the intervention of the Great Powers. But if these terms are not accepted, and if a frontier line is pressed for which raises questions connected with Constantinople and the Straits, or if the war is prolonged until questions are raised in connexion with Asia Minor, then it is certain that in the settlement of the terms of peace, one or more of the Powers would be concerned not as disinterested mediators, but as interested parties. That is why I urge, without using any language of a threatening character, that it is in the interests of both the belligerent parties that the terms of peace which have been put forward as reasonable by the Powers should be accepted as a basis upon which peace should be concluded. After peace is concluded what we have for is that Turkey will be left in a position to consolidate and strengthen her possession in Asia Minor, to develop the country, and to establish good order and good government. If she sets herself to that task, it is one in which I believe she will receive the support and good will of all the Powers, and ought to receive it, but if she is to have any chance of success in that task then it is essential that there should not be imposed upon her in the terms of peace financial burdens which will make it impossible for her to address herself to the task of strengthening her position and developing and establishing order in Asia Minor and the territory left to her, but will, on the contrary, make her task after the war is over a struggle with bankruptcy. That is not to the interests of the Powers, especially those interested in Asia Minor. They must feel that if, under the terms of peace, financial burdens are imposed upon Turkey for the future which will leave her face to face after the war is over with a struggle with bankruptcy, it will be a settlement which not only will be against the interests of Turkey, but against the interest of those Powers who wish that whatever the results of the war Turkey shall, at any rate, be able to make a fresh start when it is over on fair terms. I would say the same in regard to the Balkan States. If they maintain union and friendship between themselves and set to work to organize and develop the territory they acquire after the war is over, then again they will need the support and good will of Europe, especially financial support—I do not mean the financial support of Governments, but the financial support which Europe can give and which undoubtedly Europe would not give unless the Government are well disposed. They will need to develop their territory and realize the great future they have before them. In both cases, whether it be for Turkey or the Balkan States, I am sure that the shortest and most certain way to secure in the future the support and good will of Europe is to make peace as soon as possible and to make it on the terms which have been suggested as reasonable terms.

RUMANIA AND BULGARIA.

I say nothing on another point of importance, the difference between Rumania and Bulgaria, except that it is a very great relief that these two countries, if unable to settle them by direct negotiation between themselves, should have chosen the course of resort to mediation, which is far preferable to the resort to force, and as that mediation is proceeding I make no comment, nor do I think it is necessary that I should make any comment, on the actual questions involved.—(To be Continued.)

MAJOR BILGRAMI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

delivered at the Twenty-
Sixth Annual Session

The All-India
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NOTICE TO SHOW CAUSE (GENERAL FORM.) IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

MISS. SUIT No. 7 OF 1918.

SURAJ RAM, minor, under the guardianship of Musammatt Bhagwandei his mother of Mohalla Hyderganj, City Fyzabad ... OBJECTOR,

versus

(1) HAR NARAYAN, (2) RAM NARAYAN, sons of Kalka of Angouri Bagh, city Fyzabad, Dr.-Hr., (3) Bholai, son of Guptar Kundoo, of Hyderganj, city Fyzabad, at present residing in the city of Rangoon at Pigoo ... Jt.-Dr.

To Bholai, the aforesaid Jt.-Dr., at present of Rangoon, at Pigoo.

Whereas the abovenamed Suraj Ram, Objector, has made an application to this Court under order 21, Rule 58, O. P. O.

You are hereby warned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed on the 26th day April, 1918, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to show cause against the application, failing wherein, the said application will be heard and determined *ex-parte*

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this third day of April 1918.

By ORDER,

KAUNSHAL KISHORE.

Munsif.

NOTICE TO SHOW CAUSE (GENERAL FORM.) IN THE COURT OF MUNSIFF, FYZABAD.

EXECUTION No. 43 OF 1918.

NAAGESHAR, of Mz. Kondari, Pargana Haveli, Oudh, D.-Hr.,

versus

SHEO LAL, of Mz. Alaulpur, Pargana Hardoi, Oudh ... J.-DEBTOR.

To

Sheo Lal, son of Subdhan, of Mz. Alaulpur, Pargana Haveli, Oudh.

Whereas the abovenamed Nageshar, D.-Hr., has applied for the sale of mortgaged property of 4 Bighas 3 Biswa 5 Biswani, in Mauza Alaulpur, Pargana Haveli, Oudh, you are informed that the 26th April, 1918, has been fixed for settling the terms of the proclamation of sale.

You are hereby warned to appear in this Court in person or by a Pleader duly instructed on the 26th day of April, 1918, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to show cause against the application, failing wherein, the said application will be heard and determined *ex-parte*.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 4th and 14th day of April, 1918.

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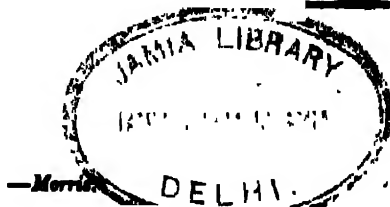
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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!



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only. On the whole, in the most important matters, they had stood faithfully by each other. At present the chief obstacle to really cordial relations was the deep-seated suspicion that we intended some day to annex the country. The eradication of this suspicion would go far towards establishing relations of mutual confidence and trust like those with Nepal. Answering Lord Lambington, Dr. Mark said that Moslem disquiet regarding events in the Balkans was all the more reason for reassuring the Afghans and allaying their suspicions.

China.

A letter from the Chinese Minister in London is published in the papers. It explains that in view of the present important juncture in the history of China, and the need for calm and wise statesmanship, the Government felt it must appeal to all classes and creeds among the Chinese people for sympathy and support, expressed in the way that each creed may consider the fittest. The Minister says a similar expression on the part of Christians in Great Britain cannot fail to be highly and thankfully appreciated by the Chinese Government. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London referred in their Convocation to the Chinese appeal to Christians with the warmest sympathy. The Bishop of London remarked that few things had happened in their generation more encouraging to missionary effort. He had ordered intercession to be made in all the churches in the Diocese on the 27th instant.

India and Preference.

The Times reproduces and gives great prominence to the speeches of Sir G. H. Obitanis and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson of March 17th. In comment thereon the paper attaches the highest importance to the speeches, as it believes that the question of preference has not hitherto played a part in the proceedings of the Council. The position of India, it says, is fundamentally different from that of the self-governing Colonies, making their policy themselves. The Times holds that Indian opinion should never be over-ruled in favour of the interest of British commerce alone, but only in the interests of India herself, of the whole Imperial system to which India belongs. Referring to the proposed export duties on raw material going to countries outside the Empire, the Times points out that it would be an additional advantage for Great Britain at other peoples' expense. While India may have to guard herself against Eastern competitors, the Empire cannot demand the open door for instance in China while claiming the right to discriminate in her own favour in the Indian market. Since the paramount interests of the Empire and of India are coincident, the Government of India should never frame its policy without regard to the British system as a whole. The journal deprecates the application of a monopolistic policy to India which, logically, would, in due course, be extended to the British Dependencies. To use the position of *status possidens* for commercial monopoly would be to transform the character of Britain's world-wide power. The position of the British administration of her subject states would no longer be that of trusteeship. It would be exploitation and British rule would become a menace and a prejudice to other civilised Powers.

The Week.

Foreign.

In the House of Commons Sir J. D. Ross asked whether any official information had been handed from Persia regarding the execution of sentence on those who shot Captain Bedford. Sir Herbert Grey replied in the negative.

The R. I. M. S. *Dufferin* arrived in Bombay on the 23rd instant with two squadrons of the 39th Central India Horse on board from Bushire. The men and horses entrained in three special trains from Colaba during the afternoon and left later for India. The *Dufferin* sails again for Bushire to-morrow, when she will bring back the remainder of the C. I. H., returning to Bombay about May 2nd.

In the House of Commons, Major Grant drew attention to the fact that the Central India Horse in Persia was not receiving any allowances, and suggested that the matter be brought to the notice of the Government of India. Mr. Montagu replied that the question of compensation of the Central India Horse, who were subject to additional expenses incurred in Persia, was being considered. He would therefore gladly do as Major Grant suggested.

The 39th Central India Horse, before the Central Asian Society, held a meeting in connection with Afghanistan since 1880 had been on the march. There had been friction, sometimes serious, between the British and the Afghans, but the difficulties had not been such as to lead to a general war. The British had not left on one side of the border.

In a speech at Lincoln, Mr. Montagu asked the Tariff Reformers to hesitate before trying to apply their policy to the great voiceless, voteless people of India. He was there that night to say on behalf of those responsible for governing India, that the Government of India itself held unshaken the belief that a Free-Trade policy was best for the people of India, and was determined to continue unwaveringly the pursuit of that policy.

Indian Students in England.

Replying to Sir John Rees, Mr. Montagu said that the memorial of the Indian students studying engineering in Great Britain, asking for a Government rule that all Government contractors and engineers must take a number of Indian students without a premium, was being considered, and the views of a Committee appointed in 1912 to enquire into the training of Indian Technical students, as expressed in its report, would shortly be published.

The *Times* states that as a result of the visit to Edinburgh of Mr. Mallet, the Secretary for Indian Students, it is understood that a compromise has been arranged by which only students actually under the guardianship of the India Office will come under the direction of the Adviser. Dr. James Millar, Lecturer in Pathology at Edinburgh, has been appointed Adviser.

Indian Moslems.

An article in the *Times* discusses Muhammadan movements in India; firstly, the tendency to adopt the programme of the National Congress; and secondly, to attack British policy in the Balkans. Regarding the first, the *Times* remarks that the chief interest of the situation is that the new line of activity, not necessarily unwholesome, adopted by Muhammadan politicians, is bound to have some effect on current Indian politics. Concerning the second point the *Times* contrasts the wise and courageous advice by the *Times* with the frothy appeals to British intervention on behalf of the Turks. The *Times* fully appreciates their not unnatural sentiment for the welfare of Islam and other Muhammadan countries, but says it is necessary to remind them that the foreign policy of the British Empire cannot be dictated by a section of people of one portion. "We are ready to respect their susceptibilities, but it is difficult to do so unless their prominent men show a stronger sense of responsibility."

New Delhi.

In the House of Commons, Mr. King asked whether it was an instruction from Lord Crewe that the Government of India had declared that the site and architecture of new Delhi were not to be discussed in the Legislative Council, and whether in view of the fact that the whole cost of new Delhi would be borne by the Indian taxpayer, Lord Crewe would recommend the Viceroy to lay the plans before the Council. In reply, Mr. Montagu said that no such declaration had been made. In stating that it was not proposed to put forward questions referred to for discussion, the Government of India in no wise interfered with the liberty of the members to raise and debate topics of public interest. Lord Crewe, Mr. Montagu stated, did not propose to instruct the Government of India in the manner suggested. Alluding to a passage in the last report of the Consulting Architect regarding the increasing number of Chinese workmen in Indian building operations, Mr. King asked Mr. Montagu whether he would undertake that Chinese labour should not be employed in new Delhi. Mr. Montagu said that Lord Crewe had seen the passage and sympathised with Mr. King's apprehensions. He would bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India. Mr. King further asked what security there would be for the necessary personal supervision of the work in view of the fact that one of the architects of new Delhi had his office at Johannesburg and the other in London. Mr. Montagu replied that the agreement with the architects would guard against the apprehensions on which the question was based.

Anglo-Indian Journalism.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was interviewed before embarking on the 19th instant by the *Sunday Chronicle*. He said at the outset:—"I have been very much pleased with the investigation. So far all information necessary to the making up of our minds has been submitted to us, and so far as it is imperfect or faulty we will have it supplemented and corrected at home." He then referred to the criticisms of the Anglo-Indian newspapers. "Fortunately, they changed their tone," proceeded Mr. MacDonald, "as the time went on, and they found that we knew our business far better than they did. I am very much amused that they seem to be under the impression that some change in our procedure has justified the change in their tone. That is very absurd. We have changed in nothing. The change which they pretend to have discovered in our procedure is only a cloak to cover their own retreat."

TETE À TETE



The following letter from Dr. Ansari dated Omerli (recently named Hindia Kui), 7th April, has been received with this week's English mail:—"My letter last week was very brief owing to lack of time. You must have by now received the details of the fall of Adrianople: Ghazi Shukri Pasha's noble defence has at least added to the military prestige of the Turkish army and has elicited appreciation from almost every European country. Adrianople would have gone to the Bulgars in any case, but now besides adding to the honor of the Turkish soldiers it has cost the Bulgars and the Serbs several thousands of lives. In well informed circles in Constantinople the fall of Adrianople was known to be imminent a week or ten days before the actual occurrence. But the general public was very profoundly affected by the news. It was only after the recent Turkish victory at Boyuk Chekmedje that people are again feeling hopeful and reassured. On the 31st of March, about eight o'clock in the evening, the sound of cannonade lured out two members of my Mission and they began to climb over the range of hills beyond the village of Omerli until they were in sight of the Sea of Marmora and the Boyuk Chekmedje lake. They could see the searchlights from the Turkish fleet in the Sea of Marmora thrown over the hills beyond where the Bulgarians lay entrenched. The searchlight from the Black Sea was also thrown over the higher range of the hills, and the Turkish fleet and the artillery on land directed their fire on to the hills occupied by the Bulgarian forces. The Bulgars did not make much resistance. Their firing was feeble and ineffective. As the night was very dark and wet our members in spite of their enthusiasm returned to their camp after two or three hours. In the morning the Bulgarian main column stationed beyond the bridge of Tehataldja made a desperate and deadly attempt under the screen of a thick fog to cut off the Turkish left wing from the main body. But fortune favoured the Turks for once, fog lifted and the Turkish batteries opened fire with such disastrous results that the Bulgars were utterly routed. They fled back towards the hills many of them leaving even their rifles and caps behind. It is estimated that their losses were between six to eight thousand. The spirit of the Turkish soldiers has been raised by this victory, and they are determined to fight to death should the Bulgars try to force the Tehataldja lines. Monli Zafar Ali Khan, who is our guest at present in Omerli, went with me two days ago to Hademken. We called on Abouk Pasha and Ismet Pasha. The latter received us very warmly in his saloon in the railway carriage. It surpasses description—the deep emotion his manner showed when he received us. For a few minutes the great Turkish Generalissimo was speechless, his eyes full of tears and downcast and his whole bearing showing how bitterly he felt the present situation and how deeply he was moved by the sympathy shown by his brethren of India. We were both naturally moved by what we saw and could hardly express in words what was passing in our minds. When we took leave of Him, His Excellency Ismet Pasha, he invited us to lunch with him next day and promised to send us in his motor-car to see all the fortifications. The lunch proved to be a much more sumptuous meal than we had been prepared for, and during the course of the meal H. E. made a thousand and one enquiries about the condition of the Indian Mussalmans—their social, educational and political condition, their trade and industries—and was agreeably surprised to find so much advancement among them. He expressed his desire to visit India and see the flourishing condition of his co-religionists there. We started in two motor-cars and first went to Mahmud Pasha then to Boyuk Chekmedje and afterwards to Hademken side. We saw the magnificent fortifications and the Turkish soldiers—the Anatolians, the Kurds, the Arabs and the Turks—all fresh and in high spirits and keenly awaiting to see some good fighting. The transport arrangements were ideal. They have thrown a narrow-gauge railway to assist of which they have provisioned and stowed with great expedition and speed. There is also

A regular motor-car service between Hademkui and the different sections of the army. How different the picture is now from what it was during the time of the last Cabinet. Our return to Chahak was on horseback. This was a day of incidents. Just when we were starting my mare started backing. My neck got caught in the branches of a tree and I came down, fortunately without receiving any injury. On our return journey from Hademkui the great editor of *Zamindar* rode the most vicious horse, as he was voted to be the best horseman in the company. We had just climbed over the Mohae hills and were all riding side by side enjoying the beautiful scenery of the Sea of Marmora on one side and the green valleys on the other when suddenly we saw two horses standing on their hind legs each trying to push the other down. But as it turned out afterwards it was only a ruse to rub the nose of their riders in the mud. One of these turned out to be no less a person than the indomitable editor of the *Zamindar* lying full length measuring the ground. I must say that it was only for a few minutes that we were treated to this never-to-be-forgotten picture. A moment later and Zafar Ali Khan remounted his horse this time to punish the beast for playing him such a nasty trick. The horse and rider disappeared downhill in a short time, and when we reached our tents we found our friend sitting in the tent and philosophizing over the incident of the day with a big haematoma (in vulgar language black eye) on the left side. We sympathized with him and had the privilege of adding his name to the list of our distinguished patients. I have just received from Chanak Kila the returns for the month of March. There were 171 in-patients and 101 out-patients treated in this month. I have also received the returns of the Omerli Field Hospital for the months of February and March. Their total number of in-patients for the two months was 177 and out-patient 140. The mortality at Chanak Kila was nine and the cured 78. The percentage of mortality works out to be 3.3, a figure which speaks for itself and indicates the infinite attention and work which it must have involved to all the staff. And when it would be known that more than half the patients sent to the hospital were in the extreme stage of exhaustion due to exposure to cold and disease, some of them dying a few minutes after their arrival in the hospital, I am confident that all credit would be given to the staff of the Chanak Kila Hospital for their splendid work. But the Omerli section of our Mission have beaten all records. Their heroic adherence to their duties, inspite of the bitterest and the severest winter when their tents were often completely snowed up and their camp was one mass of snow and mud, when the Turks themselves would not venture out of their hedges, has been rewarded with the splendid record of one single death out of a total of 312 patients, which works out to .8 per cent. No amount of words can adequately express their real work and worth. It is by their constant striving to keep up the high ideal that they have secured a reputation which induces the relations of many of the wounded soldiers to take them straight from Hademkui and place them in their charge. Such a tribute from the patients and their relations to the honest and good work rendered by the Omerli Hospital speaks for itself. You will be very glad to hear that your earnest labours are already about to bear fruits. The presence of the two Indian Missions and the continual intercourse of the members of our Mission with the Turkish people of all shades and grades have brought home to the people of Turkey the intense sympathy felt for them by the Mussalmans of India. Many Turks hardly knew of the existence of such a country as India, and they had no idea that the Mussalmans there would render them help at such a critical time in their national life. The generous financial help given by the Mussalmans of India to the Croissant Rouge Ottoman is deeply appreciated by them, and they have invited me to their meeting in Constantinople to discuss about the advisability of sending a few representatives of the Croissant Rouge to India to thank the Mussalmans of India for their help and sympathy. I am sure you would welcome this as the beginning of closer relations between the Mussalmans of India and Turkey. I may justly claim this to be the direct result of sending missions consisting of Indian representatives to Turkey which no amount of money alone could have been able to do. I hope you would do all in your power to arrange for the equitable reception of this Turkish Mission by the Mussalmans of India in the different Provinces of India. I will let you know the results of their programme after I have seen the members of the Council of Croissant Rouge. I am sending you accounts up to the 31st April. All the members of the Mission join me in sending you their love and regards. The Turkish authorities have named this village *Chahak Kila*, which is a great compliment to the Indian Mussalmans."

I received the following letter from Mr. S. Zahir Akam of Mubaraknagar:—"I understand from the news in the *Comrade* that Dr. Ansari will be returning to India about the end of May. The very valuable services he has rendered to the Mussalmans of India by representing them in Turkey in

"her distress deserve recognition by the Indian Mussalmans in general. I therefore suggest the following way of the recognition of his services: (1) A reception at Delhi by a large assemblage of Muhammadans and an address on their behalf welcoming Dr. Ansari. (2) A presentation of something useful to him on behalf of the Mussalmans in general and the contributors for it in particular, or any other mode of expressing our gratitude to him for what he has done. I am prepared to join any such movement and to contribute according to my means."

Mr. H. H. Lamb, H. B. Consul-General at Salonica, sends us the following letter, dated 24th February:—"With reference to my letter of the 21st instant, I beg to hand you herewith the receipt of the Treasurer of the International Commission for the second payment of £100 made on your account towards the cost of maintenance of the hospital, etc., in the Refugee Camp at Sedes. Besides the 10,000 oke of charcoal, the purchase of which I reported in my letter above-mentioned and the cost of which amounted to 6,482 piastres, I have paid the following Bill for linen provided for the Hospital Shed:—

100 linen shirts	...	@ 8 piastres	800
100 pairs of drawers	...	@ 8 "	800
50 night-shirts	...	@ 12 "	600
50 pair of woollen socks...	...	@ 3 1/2 "	175
TOTAL			2,375

These garments were made up for us by the File de G. A. Errera & Co., Limited, a British Company possessing large workshops here, practically without charge, i. e., on payment only of the materials employed. I am sending a further sum of £100 for distribution at Serres, where the distress is still very acute and whither I am still unable to obtain transport for my flour."

In another letter, dated Salonica, 12th March, received with the same mail Mr. Lamb writes:—"With reference to my letters of the 21st and 24th ultimo, I beg to hand you herewith a statement of the expenditure incurred in connection with the hospital service at the Refugee Camp near this place, which you have authorized me to maintain out of the funds subscribed by readers of the *Comrade*, up to the 7th instant. The total sum expended, including the cost of about 12 tons of charcoal, supplied to the Camp in general during a spell of exceptionally cold weather, amounts to 20,946 1/2 piastres, or about £190. The hospital service has, in my opinion, given excellent results. During the month of February a daily average of 117 persons received medical attention. It is true that the death rate in the Camp has been extremely heavy, averaging six per cent., but considerably more than half these deaths took place amongst quite young children and more than half the remainder amongst the very old, less than 20 per cent. occurring between the ages of six and sixty. When one considers that the rate of infant mortality in this country is, even under normal conditions, always appallingly high according to European standards and that the very young and the very old are naturally the least fitted to undergo the fatigue and hardships to which these refugees have necessarily been subjected, the figures need cause no astonishment. On the other hand, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the Camp has been remarkably free from contagious disease, only one case of any sort having been recorded since February 18th. Considering that small-pox, cerebro-spinal meningitis, measles and a particularly virulent form of scarlet-fever have been rife in the town and that an epidemic of at least the first mentioned was seriously feared at the time when the Camp was established, the fact that it has been possible to entirely evacuate the isolation tents speaks very highly for the manner in which the Camp was organized as well as for that in which the small medical staff has discharged its duties. The returns show that during last month one woman and nine children (four of whom died) were treated for small-pox and eight children for measles. The greatest number of deaths were attributable to tuberculosis, pleurisy and broncho-pneumonia. Many have certainly been due to the inveterate reluctance of these people to disclose sickness, especially in the case of women, or to allow the doctors to enter their tent. In one case for instance a woman died of post partum hemorrhage five days after delivery, and in another a child was found dead of small-pox in its tent, without the doctors having been notified that they were ill. In the first case the husband was imprisoned, and in the other all the inmates of the contaminated tent were placed in strict quarantine and both they and the headman of the section punished by deprivation of rations, but cases of intentional concealment of sick women and infants continue to be far too frequent. In this connection the following figures are significant:

MEDICALLY TREATED FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF SICKNESS			
1999	1068	890	
TOTAL DEATHS IN CAMP			
27	46	34	

MAN. WOMEN. CHILDREN.

"Of the 78 adults at least 36 were over 50 years of age, 23 over 60, 20 over 65, 13 over 70, 11 over 75, and 5 over 80. In many instances, however, the age is not returned. Of the children 20 were infants under 12 months. Births in Camp during the month numbered 32. I am annexing to this letter for your information copy of a general statement of the receipts and expenditure of the International Committee from its inception up to March 7th. I annex also an analysis of the account which I have now received from the Reverend E. B. Haskell of the expenses connected with his relief work on behalf of your fund at Serres. Mr. Vice-Consul Morgan's account of the £100 subsequently distributed for you in the same place by himself has not yet reached me."

Statement of Expenditure on account of Camp Hospital, etc., from February 27th to March 7th.

	Piastres at 104.
February 24th 10,107 oken of charcoal, with cost of transport	6482-00
" " Linen for Hospital, as per list in my letter of that date	2875-00
" 28th Planks for lining graves	615-50
" 28th Milk, brandy, etc.	198-50
" " Planks (balance) and madapolam for swathing the dead	1875-00
March 2nd Balance of month's salaries:—	
Dr. Medonza	624
Dr. Israel	624
Assistant Anghel	208
Hospital attendants	118
	1574-00
" 4th Petroleum for Hospital	139-00
" 7th Linen for swathing the dead	450-00
	13,154-00
Sums previously reported:	77,92-75
Total	20,946-75

Analysis of the Rev. E. B. Haskell's Statement of Account of his distribution at Serres on behalf of the "Comrade" Fund.

	Silver Piastres at 104.
Distributed to 3,188 persons at from 5 to 8 piastres a head	24 167
Travelling and miscellaneous expenses:—	
Travelling Permit	1
Carriage to Station	5
Railway to Serres, 3rd Class	48½
Various carriage hires at Serres	62
Telegrams to Consul-General, Salonica	12½
Sundry porters and messengers	21½
Gift to servants at house where he was entertained	15
Railway fare back, 2nd Class	64½
Total silver pat.	24 387½
24 387½ silver piastres at 104 equal £T. 384-49½	
Bank charges and stamps	20½
£T. 384-75	
£T. 384-75 at 110 equal £213 : 8 : 2.	

Racism happenings at Aligarh were of such a character that something like a crisis in its affairs appeared likely. Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab took over charge of the office of Honorary Secretary to the Board of the Trustees towards the end of January and, on doing so, made a declaration of policy in the Annual Meeting of the Trustees last speech, which was generally unexceptionable. But passions and prejudices which during the five years of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk's Secretaryship had been kept in leash now hoped to find free vent. Where factions exist it is the misfortune of the office-bearer of an institution that efforts are made by various factions to "capture" him and bend him to their own will and fancy. The late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, one of the most amiable men in the world, had an unhappy fate of it in spite of his acquiescence to others. Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk was of a different mould, and his advent caused the spirit-lively forces of those masterful circles which had held the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in their grip. Before his Secretaryship he had always been

opposed by these men, and when in spite of opposition, which, however, failed ignominiously, he was elected Secretary, he had the greatest provocation to form a party of his own. But he steadfastly refused to do this, although his patience was sorely tried, and he acted sometimes, all too unconsciously, in an unjust manner towards the suggestions of those who were loyal to him. This was because he was determined to allow no one to associate his name with a faction or clique, and in this he succeeded by dint of sheer persistence. He, however, came into conflict with the English staff of the College and, after a long controversy in 1902, triumphed in the end. Those who had lent him their assistance in this controversy now tried to "capture" him; and, failing in the attempt, once more ranged themselves in opposition to him and those who had always supported him. By a bold stroke of policy consistent with his straightforward dealings throughout Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk appealed to the Trustees and once more triumphed over opposition. When, however, he wished the late Mr. Aziz Mirza to be appointed as his successor, opposition was once more offered, though not so openly as before, and the settlement of the question had to be postponed. On the death of Mr. Aziz Mirza, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk showed his own freedom from factionalism and party prejudice by advocating the election of Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab which most of those who were opposed to the late Mr. Aziz Mirza had desired. We confess the position of the new Secretary has been one of considerable, even extraordinary, difficulty. However free himself from prejudices, the faction that had all along desired his election wished him and expected him to remain dependent on itself, and those who had no great liking for this faction can be excused if they had their doubts about the chances of success of the new Honorary Secretary in his efforts to escape the clutches of this clique. As if this was not enough, when he took over charge he found the Local Government, which had persistently been misinformed about the state of feelings of the students and their tone and behaviour, troubled with grave misgivings about the matter, and efforts were made to take advantage of this to strike panic in the heart of the new Secretary, who, though exceedingly well-meaning, was unused to the handling of public affairs, and, in his anxiety to do the best for his charge, a little inclined to take a pessimistic and an exaggerated view of the condition of affairs at Aligarh. On top of all these was the lurid light cast on the Aligarh horizon by an ominous visitant of its firmament. Comet-like, it came and disappeared all too suddenly, but not before justifying the forebodings of Aligarh astrologers. Gratitude for past services is a virtue common to all communities which no one for a moment suspected the Mussalmans to have lost. Hospitality is, however, a more particularly Eastern virtue, and those who claim spiritual descent from Abraham, "the Friend of God," have this virtue perhaps to a fault. But the propitiation of angry spirits has never been a part of the Islamic code of social ethics, and it is only a myopic "policy" that suggests yielding to that which is in reality no better than blackmail. And, like jealousy, the greed of the blackmailer grows on what it feeds on. When gratitude, which is obligatory, and hospitality, which is most desirable so long as it is kept within bounds, are combined with propitiatory sacrifices, the combination is not only grotesque, but one which deprives gratitude and hospitality of all disinterestedness and virtue. But such a combination was offered recently by Aligarh to one to whom it owed gratitude and hospitality, but whom it can never suspect in propitiating by the sacrificial meats on his altars. How truly had Iqbal depicted the want of "policy" of those that are often prepared to sacrifice so much that is of greater ethical value to mere "policy."

سوف رہی پروا کیا کر لکھا ہوا کیا
نہی عقل میں یہ دیوانہ مرزا کی رہی

(Zeal that heeds not consequences is gone, and gone, too, is the expediency that encompassed even the heaven in its vision. In the assembly there remain neither fanatics nor men of wisdom. And we must not digress. With a faction fanishing for power, with some Englishmen in an absurd panic on account of the intense feeling of Mussalmans during this war—so natural, as for the Moslem world and yet in Aligarh kept so well under control—and inclined to misjudge even those who regulated it simply because they also held that it was natural; and with an apparently powerful middle demanding human sacrifices to satiate the lusts of pride and prejudice, it was not easy for any new Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College to remain unaffected and unprejudiced, and we knew Nawab Ishaq Khan Sahab no grudge for his appearing to have been submerged under the influence of the passions of the moment. Among others the editor of this journal, who, however, had been appointed only prospect of the College being the various colleges in the south. He had gone very far by the time he came, and a trial of strength and finger was inevitable. As we go to press we learn that the controversy has been settled. We do not think any purpose would be served by our discussing in detail the merits of the various controversies at Aligarh. Nor would any good come of our

The Comrade.

Moslem Education in Bengal.

There has been a growing belief in some quarters for some time past that the Indian Moslems have earnestly and resolutely set themselves to the task of organising communal education. We do not know if there is any solid ground for such belief. No doubt the community is astir with new hopes and fresh desires. The problem of education, too, one must acknowledge, has bulked large in recent communal discussions. Even an undertaking of such magnitude as the creation of a University has been attempted with a certain degree of resourcefulness and courage. And yet, the main educational problems of the community still await solution. Moslem education throughout India is, according to all reasonable standards, still in a backward state. It satisfies neither the test of quality nor that of number. The rate of educational progress amongst the Hindus is growing proportionately higher every year; and the amount of energy that the Mussalmans have recently shown is not at all adequate to enable them to cover an ever-increasing distance that divides them from the progressive Hindu community. It matters little whether the number of Mussalmans receiving instruction in the public schools and colleges of the country has appreciably increased, unless this increase helps to raise the percentage of the educated Mussalmans on the basis of their numerical strength in the population. The pace has got to be quickened considerably if the general educational level of the country is to be attained. But even more important than the rate of progress is the organisation of communal education in accordance with the communal needs. The rate of progress itself depends to a large extent on such organisation. The task was begun at Aligarh about forty years ago, but it will not be complete till the Mussalmans of every province in India have learnt to appreciate the supreme importance of organising education on communal lines. As things are, in some provinces the Mussalmans are only just beginning to feel that their educational needs are varied and great and that they themselves will have to put forth sustained efforts for many years if their needs are to be adequately met.

Bengal is one of the provinces where Mussalmans are only just beginning to see that they are hopelessly backward educationally. The most glaring feature of the statistics relating to education in Bengal is the very low percentage of the successful Moslem candidates in the various examinations held by the Calcutta University. And yet the Mussalmans comprise more than half the entire population of Bengal. The causes that have brought about this undesirable state of things are not far to seek. Apart from an instinctive hatred felt by the Mussalmans all over the country towards modern education in the beginning of British rule, there have been certain peculiar influences which have been operating with disastrous effect amongst the Bengali Moslems and have kept them so far behind in the race. The Bengali Hindu furnishes perhaps the most remarkable instance in history of the adaptability of character to environment. He took to English education as duck takes to water—with a facility that is amazing, as if he had no race or creed loyalty to which violence could be done, no sense of possession in some historic culture having its roots deep in history. His new acquisition brought him official favours, wealth and influence. With the taste of new power increased his appetite. He profited by his opportunities with masterly shrewdness. The new rulers of India soon discovered his use and took him to the uttermost confines of Northern India as a small but indispensable instrument in the evolution of a new administrative machinery for the country. With the spread of education the educated Bengali has been gradually disappearing from other provinces, but he has left behind unmistakable marks of his influence as the earliest symbol of modern education and the product of British rule. As every schoolboy and undergraduate in Northern India learns some day to his cost, every person with the slightest pretensions to English education is dubbed "Babu" with a ruthless insistence in those parts of the country into which strange hosts from "Modern Bengal" had poured in the wake of British power. It may be readily believed what a tremendous influence the original and genuine "Babu" of Bengal must have exercised in his own home. As a matter of fact, he loomed with fearful dominance over the whole range of public affairs in Bengal. He altogether suppressed the Mussalman who had stood aloof from modern education. He swamped the new schools, monopolised the public services and created the sort of public opinion which became the only standard of judgment for the rulers in the administration of the province. The Mussalmans, forced to retire tortoise-like within their shell, almost lost the sense of their own individuality. The spell of the all-powerful Bengali reduced

describing the incidents that occurred at the meeting of the Syndicate held on the 27th April. It will suffice to state that Mr. Mohamed Ali was elected Member of Syndicate in charge of Education. Immediately on the announcement of the result he resigned the office and proposed in his place the election of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, who was not in India when Mr. Mohamed Ali's name was proposed for this office. Major Bilgrami, it may be added, has all along supported Mr. Mohamed Ali in the unfortunate controversy about his election, and has equally steadfastly opposed giving way to idle fears of action that could be taken by those who have no concern with the election of Syndics and office-bearers of the Board of Trustees. He is in every way the most qualified Trustee to be in charge of education and we trust his election would be unopposed. A rupture was also imminent between the Honorary Secretary and Messrs. Musa Khan and Amir Mustafa Khan, two of his colleagues on the Syndicate. By the well-bred forbearance of Mr. Amir Mustafa Khan, the amenability of Mr. Musa Khan to friendly persuasion, and the extreme nobility of feeling displayed by Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Sahab himself all this was avoided, and there is every hope that the new Honorary Secretary would work as one above all parties and factions, and not form a "cabinet" as Mr. Sheikh Abdullah had invited him to do three months before he had taken over charge. We are optimistic about Aligarh affairs now, and have every hope that it has passed through the worst trial. Divided it was bound to be destroyed in spirit if not in the flesh, but united it need fear nothing. It will not do to ignore the claims of expediency, but the expediency of all times has far superior claims to the expediency of a mere moment. Aligarh needs rest and all really interested in its progress desire to give it that rest. But those who clamour the loudest for it are just those that wish to disturb its smooth progress, and we are sincerely glad that their last effort at least has failed. Nawab Ishaq Khan Sahab's concluding speech in the meeting of the Syndicate has assured everyone present that in the discharge of his duties he will associate with him everyone willing to work for the good of the College, that he will prejudge nobody and show undue favour to none. We have every reason to believe that this is his sincere resolve and that, as he said, he means to be even more jealous of the honour and prestige of his community and of his colleagues than he has been known to be of his own during a long official career when he brooked an insult from nobody in the land. With two Mussalmans like him and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami working cordially side by side for the progress of the College we have an assurance of the greatest success. We congratulate all concerned on the results of the Syndics' meeting and hope a new era has been ushered in.

Our heroic Turkish Commander and his garrison have marched out of Scutari with the honours of war and the city is now in the hands of Montenegrins. The place was only evacuated when no food supplies were left. The defence of Scutari will live as the most remarkable feat of Turkish tenacity and heroism in the eventful history of this war. It was in some respects a feat of greater resourcefulness and courage than even the defence of Adrianople. The Turkish Commander at Scutari, during a close and determined siege of about 6 months, never yielded an inch of ground and on several occasions inflicted appalling losses on the enemy. He maintained his position unconquered and indestructible to the last. Hunger has at last achieved what the combined hosts of Servia and Montenegro could not accomplish and the dream of King Nicholas has been fulfilled. The Powers declare that their resolve is unshaken and that they will compel Montenegrins to evacuate Scutari. The situation has grown obscure and complicated and one can, under the circumstances, only wait and see. The war is now practically over. The Turk has been beaten, but he has taken his reverse with the calm courage characteristic of the race. Wherever he has had an opportunity he has vindicated his historic reputation as soldier. Yanina, Adrianople and Scutari have shown of what the Turkish soldier is still capable when he gets his opportunity. We may state here in this connection that in a recent letter from a member of the All-India Medical Mission, a few details are given about the fall of Yanina which we are sure will be read with interest. After pointing out the obvious fact that the position was absolutely cut off from the Turkish base, he says that the Turks "had only 30,000 bullets and 7 shells left when the Greeks made their final assault. They fired their last bullet and shell and, as they had no provisions whatsoever, they thought it better to die sword in hand than perish through starvation. Every soldier rushed out of the gates and fell on the enemy. The enemy was fifty to seventy thousand strong, while the Turks were only twenty-two thousands when they were captured by the sheer force of numbers. The heavy losses that the Greeks have sustained in this siege can in no way be compensated. The Turks had burned the last brick of the town before they came out to face the enemy."

them to impotence. The Bengali spirit pervaded every sphere of public life. It even invaded the school-room, and the Moslem boys in the public schools of Bengal have to learn text books even to-day which are saturated with the spirit of the Hindu mythology and ancient lore of Bengal. In brief, the Moslem problem in Bengal has all along been, how to rescue the community from the thralldom of Bengali influence and set it on its legs again. Emancipation in its widest sense has been the one supreme need of the Bengal Moslems.

The partition of Bengal, whatever may have been its political effects, restored communal consciousness to the Mussalmans. They did not take long to find out that education was their greatest need, and they began to make some efforts for the creation of educational facilities for Moslem youths. Useful movements born of communal initiative and directed to communal good were beginning to bear some early fruit when the Darbar announcement, reversing the partition of Bengal, reminded the Mussalmans that they would have to overcome formidable obstacles before they could attain to their legitimate position in the province. If they have learnt the lesson of self-help their bitter disappointment may not have been in vain. All the same it is difficult to estimate the great injury that the Moslem interests have suffered by the annulment of the partition. In a province inhabited mainly by Mussalmans, their progress in education and other spheres of life could not but be the main concern of the provincial government. The new conditions have revived in all its main features the old dominance that had paralysed their energies and their will in pre-partition days. The Government of India at the time of creating the new province of United Bengal gave a distinct pledge that Moslem interests will be provided with adequate safeguards. How far this pledge has been carried out will be manifest from the strikingly candid and able speech of the Hon. A. K. Fazl Haq which he recently delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council on the subject of Moslem education.

We need not traverse the same ground as covered by the speech of the Hon. Mr. Fazl Haq. We would only state his conclusions and some of the arguments on which they are based. He says that the officials have managed to forget their special obligations to the Moslem community within 12 months. The educational requirements of the Bengal Moslems are growing every day, but in spite of all their claims on Government help, little has so far been done to satisfy these requirements. One of the greatest needs of Bengal Moslems to-day is the creation of a first grade Arts College in Calcutta. The question of such a Mohammedan College engaged the attention of Government in 1871. "More than 40 years have since elapsed," said the Hon. Mr. Fazl Haq, "and in the course of this time not only there has been no such college, but even the college classes of the Calcutta Madrasah have been actually abolished for the sake of economy. The Hon. Mr. Kuchler very triumphantly pointed out the other day that 70 Mohammedan boys are permitted to read in the Presidency College on a fee of Rs 2 a month. True, but does Mr. Kuchler remember that by abolishing the college classes in the Madrasah, Government was in honour bound to provide instruction for boys who would otherwise have prosecuted their studies at that institution?" One may as well ask what is the proportion of the Moslem boys admitted in the Presidency College to that of the Hindu boys. Are they admitted in about equal numbers? If not, is it fair and just, when we remember that the college is maintained by provincial revenues and the Mussalmans form more than half the population of the province? It has been estimated that in 1911 more than 300 Mohammedan students were refused admission into the various colleges of Calcutta.

Then, again, there is the want of proper hostel accommodation for Moslem boys. There are more than 350 Mohammedan students who are living in gutters and bye-places of Calcutta, while hundreds of Moslem boys have to give up their studies every year on being refused admission in existing Calcutta colleges. "We have had enough of resolutions, well-meant promises and unredemmed pledges," said Mr. Fazl Haq, "which bode no more good for the Mohammedan community than did the 'settled fact' of the partition." The only remedy lies in erecting a big hostel for Moslem students in College Square. Will the Provincial Government come forward to assist the Mussalmans in the matter? They do not ask for favours. Their only desire is to see that they get what is legitimately their due. In every branch of education they are feeling the need of equitable treatment. We trust the Bengal Government will soon realise that the Mussalmans are now in earnest and will not be satisfied till their natural grievances in the matter of education are removed. In this connection we would like to quote the Hon. Mr. Fazl Haq. Speaking of the attitude of the Government he said:—

It may be that Government may regard the twenty-two millions of the Mahomedans of this Presidency as not worth the consideration that is due to them on the ground that they have not hitherto shown themselves capable of organised agitation. Or it may be that the sense of justice which forms so distinguishable a feature of British character will induce our rulers to redress our grievances as soon as brought to their notice. But if the system of

popular representation in Council is a reality and our opinion is entitled to any weight, I can assure the Government that the minds of the Mahomedans are now in a disturbed state. There is a very strong and widespread feeling that imparts to their loyalty and devotion the Mahomedans have fallen on the rocky hills of official pleasure. But as far as we are concerned, our policy is perfectly clear. We will no longer be satisfied with ingenious makeshifts, or pious wishes expressed eloquently in Government Resolutions. For the present we in Calcutta are very particularly keen about Mahomedan College and a hostel in College Square. We will not consent to see the removal of our grievances in these two vital matters to be deferred on the score of expense or any other consideration whatever.

The Hedjas Pilgrims.

THE question of pilgrim traffic to the Hedjas has, owing to various causes, attained to serious proportions in recent years. There are two factors in the main that constitute the seriousness of the problem, and unless prompt and comprehensive measures are taken to grapple with them, the situation will grow still more acute and lead to an increasing amount of hardship and suffering among thousands of Moslem pilgrims. In the first place, Bombay has been for some years past the only port open to pilgrim traffic (Karachi was opened only towards the end of last year). Intending pilgrims from every part of India and even from Baluchistan and Afghanistan have to go to that port for embarkation. Naturally enough, the influx of thousands of pilgrims every year in a single place gives rise to much inconvenience and hardship, and it sometimes happens that hundreds of pilgrims have to return to their homes because steamer accommodation is not available. Secondly, the rates of fares are subject to sudden and enormous increase, and large numbers of pilgrims are thus annually left stranded in Bombay. Both these aspects of the question were prominently brought to the notice of the Government of India by the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola who moved a resolution on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council in March last. The mover dealt at length with the whole history of the question and pointed out the way that could lead to some mitigation of the evil. The motion led to an interesting discussion, and the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler defined the attitude of the Government in words full of sympathy with the objects of the resolution.

In order to bring into prominent relief the various aspects of the case it is necessary to set forth in brief the history of the question of pilgrim traffic. It must be first of all remembered that all the principal ports in India were open for the embarkation of pilgrims till 1896. About the beginning of 1897, when plague had spread in several parts of India, Europe felt a natural alarm lest the infection should be carried to that Continent by means of the Hedjas pilgrims, and the Indian Government was called upon by the Hauge authorities to take stringent preventive measures against such dire possibilities. As a consequence all the ports were closed up in 1897, the intending pilgrims were allowed to embark only at the ports of Karachi and Chittagong subject to very stringent and restrictive sanitary measures. For some reason or other the port of Karachi was never used, and the only port of embarkation from 1897 to 1902 was Chittagong. In 1902 the port of Bombay was re-opened subject to severe restrictions. A "quarantine camp" was erected on an island in the harbour of Bombay and every pilgrim was detained for ten days under observation in the camp before he was allowed to embark. This detention was, however, quite harassing and futile, especially in view of the fact that the pilgrims from India were required after a ten days' sea voyage to undergo quarantine detention for a further period of ten days at Kasuran under the order of the Turkish Government. A strong agitation grew up amongst the Mussalmans on the subject, and it was represented to the Government that the detention at Bombay was unnecessary. The Government of India saw the reasonableness of the view, and in 1906 sanctioned the abolition of quarantine detention. But while quarantine detention was abolished, the prohibition to embark from the other ports was not taken away. It was expressly laid down at the time that all pilgrims should depart from Bombay. In 1912 Karachi was opened to pilgrim traffic at the instance of the Bombay Government, but this new facility does not mean much and can hardly be expected to touch even the fringe of the main problem. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, when dealing with the question in the Bombay Legislative Council, pointed out that "the opening of Karachi would merely serve the secondary object, namely, to afford relief to Bombay city, but would hardly affect the main problem of the high passage rates to Jeddah, and the difficulty of finding sufficient steamer accommodation for all the pilgrims who went to Bombay for the purpose of embarkation. Karachi is a port en route to Jeddah from Bombay, and the available steamer accommodation for both these ports is practically the same. In some cases steamers may be taken off the Bombay run and may go from Karachi to Jeddah, or in other cases steamer may partly load at Bombay taking the remaining number of passengers to complete the

full complement at Karachi and then go to Jeddah. So that the main difficulty that confronted the pilgrims would remain unsolved by the opening of the port of Karachi."

It would be instructive to examine here the volume of the pilgrim traffic with which Bombay has had to cope at various periods in the past. During the eight years from 1889 to 1896, the average number of pilgrims that embarked at Bombay works out approximately to 10,000. The figures for the period between 1897 and 1903 need not be taken into account as stringent plague regulations remained in force. From 1904 to 1910 the average comes up to about 19,000. This figure does not, of course, include the number of those who had in some of these years to go back to their homes because they were unable, on account either of the high rates of passage money or of want of steamer accommodation, to proceed to Jeddah. It will be readily seen that the number of pilgrims has almost doubled in recent years. This growth may be due either to the fact that Bombay has been the only port of embarkation for pilgrims, or to the growth of the desire on the part of the Mussalmans to perform one of their great religious obligations. In any case the state of things is such as calls for effective remedial measures. As Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola pointed out, there is no analogy between the circumstances that prevailed before 1897 and those that have obtained since 1904. In the period before 1897 the average number of pilgrims annually going out to the Hedjas was comparatively small. Since 1904 the pressure has manifestly increased, as so many as 24,000 pilgrims went out in one year. It has been stated that the pilgrims themselves prefer Bombay as a port of embarkation. It might have been so before 1897 when there was no difficulty in securing passages and when the passage rates were not so high as they are to-day. Now circumstances have completely altered. The rates of passage money have risen enormously and, even in spite of high rates, there have been occasions when the steamer accommodation has proved wholly inadequate for the needs of the traffic. As a consequence hundreds of intending pilgrims have, not unoften, been put to great hardships and expense every year. After a long and weary journey to Bombay and a stay of several days in that city they have found that they can not proceed further either because the rates have suddenly risen or because steamer accommodation is not available, and they have consequently went back all the way to their native places, broken in spirits, and after incurring considerable expense and undergoing enormous trouble.

The question of the rate of passage money is extremely important. Since 1904 the rate has continued steadily to rise and on occasions it has reached Rs. 150. Before 1897 the rate ranged between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30 for deck passages and seldom went beyond Rs. 50. This huge increase is mainly due to the fact that the pilgrim traffic of the whole of India is concentrated on Bombay, and the speculators have turned the fact to profitable use. As the Hon. Mr. Fauslkhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim explained in the Imperial Legislative Council, the big steamer companies do not find the pilgrim traffic a profitable business, for they do not like to incur unusual expenses by making special arrangements on board the steamers only for a few months of the pilgrim season. Individuals, attracted by the profits, therefore charter steamers for the season. These steamers are necessarily not of the right stamp. Besides, the speculators have no other desire than to make large profits by enhancing the rate of passage money. "What is done is this," said the Hon. Mr. Fauslkhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim. "Certain rates, and they are generally low rates, are advertised at first, and when poor people come to Bombay in large numbers with just enough to cover the expenses of the journey on the basis of the rates advertised, the scale of fares is suddenly increased enormously, with the result that the poor men have to go about the streets begging for money to make up the deficit, and, on failure to raise the necessary amount, to go back to their villages disheartened after a good deal of suffering."

It is obvious, then, that the two main problems in connection with the pilgrim traffic in India are the increasing congestion in Bombay and the sudden and enormous rise in the rate of passage money. It is equally manifest that a prompt and thorough solution of these problems must be found if hundreds of Moslem pilgrims are to be saved from great hardship and expense. The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola urged in the Imperial Legislative Council that the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong should be opened to pilgrim traffic. The number of pilgrims that actually go from Bombay for the Haj every year ranges between three and five lakhs out of a total of about twenty thousand. According to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, "if Calcutta and Chittagong were opened, as at present one of these ports were opened, a large portion of the traffic would become diverted, thus affording relief all round, to the pilgrims, to the city of Bombay, and also to the demand for the want of steamer accommodation by reducing the demand for the limited space in the Bombay harbour; to the exorbitant rates that have prevailed in the past few years would be the reduction of the demand on the space available, be

appreciably reduced." The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, while expressing great sympathy with the objects of the resolution and even accepting it in a modified form, did not think that the opening of the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong would have very much, if any, effect upon the congestion in Bombay. That is also the opinion of the Bengal Government. This opinion seems to be based on statistics relating to pilgrim traffic through the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong. We need hardly repeat that circumstances have entirely changed and past experience cannot be a safe and accurate guide in the solution of the problem. We do not see why the port of Calcutta, at any rate, should not be opened as an experimental measure especially when we bear in mind the assurance offered by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler that the question of expense has no weight with the Government of India in the matter.

It is understood that the Government of Bombay is maturing proposals with a view to deal effectively with the problem. We trust they will include measures for the regulation of the rates of passage money as well as for affording some relief to Bombay. As things are, the pilgrims are entirely at the mercy of speculators and undergo intense trouble in consequence. We do not know why it should be difficult for the Bombay Government to fix the rates permanently after carefully inquiring into the conditions of demand and supply. But if this is not practicable, the least that the Government can do is to enforce some stringent regulation to the effect that all shipping companies that deal with the pilgrim traffic shall announce the rates of passage money at least a month before the Haj season begins. Nothing short of this can effectually remedy the existing evil. The proposal to give the monopoly of the whole traffic to some single company can hardly meet the situation. The company to which the Government is said to have offered the monopoly would not accept it for less than ten years and would charge Rs. 140 for the first month of the season, Rs. 160 for the second month and Rs. 200 for the third for return deck passages. These terms hardly appear to be reasonable. Besides, it would impose another hardship on the pilgrims if they are required to pay at once for return voyage before they leave Bombay. As a matter of fact, about one-fifth of the number that annually go to Hedjas never return to India. According to the statistics of the pilgrim traffic the number of those that did not return from Arabia was 4,102 in 1905, 2,580 in 1910 and 5,794 in 1911. Return tickets were issued in 1906-1907, but it was found at the end of the pilgrim season that Rs. 12,000 were saved to Government. Monopolies in the traffic would only aggravate the existing evil. As a rule, the traffic should be entirely unrestricted and open to all shipping companies alike. In this connection we have heard some complaints about official high-handedness, and the Moghal Company is said to have received harsh treatment. What is really needed is not to destroy competition amongst the shipping companies, but to suppress the speculator who inflicts untold misery on thousands by his unscrupulous and rapacious methods.

The question of the repatriation of those who are left stranded in Arabia is not after all so formidable as it is stated to be. Hitherto repatriation had been entirely done by the companies, Government having never spent a pie for the purpose excepting Rs. 20,000 spent this year. And in the face of certain facts it would appear that the need was not so great as it was represented to be. But the question of repatriation is primarily the concern of the Mussalmans themselves. Her Highness the Begam Saheba of Bhopal has, with her characteristic generosity, already announced an annual grant of Rs. 2,400 for the purpose. We are sure there are enough pious and charitable Mussalmans in the country who would willingly contribute towards the expenses of bringing back their fellow-Moslems from the Hedjas. The whole question of pilgrim traffic requires to be carefully studied by the Musselman leaders and an effective organisation needs to be created to deal with the situation. In every big town and district there should be committees to look after the interests of the pilgrims and to see that every pilgrim leaving for the Hedjas is provided with adequate funds. They should keep in touch with the shipping companies and advertise the rates of passage money after due inquiry for the information of the intending pilgrims. They should ask for Government help whenever such help is needed. We trust those Mussalmans who are so much impressed with their own importance as to claim the leadership of the community among their birthrights will be willing to do this modest but important work for the sake of their co-religionists and their faith. But if they find it more convenient to "represent" the community in the Council Chamber and on the platform than to do some useful and unselfish thing we hope younger men, whose sense of duty has not been blurred by the glamour of big names, will be found ready to undertake the task. The question of the pilgrim traffic, we repeat, should be dealt with by the Mussalmans themselves. An official organisation controlled by Government would manifestly be undesirable. Government assistance should be sought for only when communal efforts stand in need of being thus supplemented.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, April 17.

A TELEGRAM from Constantinople states that while an armistice has not yet been concluded, the Turks and Bulgarians have mutually agreed to suspend hostilities. A message from Sofia states that it is announced that the suspension of hostilities between Bulgaria and Turkey is merely a verbal agreement for the purpose of burying the dead. The burying of dead is merely a diplomatic fiction for the purpose of explaining why Bulgaria has agreed to a truce with the Turks apart from the other Allies.

London, April 18.

A telegram from Constantinople states: It is announced here that hostilities at Tchataldja and Bulair have been suspended until the 23rd instant. They may be prolonged if in the meantime peace negotiations are not concluded. Both parties will appoint a Commission to fix a neutral zone, and forty-eight hours' notice must be given before resumption of hostilities.

The Belgrade Press is violently attacking Bulgaria for her attitude towards Serbia. The Premier's refusal to reply to a question in the Chamber, regarding the division of the conquered territories, evoked a violent outburst from the Nationalists, some of whom threatened his life.

Reuter understands that the Powers have agreed in principle to offer Montenegro a loan of thirty million francs, jointly guaranteed by six Powers. The details are still to be arranged.

London, April 19.

A Port Said wire says: A Greek Squadron cruising off Port Said, apparently with the object of preventing another raid in the Mediterranean by the Turkish warship *Hamidiyah* which is now in the Red Sea.

A telegram from Tchortlu states that the blockading warship arrived at Valona just in time to avert a famine. The plight of the inhabitants was increased by the fear of an attack. Twenty-five thousand famished Turkish troops are encamped near the town.

London, April 20.

A Sofia wire says that M. Guechoff, the Premier, announced in the Chamber yesterday that complaints had been received from Bulgarians in Macedonia that they were ill-treated by the Serbian authorities. The complaints had been communicated to the Serbian Government, who promised an enquiry. A telegram from Belgrade says an official communiqué repudiates the report of the persecution of Bulgarians at Egri-Palanka and Kumanovo as false. A Vienna wire says it is reported that a Bulgarian band attacked a Serbian ammunition convoy between Kumanovo and Egri-Palanka, and that as a result of a sharp fight, eighty Serbian soldiers were killed and wounded.

A Bukharest wire says: A sensation was caused in Parliament yesterday when a Macedonian fired a revolver at M. Joneson, a Minister. M. Joneson was, however, not touched.

The Ottoman Consulate General, Bombay, received the following telegram from the Foreign Office, Constantinople:—

Constantinople, 17th April: In virtue of the irreducible decision arrived at between the Ottoman and Bulgarian armies, it has been agreed to cease hostilities from the 10th till the 23rd April, with power of prolongation in the event of the negotiations of peace and the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies do not end in this space. In case of resumption of hostilities, each party will inform the other 48 hours in advance. The Bulgarian army may receive provisions from the coast of the Black Sea and Gulf of Saros (in the Aegean Sea).

London, April 21.

According to accounts being republished of the tension between Bulgaria and Serbia, a Bulgarian diplomatist said to the *Daily Telegraph's* Vienna correspondent: "If Serbia does not evacuate the towns she occupies, which belong to us by treaty, we shall send troops to occupy these towns without a declaration of war."

A telegram to the *Daily Mail* from Belgrade says: "The existence of a secret Convention between Bulgaria and Austria has been revealed, through the indiscretion of a subordinate diplomatic official. The Convention provides for the recognition of Austria's special interest on the Northern Albanian littoral, and Austria promises diplomatic support of Bulgaria's aspirations in Macedonia as far west as Ochrida."

The *Daily Telegraph's* Athens correspondent says that the utterances of Bulgarian politicians of claiming Salonica are rendering more difficult the task of M. Venizelos in restraining popular passions.

A wire from Athens states that the reply of the Allies has been handed to the Powers. The reply accepts mediation, with reservation of the right of debate with the Powers regarding the questions of Aegean Islands and the Thracian and Albanian frontiers.

London, April 22.

A Constantinople wire states that it is understood that besides a truce with Bulgaria, Turkey has entered into friendly arrangements with Greece and Serbia for the exchange and repatriation of prisoners.

London, April 23.

A Cetinje message says it is officially announced that the Montenegrins attacked Scutari on the night of the 21st instant, the battle lasting all night. Bayonets were used, and two Turkish posts were captured. The Turks made a counter-attack on the morning of the 22nd instant, but were repulsed. The fall of Scutari is imminent.

A Vienna wire says the official Press urges the blockading fleet to land troops immediately, to prevent the massacre of Albanians in Scutari.

Reuter wires from Cetinje that an official statement is published there declaring that the victorious Montenegrins have entered Scutari. Reuter learns that the fall of Scutari is not likely to complicate the situation. It will rather facilitate the settlement by making it easier for Montenegro to accept the decision of the Powers, her *amour propre* being satisfied, especially if Austria agrees to some rectification of the frontier, in view of the *fait accompli*.

Mr. Donohoe, Correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, reports from Salonica that the Greeks are mobilising every available soldier to defend Salonica against a possible Bulgarian attack, and are occupying a new strategic front from Salonica to Orfano. The Bulgarians are concentrating in the neighbourhood of Drama. There are now ninety thousand Bulgarian troops facing the Greeks. A Serbian force is ready to support the Greeks, and is assembling at Guenghar (Grael?), on the railway north of Salonica, on the right bank of the river Vardar.

Reuter learns that the reply of the Allies to the Powers has created a most favourable impression. Diplomats in London hope that a basis will be reached on which lasting peace will be speedily established.

The Fall of Adrianople.

THE full story of the fall of Adrianople is held in a long message despatched from that city on the 27th March to the *Daily Telegraph* by Signor Luigi Barzini, whose colleague, Ludovic Naudéan, and himself were the first foreigners to enter the city with the Bulgarian troops.

The assault was delivered (he writes) precisely against that part of the fortifications, which had the most formidable appearance. To the east of Adrianople, starting from the city, the ground rises gradually for three or four miles towards a great ridge, from which it descends rapidly towards green plains. On this ridge are the forts which have been taken by storm.

From a distance that long line of almost level heights, crowned with forts, had the appearance of an immense, insuperable rampart, a species of enormous dyke, upon which sixty guns had thundered for months. The position was naturally very strong, and upon it were arranged six forts facing the east. That side of the defence was at a right angle with the northern side, while all the rest of the fortifications round the city formed a vast and almost regular semi-circle.

This angle, or to use the technical term, this "salient" of the line of positions, constituted the weak point upon which the Bulgarians made preparations to deal their decisive blow. It permitted, as General Ivanoff, Commander of the Second Army, explained to me while describing the plan of action, better than any other point, the maximum use of artillery. It was the triumph of the guns. Against that summit were placed eighty siege guns—forty to the east and forty to the north—without counting the field artillery and the terrific, ceaseless hurricane of their shells destroyed everything.

The long and careful preparations lasted about twenty days. Cases of shells were slowly transported by night to the appointed positions, which were well hidden behind the heights. Conveying the ammunition across pathless fields occupied an enormous time. No wagon could carry more than six rounds for the heavy guns, and a good 50,000 rounds were amassed in the casemates of the big batteries. The country was still covered with snow when, warned by the enemy, the active preparations began.

SECRET PREPARATIONS.

These preparations were concealed by the reverse slopes of the distant heights, where hundreds of men prepared emplacements for mortars, shelters, and magazines. Immense convoys made a sweep of over seventy miles in transporting the material and projectiles. But meanwhile the siege continued day after day without any variations. From the same batteries the same guns were fired at the same objectives, and it seemed as though everything would continue in the same way until the end of the war.

The salient point upon which the great assault was to be attempted has for its apex the foot of Aivas Baba, the most important of the sector. From Aivas towards the south are the forts of Aigiolu and Kostenlik, and towards the west the fort of Tash Tabia. In front of the line of principal fortresses was a line of advanced positions situated on the undulations of the ground, which makes a steep descent towards the plain for a distance of 200 yards from the forts. The Bulgarian line of investment was extended against these positions. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th March the action began.

It began with a general cannonade on all sectors, an intense bombardment from every side, but less intense on the point which had to be taken by assault, for it was necessary to conceal the plan and mislead the defence.

ADVANCE IN THE MOONLIGHT.

In a thundering artillery duel the day passed into night, when the fire slackened everywhere and finally ceased altogether. At Aivas Baba the Turks might have thought that the menace had vanished. But at four o'clock in the morning black masses of Bulgarian infantry who had rested on the grassy slope began creeping slowly, in the profoundest silence, towards the Turkish advanced positions. The latter consisted of entrenchments and primitive redoubts provided with field and machine guns, and proudly denominated forts—Mal Tepe, Maslak, Meser Tepe, etc.

The bombardment of the other sectors resounded in the distance, covering the slight noise of that cautious, creeping advance. The Bulgarians arrived within 400 paces of the Turkish positions, and not a rifle-shot had been fired. One might have thought that the entrenchments had been abandoned if the small black profiles of the motionless sentries had not been seen outlined on the moonlit sky.

It took the storming party more than an hour to traverse two kilometres. The first glimpse of dawn was beginning to clear the horizon. Suddenly, at the word of command, all the Bulgarians bounded to their feet, uttering their immense, super-human yell of assault, the terrible, prodigious roar of a people in fury. "To the bayonet! To the bayonet! Hurrah!" the soldiers shouted, hurling themselves forward. It is curious that they crossed three wire entanglements without raising any alarm. In a few seconds the Bulgarians found themselves at the last barrier, and the Turks, taken by surprise, abandoned their positions, practically without offering any resistance.

At five o'clock Mal Tepe, Maslak and other Turkish advanced positions were occupied by the Bulgarians, who quickly placed some artillery there. The big guns of the forts opened a terrible fire. The 4th, 5th, and 6th batteries of the 8th Bulgarian Regiment were sorely tried, the gun carriages being completely shattered by the heavy projectiles, but a telephonic order reached all the batteries of the position which had been prepared with so much patience, and from that moment something terrible began—an infernal spectacle.

Upon a front of two or three miles 160 guns, large and small, concentrated their fire. The common shell, each one containing twenty pounds of melinite, arrived in flights of fifteen and twenty at a time. The outline of the bombarded heights was lost to view, and in a seismic convulsion, wrapped in smoke and dust, above which stood the jets, as it were, of an eruption, immense geyzers of debris, the line of hills disappeared in an apocalyptic tempest.

That day and on that single sector alone 30,000 shells were hurled. What a terrific chorus of lacerating, labulous noises!

The Tash Tabia, Aivas Baba, and Aigiolu (Devrekani) forts—particularly Aivas Baba, which as already explained, is the apex of the salient and the most important—were harassed on the front and on the reverse, convulsed by a furious crossfire which did not leave a hand's-breadth of space intact, but caused everywhere a fantastic chaotic destruction.

FORTS ANNIHILATED.

One must see the forts themselves before one can fully understand this bombardment, which in a single day, annihilated the most solid barrier of the Turkish defence. Picture to yourself the ground torn by blows from a titanic pickaxe. The craters opened by the explosions are close to each other, enormous, deep blackened, split by the pressure and all around are shapeless masses of earth, burned and baked by the flashes, splinters of shells and shrapnel.

The casemates of the forts were beaten in by blow after blow of the projectiles. Looking in, one sees in the shadow of the magazines corpses lying on ammunition-cases, groups of gunners who have died on their guns and who lie in the strange attitudes of sudden death like dolls thrown away by some powerful hand.

It is necessary to observe, however, that these famous fortresses of Adrianople which have been so highly praised were miserable, primitive works with casemates of brick covered with a little earth with gun emplacements simply hollowed out in the soil as might be done in a field battle. There was not a cement wall, not any sort of a protecting work, not fosses, no scraps or countersaps, and the guns of the permanent armament were fairly old.

LEGENDARY DEFENCES.

The modern fortifications of Adrianople are another Turkish legend, in which everybody believed, the besiegers certainly, and perhaps also the besieged. The only value of the forts was in their position. Nature has surrounded Adrianople with natural fortresses. If the Bulgarians had been aware of the real state of affairs they would have made terribly short work of the first outpost of the Turkish Empire. They would have been able three months ago to attempt an assault and to capture the famous entrenched camp at the point of the bayonet. We were surprised by the rapidity of the conquest, but, on the spot, we quickly perceived the impossibility of greater resistance. Shukri Pasha did not even have all the guns with which he was credited. He cleverly multiplied his artillery by changing its position. As soon as an attack became pronounced at one spot he reinforced the threatened points by migratory batteries, thus giving the illusion of formidable defensive preparations.

But let us return to the story of the last assault. Under the intense bombardment of the forts the Turks ceased turning their guns against the Bulgarian infantry, who had appeared so suddenly on the advanced line, and sought to defend themselves against the artillery. It was a furious, raging, desperate duel. In all the other sectors a demonstrative action was energetically developed, compelling Shukri Pasha to reinforce all points, and engaging a great part of the reserves.

TURKISH ARTILLERY SILENCED.

Meanwhile the Bulgarian infantry, who at dawn had captured the advanced position, cautiously set out from Maslak towards the forts to prepare for the assault on Aivas Baba, Kostenlik, and Tash Tabia. The artillery of the forts was unable efficaciously to fight the heavy Bulgarian guns, which were well hidden, but had, on the contrary, to withstand their concentrated fire. At midday the Turkish reply was slow, and there were periods of silence, at five o'clock the shots were as rare as the words of dying men and at sunset the Turkish artillery, to use the picturesque expression of General Ivanoff, was "dead."

The Bulgarian artillery meanwhile continued to harass the forts, which had been reduced to silence, so as to prevent the arrival of the reserves and the resumption of the fire. The bombardment proceeded during the night while the Bulgarian infantry slowly crept and climbed towards Aivas Baba fort.

The 23rd, 56th, 10th and 53rd infantry took part in his advance and the attack was directed by General Vassoff, who had thought out the plan. Companies were detached to open a way across the wire entanglements. It is said that the Turks had placed around Adrianople enough wire to encircle the earth. It is certain at any rate that everywhere, as far as the eye could reach a minute grey forest of iron stakes solidly planted, upheld a lattice-work of barbed wire—an immense spider's web which stretched on every side tremulous, uncertain, and pearly with dew. But the wire was loosely stretched, and did not offer an insurmountable barrier. In some place the bursting of shells had already opened a road, and the uprooted stakes lay scattered in every direction, like the supports of vine after a cyclone.

FIGHT IN THE TRENCHES.

Inaccessible from the north-east, Aivas Baba could only be stormed from the south-east, and on this side was defended by infantry trenches. Pioneers of the 23rd Regiment advanced, with bags full of hand-grenades and pyroxyline bombs. There were still a few gleams of moonlight to the west, but heavy clouds brought long periods of darkness, by which the storming party profited to move themselves closer to their objective. A disorderly, inoffensive fire came now and again from the Turkish trenches.

Towards three o'clock in the morning the Bulgarians reached the wire entanglement of the enemy's fort. When they were within thirty paces they were perceived, and an infernal fire began, almost at point blank. The flashes of the rifles revealed the faces of the Turkish soldiers resting on the parapets.

What takes place in the ranks of the storming Bulgarians is nothing but a massacre. One obtains some idea of the terrible hurricane of lead which swept just above the ground by observing

how the iron posts of the entanglement have been bent and pierced by the bullets in the most fantastic manner.

This is a decisive moment, an instant of discouragement of uncertainty would involve the loss of the battle. More than half of the pioneers are dead or wounded. Without being able to respond to the fire, motionless and silent, the troops remain crouching behind the tiny trenches which have been hurriedly thrown up. Time seems to have lapsed into eternity.

A fleeting feeling of helplessness and temporary discouragement is passing through the most daring hearts when chance or the talent of a commander who has realised the state of mind of his troops gives utterance to the order to advance. A new wave of desperate enthusiasm passes over the crouching troops, a gigantic shout leaps from their throats.

CAPTURE OF THE FORT

At this moment a triumphal clamour comes from the most southerly height. The troops attacking Aivas Baba hurl themselves to the assault. Close to the barbed wire they stumble over the bodies of their comrades, and other corpses are heaped up in hundreds. The way was not open, but the troops are now in a position from which they will not again withdraw. Gliding under the wires the soldiers endeavour to cut them, and many have their hands torn. Somebody conceives the idea of throwing overcoats over the network, and in a few minutes a couple of hundred of these garments form an immense thick carpet across which the troops rush, shouting their battle-cry "To the bayonet!" Thus the barrier becomes a bridge over which the storming party passes.

The Turks cannot retreat, and hundreds fall to the Bulgarian bayonets. The bodies roll one on top of the other to the bottom of the trench, where I have seen them, with hands still clutching their rifles.

The appearance of the ground a few hours after the battle was still terribly eloquent; in the solemn language of death it described the fury and fearful beauty of this grandiose episode, which definitively opened the gates of Adrianople to the victorious Bulgarians. Hand grenades and in particular certain powerful bombs which are a Macedonian weapon of war, played a large part in the final assault. One sees horrible wounds caused by these explosives—arms and legs wrenched off and muscles stripped from bones.

Beyond the wire entanglement lie dead Bulgarians with their blue eyes staring and their mouths open as though uttering a last shout. Burying parties collect the corpses and arrange them one beside the other in ranks, as though for a final review, and this battalion of death is saluted by the troops as they pass in tragic silence.

At five o'clock in the morning Aivas Baba fort is strongly occupied by three regiments of infantry, some field batteries, and a howitzer battery. The artillery had reached the position at a gallop to assist the infantry at the assault. At the last phase of the critical moment some batteries were sent to the flanks of the infantry a few hundred yards from the enemy and they largely helped in maintaining the resolution of the men, whom nothing encourages so much as hearing close at hand the roar of their own guns.

THE FORTRESS SURRENDERS

Below the fort, pallid in the light of dawn, stood Adrianople, almost conquered at the feet of the troops who called to the town with enthusiasm.

Two batteries of quick-firers and two of field guns, situated behind a fold in the ground close to the city, opened fire on Aivas, but all the forts of the sector had lost their solid support, and, taken by an enslaving fire, they fell one after the other.

Reports of their occupation came in such rapid succession to the headquarters that there was no time to telegraph them to the General Staff of the army, and to Demetika. "They fall like ripe fruit when the tree is shaken," General Ivanoff said to me this morning.

At ten o'clock a squadron of cavalry of the guard, commanded by Colonel Markoleff, entered the city by the Stambolitu, the gate of Stamboul, at the south east, while infantry, with flags flying and drums beating, proudly descended from the positions they had taken and marched into Adrianople. Shortly before this Shukri Pasha had despatched *parlementaires* to all the sectors to propose surrender. Too late, Adrianople was captured.

Adrianople After the Fall.

Scenes in the Captured City.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Adrianople, Mar. 28.

A whole Odyssey of adventure seems to have been crammed into the hours since I left Sofia on Wednesday. A quartet of correspondents started in high hopes with a promise that Adrianople would

be reached at midnight. At Mustafa Pasha, however, obstacles were met with which compelled us to pass the day there, in the course of which two of the party disappeared.

This morning a Government telegram permitted us to continue our journey to Marash, where the Red Cross had a post. Two of us started thence in a country cart for the most interesting part of the journey. The smiling countryside was defaced by grim war, barbed wire entanglements, intrenchments, and few dead horses and cattle were to be seen together with piles of captured rifles.

I arrived at Adrianople in time to see part of the Turkish garrison march out of the town to the quarters allotted to them outside. General Ivanoff had succeeded in establishing complete order save for a few spasmodic cases where fanatics had taken refuge in houses from which they fired on the Bulgarians. There has been no time yet to collect a true account of the actual assault, but the bombardment has been described to me in various languages.

The Bulgarians are now pouring food into the town. The civilians have been on short rations, and bread had run short. The British Consul and the British colony are in good health.

The Final Assault.

March, 29.

I understand from trustworthy eye-witnesses that the bombardment proper of Adrianople, which opened on Monday, was truly terrific, but though the shells were bursting over the Turkish batteries in murderous fashion, the gunners remained at their posts in the most gallant manner, upholding the traditions of the Ottoman Army. The Bulgarians at the outset concentrated the fire of their batteries against the protecting positions of Kavalik and Aivas-Baba. At daylight on Wednesday the sustained and accurate fire forced the Turks to retire, and at 8-35 A.M. the fighting became general. The heights commanding the town and the northern forts of the eastern section were already in the hands of the Bulgarians. At 8 A.M. the news was known in the town and soldiers were seen arriving from the forts breaking their rifles and discharging their ammunition. The Bulgarians were by this time masters of the situation, and their guns were ready and trained upon the town. Owing to regrettable tardiness on the part of the Turks the white flag was not hoisted on the Hadirlik Fort, the headquarters of Shukri Pasha, until 9-30. Five minutes later the signal was seen also on the fire station tower, but the action was too late, for by that time the cavalry had already advanced, and the allied squadrons entered as captors of the town at 9-45 exactly. By 11 o'clock the Bulgarian infantry were streaming into the city.

King Ferdinand, who arrived in a motor-car, himself received Shukri Pasha's surrender, and returned his sword with a graceful and courteous reference to his magnificent defence of the town.

The ready acceptance in many quarters of the Turkish version of the fall before any statement had been published by the Bulgarian authorities caused considerable confusion and led to a very important error regarding the real state of affairs. It was generally believed that the town had surrendered, since the Vali, Ismail Pasha, stated that he was acting on behalf of Shukri Pasha, who had telephoned from the eastern side and had sent an unsigned message to General Ivanoff. General Ivanoff refused to accept this, and while the *parlementaires* returned the advance guards of the Allies occupied the town.

General Ivanoff, however, himself declares that he received no message whatever, and in any case the Vali had no authority to surrender the town. Shukri should, had he so desired, have ordered the men to lay down their arms and withdraw to a distance and permit the Bulgarians to advance, take the arms, and make the men prisoners. Had Shukri acted so, it would have been only necessary for Ivanoff to send sufficient men to maintain order, whereas, as it was, he was obliged to occupy the town with a full military force. It will be seen by the brief account of the morning's operations above that Ivanoff's version is borne out in every particular.

The scenes in the captured town to-day are of a kaleidoscopic nature. In the early hours of this morning, under a leaden, depressing sky, the major portion of the Turkish garrison outside the forts fled into the town by way of Marash, whence they will march to Harmanli, on the Bulgarian frontier, and be entrained for the interior. The native dignity of the Ottoman in tragic circumstances has been seen at its very best, while the behaviour of the retreating crowd and the armed escorts was more admirable during the whole of the march past. It was pleasant to watch the kindly relations between victors and vanquished. The corpse of a soldier who collapsed on the way was a sinister reminder that the war still claims victims, even after the surrender. The pale, emaciated faces and the tattered clothing were striking proof of the severity of the hardships which the garrison had undergone in the last days of the siege. The men did not elude past as in the case of the prisoners captured at Kirk Kilisse and Uzun, but bore themselves with the demeanour of soldiers who, though defeated, had done their duty.

An hour or two later a fresh contingent of the Allied troops, with bands playing and colours flying, amid which were the gaudier tints of the captured standards, entered the town. The sun for a few moments burst through the clouds. Bulgarians and Servians advanced by turns. Now one heard the lilting tune of the far-famed "Shumi Maritza," then the notes of the Servian National Anthem, while company after company of khaki-clad war-worn soldiers strode by their countenances showing unmistakably the joy of victory.

A visit to the Konak, where General Ivanoff and his staff had their headquarters, presented a different but equally interesting side of the picture. Here the glamour of the triumphant occupation was not apparent. Dozens of officers were hard at work striving to re-connect the strings of the dislocated organization. The surroundings still bore every trace of the stay of the late owners. A gigantic Turkish trophy decorated the centre of the main wall and each door bore an inscription in Turkish letters, since there had not even been time to write a new designation in Bulgarian. Additional pathos was lent to the vast hall by the spectacle of a few civilian prisoners sitting aimlessly and watching the entry of spurred and booted officers into what might have been three days ago their private sanatorium.

In my brief telegram last night, the despatch of which I own entirely to the courtesy of General Ivanoff, for the telegraph is exclusively military, I was unable to give more than a poor idea of the state of the town itself owing to my late arrival. This morning I managed to walk through two or three quarters and get an estimate of the damage caused by falling shells. In the newest portion—that rebuilt after the great conflagration of 1905—in which lie nearly all the foreign Consulates, there was little to be seen, most of the damage having been since made good, but nine shells dropped on houses around the British Consulate. In the poorer districts the signs of shell fire were more evident. It must not, however, be supposed that the bombing forces deliberately caused damage to the unprotected quarters, since it should be remembered that the mere wind of a passing shell is sufficient to cause the collapse of a dozen such ramshackle hovels. It was curious during my stroll to watch people busily engaged in painting crosses, fashioned of any material gathered haphazard, to nail to their doors as a pitiful protection, not against the soldiery, whose behaviour is exemplary, but against the Christians of the lowest order, who seized the opportunity for loot, but who are now dealt with in very summary manner by armed patrols."

Shukri Pasha at Sofia.

Sofia, Mar. 30.

Shukri Pasha, with his staff, composed of 12 officers, including seven pashas, arrived at the railway station here yesterday morning. The distinguished prisoners were awaited by an enormous crowd, among them being a group of Deputies, with the Vice-President of the Chamber, M. Zgoureff, and the military commander of Sofia. The military railway officers greeted Shukri in French as follows:—

"A welcome to your Excellency. The whole world admires both victor and vanquished. Bulgaria cherishes profound respect towards the illustrious hero of Adrianople. Your Excellency may rest assured of our sincere sympathy and admiration."

Shukri Pasha, who was evidently touched by these words, said that he was filled with similar feelings and felt deep respect for the bravery of the Bulgarian soldier. Then Shukri Pasha and his staff drove in motor-cars to the Hotel Splendid Palace, where sumptuous apartments, with every luxury and comfort, had been prepared for them. Shukri Pasha thanked the military commander heartily, saying that even in Constantinople he could not have expected better treatment. Yaver Pasha, who had been lodged in the Hotel Boulevard, was, at Shukri's request, transferred to the Hotel Splendid Palace. The meeting of the two prisoners was most touching.

Turkish Opinion.

Constantinople, Mar. 29.

The Turkish Press describes the capture of Adrianople as an event which, if disastrous to the Ottoman arms, is in no way irreparable to the honour of the Ottoman Army. Ghazi Shukri Pasha is praised by the entire Press for the constancy and skill of his resistance, and numerous biographies of this eminent officer are published. From his military career before the siege of Adrianople he appears to have won remarkably rapid promotion and became a Field-Marshal in 1908. He took no part in the revolution and refused to join the Committee of Union and Progress on the ground that it was a political organization in which a professional soldier had no part. Under the law of the Ottoman Empire he was reduced to the rank of Major-General, but he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General for services rendered during the siege of Adrianople. A kinsman by marriage of the late Hamid Pasha, he was, like him, of Circassian origin.

As for the effect which the capture of Adrianople will have on the prospects of peace opinion seems to be divided. The more moderate newspapers appear to anticipate an early cessation of hostilities, but *Tasvir-i-Evkar* declares that the Turkish desire for vengeance can only be appeased in an ocean of blood.

Scenes within the Fortress.

Adrianople, April 1.

With some difficulty I have succeeded in gathering a general idea of the siege from the civilian point of view. During the first two months the actual discomfort was astonishingly small excepting the days of bombardment from November 22 to December 8. Business, of course, was at a standstill, and circulation in the streets was very restricted. The shops were sometimes opened for a few hours, but upon the arrival of a stray shell in no matter how distant a quarter of the town shutters were hastily put up and every living soul vanished in the twinkling of an eye. The philosophic calm of the Oriental compared with the restless energy of the Westerner may be a most valuable asset at times, but the bombardment awakened the liveliest fears among the civilian population, many of whom belonged to a somewhat highly-strung and unwarlike race. Indeed the panic soon reached such a pitch among some of the foreign residents that the Consuls decided to use the school of the *Suurs d'Agram*, a fine building in the newest quarter, for their protection.

TURKISH CONFIDENCE.

Throughout the early weeks the garrison fully believed that the Turkish arms were successful in the campaign, news, save of small outpost affairs, being rigorously withheld. Official proclamations were published from time to time. One, of which I saw the original, shows the innate fatalism of the Moslem in the opening words of one of its clauses—"Escape from death is foreordained by God to be impossible." On November 21 a Bulgarian aeroplane dropped a message printed in Turkish giving details of the disasters inflicted on the Turks and the confidence of the townsfolk was shaken, though revived a fortnight later by the news circulated throughout the lines that the Bulgarians had demanded an armistice. The armistice period was one of most trying stagnation. Business was at a standstill, and apparently the place was full of rumours. The populace, swayed before every breath was ready to grasp at every shadow until trains were to be seen running through the station, and it was then known definitely that the Turks were in a bad way. It is interesting to learn that at the same time great activity was noticeable among the Young Turk officers. In some curious, occult fashion they seemed to feel that a *coup d'Etat* was being prepared. Hence the news of the fall of the Ministry in Constantinople caused no surprise, although the death of Nazim Pasha was sincerely mourned by the rank and file.

The decision not to surrender the fortress, on the contrary, was hailed with delight by the officers, who were heartbroken at the idea of yielding without striking another blow. Preparations were redoubled and the question of food was seriously considered for the first time. Hitherto the sale and purchase of commodities had been unrestricted, now grain was placed under Government control and fixed prices, together with the quantity to be sold, were issued daily. The regulations were observed for a few days, until the merchants began to run short of supplies and it became one law for the rich, another for the poor. A poor customer entered the shop and was told that there was no more grain, while the rich man was still able to buy by whispering a price across the counter.

CLOSE OF THE ARMISTICE.

At the close of the armistice the bombardment was renewed. A panic broke out among the foreigners, who were mostly Jews. The Consuls, therefore, decided to leave the Austrians in the school previously used, while the French, British and Russians took shelter in the cellars of the school of the Resurrectionist Fathers, which was well ventilated. At the same time it became necessary, at the demand of the medical authorities, to shift the position of the British hospital, which had already done yeoman service. The Allies used the armistice profitably. From foreign newspapers dropped or thrown into the town people learned the European news of the Ottoman *debacle*. The aeroplanes continued to drop messages saying that the Bulgarians merely desired to free the population from the "brigand government of the Young Turks" without bloodshed.

At this period articles in common use reached famine prices. Petroleum was 30s. a tin, salt and sugar 6s. 8d. a lb., and charcoal was practically unobtainable. Bread sold at 7d. a loaf consisted mainly of barley husks, bran, and canary seeds, and was of a revolting colour. Fodder failed, and the oxen became very thin; and snowy weather prevented the sheep from benefitting by the pasture at lambing time, so that at one moment it was feared that all might perish. Luckily a thaw set in quickly, green shoots pushed up, and fresh meat became procurable.

The complete seclusion of the townsfolk from the troops at the outposts generally increased the natural uneasiness and nervousness, which were especially apparent when the siege operations began to be pushed home. It was obvious that the Bulgarians were pushing

forward according to a definite plan on the eastern sector of the salient. The bombardment in that quarter was very fierce and prolonged, and it could be seen that the Turks were replying headless of ammunition and often firing *rafales* from the centimetre guns, knowing that the food would give out long before the shells, which might be of use to the enemy if left unused. The newspaper during the time that it appeared often contained items of a ludicrous nature, especially in the issue which the editor announced in capital letters. — "We are firmly persuaded that we shall be victorious," without giving a single reason to substantiate this conviction. On February 9 Shukri Pasha, although unwilling, was forced to yield to public opinion and ordered the disastrous sortie. His troops were murderously repulsed and hurled back headlong until actually under the shelter of the fortresses. The following day the Bulgarians advanced in a counter attack.

There was now little hope of ultimate success or relief, and the townfolk settled down to await the inevitable, but even the period of waiting told tremendously on their nerves and the mental and physical strain was apparent on all sides.

AFTER THE SURRENDER

The place is certainly regaining its normal aspect with singular rapidity. Each street has become a bazaar and itinerant merchants are doing a roaring trade in olives, goat's milk cheese, and similar articles. Medicaments will be forwarded as soon as possible. Fortunately the weather has taken a turn for the better. The troops left to garrison the town are now engaged in such domestic duties as patching their garments, and it is curious to see soldiers who a week ago were engaged in bloodiest combat—the escarpment up which the Bulgarians charged was almost a miniature Gibraltar, and should have been practically inaccessible—to day darning their socks on a flat stone. The Prefect of the Sofia police, who has been installed here, has worked wonders with the thousands of wagons which are pouring provisions daily into the town. Proceedings have been much hampered by the destruction by the Turks of the bridge at Marash.

Servian Opinion.

[FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT]

Belgrade, Mar 29.

The news of the capture of Adrianople by the Servian and Bulgarian forces was enthusiastically welcomed here, tempered, nevertheless, with sad reflections on the terrible loss of life that does not directly benefit this country. It is said, though unconfirmed, that the loss in killed and wounded was very heavy, being estimated at ten thousand Servians and almost as many Bulgarians. The first batch of 1,200 wounded Servians is expected to arrive by hospital train to-day, and to-morrow two more similar trains will arrive.

The number of Servian soldiers who took part in the siege of Adrianople was in the latter stage increased to 60,000 men so as to relieve a part of the Bulgarian besieging army in order that an additional force might be sent to the Tchetaldja Lines.

But, when all is said and done, and when it is fully realised that Adrianople was in any case, fated to fall into the hands of the Bulgars after the war, the question arises—was the storming of the fortress town, involving as it did a terrible loss of life, a necessity? Is it to be wondered at that the Austrian Press terms the storming of Adrianople a useless slaughter and a criminal folly?

According to information received here, Bulgaria has notified the Servian commander that the services of the Servian troops being no longer needed at Adrianople, they must be withdrawn, and a date has been specified.

There is no dispute between the two countries as to the possession of Adrianople, but it is difficult in the case of Monastir and other towns in Macedonia on the boundary between the two countries. Servia is sending a special commission of three distinguished politicians to Russia, the chosen arbiter, to have these points settled. The indefatigable Dr. Daneff, Bulgaria's representative, who was at St. Petersburg when the capture of Adrianople was announced, and received a flattering ovation at the sitting of the Duma, is supposed to have gone there for the same purpose.

The capture of Adrianople seems to act on the Balkan Allies as an incentive to further deeds of valour, and the taking of Scutari "in a few hours" is frankly prophesied. In this attitude they may, perhaps, be strengthened by Russia's dilatory action, or by a secret encouragement on the part of unofficial Russia. Besides, the Balkan States are aware that before the beginning of this war Europe declared that the then *status quo* would be upheld. This principle has been cast to the winds, and is it not likely, argues the Easterner, that in the delimitation of Albania a similar fluctuating policy, liable to be altered in the presence of a *fatale accompli*, will be pursued by the Powers?

Shukri Pasha.

(By GEORGE RENWICK.)

ADRIANOPLE's long agony is over. Though as a result the Bulgar marches in and the Turk goes out, the stupendous trial of strength has been a triumph for the Ottoman forces, and especially for that fine soldier who, through five dreary, testing months of warfare and alarm, has kept the banner of the Crescent proudly flying—Shukri Pasha, the Osman Pasha of to-day. Adrianople's struggle has lasted just about as long as that of Plevna, and with Plevna it will go down in military history, yet another evidence of the fighting quality of the Turks in defence.

Shukri Pasha, a handsome, strong, thickly-moustached man, is every inch a soldier, he comes of famous fighting stock. One of his uncles and his father won renown in the Caucasus, and all his brothers have fought for their country. Wherever Turkey has been at war during the last three-quarters of a century, at least one of the family has taken his share in the fighting.

Personally, the defender of Adrianople is one of the most charming of men, cultured, courteous, and a thorough master of his calling. Like Crispi and many of Turkey's great men, he is of Albanian, again an example of the fine stuff of which that fighting, highland race is made. Recently the Sultan conferred upon him the high and signal honour of the title of Ghazi, "the Victorious."

PRaise FROM TWO EMPERORS.

Born at Erzerum in 1854, he received his early military training at the Military College in Constantinople, where he quickly distinguished himself. Shortly after he became a lieutenant in an artillery regiment he went to France and Germany to continue his studies. In Germany he was attached as captain to the famous 2 Garde-Feldartillerie regiment. As an officer in that regiment of crack officers he stood out conspicuously, and on more than one occasion drew forth the praise of Kaiser William I., who went as far as to report his high opinion of the young soldier in a letter to Abdul Hamid. "It is an honour for the regiment," the Kaiser wrote, "to have such a skilled and enthusiastic officer in its rank."

Years later, at a great review in Constantinople before Kaiser William II., Shukri Pasha led his regiment past with such élan and precision that he called forth words of the highest praise from that warrior-monarch, who asked that Shukri, then commanding an artillery regiment, should be personally introduced to him.

A whim of old Sultan Abdul, however, interfered with the even tenor of the young soldier's military career. But if it did that at the time, later Shukri Pasha may well have been glad that the Padishah's illwill was vented upon him. One of Shukri's relatives incurred the wrath of one of the Sultan's favourites, who persuaded his master to send the offending officer into exile. Damascus was chosen as the spot, and the removal of this particular officer was naturally followed by the exile, more or less severe in its terms, of all his relatives. Shukri Pasha was among the number, and the spot selected for him as his place of exile was—Adrianople.

There he became Brigadier-General and commander of an artillery division. Most people would have accepted the position as a sort of sinecure, and settled down to wait till the Sultan's mood changed. Not so Shukri Pasha. His immediate superior was Magyar Mahmoud Pasha, who saw no objection to the ambitious young soldier finding work for himself if he so chose. And Shukri did so choose. Magyar Mahmoud was, as his name indicates, a Turk of Hungarian extraction, who, in ways only known to the Yildiz Kiosk and the Seraskerat, had become, by easy but suspicious stages, a Field Marshal, and in his opinion Shukri's activity kept the officers and garrison out of mischief.

THE THOROUGHNESS OF A KITCHENER.

Shukri set to work with a will. He schooled his officers and trained his men thoroughly, lecturing the former on all branches of military science, and drilling and manœuvring the latter constantly. Every Turkish soldier under his command who could not read and write was taught to do so. He had all the thoroughness of a Kitchener in small as well as in great things. He would often be met in the neighbourhood of Adrianople sketching and taking notes, and practically the entire modern defences of the city owe their existence to him.

His fame grew as disfavour in Constantinople waned, and eventually he was promoted to be Army Inspector, while retaining his post at Adrianople. Many real reforms were the result, and in that position the indefatigable Pasha showed the stuff he was made of. In 1903 he saw active service for the first time. The great Macedonian rebellion of that year found the Turkish military authorities unprepared. One large band of rebels, six or seven thousand strong, assembled with the object of seizing Adrianople. With little support of consideration from headquarters, Shukri Pasha took the matter into his own hands. He gathered all his available

troops together with lightning speed, and by doing what would have been considered a two days' march over rough country inside 12 hours, he took the rebels by surprise, broke them up, and taught them a severe lesson.

The powers that were thanked him in strange fashion. He was exiled still farther away! His success had stirred up his enemies in Constantinople, and they persuaded the Sultan to send him to Salonica, where, it was thought, he would be harmless Shukri, a stern disciplinarian, and one who never stopped to curry favour at Court, obeyed the instructions sent to him. He settled down to work in Salonica.

It was a curious revenge which Shukri Pasha obtained. The year 1908 came and with it the earliest rumours of the Young Turks' activity. From Monastir and from the vilayet of Kossovo floated ominous reports, and Abdul wished to know what was really happening. Yet amongst all the favourites with whom he was surrounded he could only pick one man—Shemsi Pasha—for the mission, and of him Abdul had rather serious doubts. So it was necessary to send another officer as well. The Sultan then remembered Shukri Pasha, and decided that he was a man upon whom he could rely. The two pashas went up into Albania, and at Monastir Shemsi was assassinated, the secret of his mission having leaked out. The Young Turks, too, discerned what Shukri Pasha was doing there, but in such high esteem did men hold him that no hand was raised against him.

When the war broke out with the Balkan Allies, the military authorities, among the welter of errors, did at least one right thing. They sent Shukri Pasha to Adrianople. He reached that place, so familiar to him just four days before the Bulgarians began to sweep down upon it from the frontier. Four days of Herculean labour and he was ready for them. Soon they encircled the city. Faintly from the horizon the guns of Kirk Kilisse sounded: still fainter were those deciding Lüle Burgas. Through the air messages came from Constantinople telling Shukri that there was no hope of his being relieved. And he replied that there was no danger of his hauling down the flag prematurely. By means of two attacks the Bulgarians sought to draw tighter the ring of trench and cannon they had thrown round Adrianople. Both were driven back, and the great, stubborn ring of Turkish forts remained intact.

Through the long winter days and nights the opposing guns disputed with one another; starvation came ever and ever nearer with relentless tread. While the armistice was talked of attempt was made by the London Conference to conclude peace. Adrianople and its braves had the fierce foe of hunger to keep at bay. Then the war was renewed; Adrianople was to be reduced in a week, yet through the weeks it held out. And the end is a tragedy and triumph; but it is a triumph worthy of a stern fighting race and a worthier cause.

Then weary ward and watch is over, but as Shukri and his comrades look their last upon the fortress they defended so magnificently, well may their tired eyes flash with the light of victory. All the world will honour them and their gallantry with the readiest of tributes, for they have done their whole soldier duty. They held out as long as it was humanly possible. They kept the flag flying till heroism could do no more. In smoke and flame the city has fallen; there is no disgrace for any, and there is glory enough for all.—*The Daily Chronicle*.

The Battle at Tchataldja.

In a message despatched from Hademkeu on Sunday, 30th March, to the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. E. Ashmead-Bartlett gives a detailed account of the fighting at the Tchataldja lines on the previous day, in which the Bulgarians sustained a severe reverse.

The Bulgarians (he writes) have been singularly unfortunate in their second attempt against the Tchataldja lines and have been driven back in confusion, with the loss of over 1,000 killed. It is not quite correct to say that any attempt has been made against the lines of Tchataldja, for the object of the Bulgarians has been to cut off the Turkish troops holding the high ground west of Lake Chekmedje from the main army occupying the lines.

On the advance of the enemy in great strength on Tuesday last, Isset Pasha retired his advanced line of outposts and withdrew the majority of his troops to the cover of the main position, leaving some detachments west of the lake.

On Thursday and Friday a vigorous bombardment was concentrated on the Turkish entrenchments, but with very little effect, and the Turkish artillery made hardly any reply, but the gaps of the ships harassed the enemy's batteries.

POSITION CAPTURED.

At Lahanakou was the Turkish advanced position, and through Friday night this was vigorously shelled. The night was an ideal

one for an attack, as heavy rain rendered it impossible to see for more than a few yards and deadened the sound of troops advancing. At midnight the Bulgarians in great strength hurled themselves on the Turkish entrenchments. The Turkish artillery concentrated a tremendous fire on the captured work, assisted by searchlights, under whose rays the Bulgarians could be seen making desperate efforts to dig themselves in, and this fire inflicted very heavy losses on the enemy's infantry.

Throughout the whole of Friday night the hills shook with the roar of the guns, while the rain and the wind formed a fitting setting for the combatants. During the whole night the Bulgarians held grimly on to the captured position and the Turks, equally determined, refused to yield another inch of ground.

The dawn of Saturday broke dull and chilly. The rain had ceased, but a heavy mist, exactly similar to that which we saw during the attack on the 17th November, hung over the Tchataldja valley and hid the field of battle from view.

The position of the Turks to the west of Lake Chekmedje was now critical, for if the enemy succeeded in cutting them off from the main army they would be driven into the sea or forced to surrender.

A DANGEROUS MOVE.

At eleven in the morning the Bulgarian general essayed one of the most difficult and dangerous movements known in war. As he could gain no more ground by a frontal attack, owing to the desperate resistance of the entrenched infantry, he determined on a flank attack from the direction of Tchataldja. But to do this he was obliged to move his infantry in a flank march across the front of the Tchataldja lines, along the road which runs at the foot of the hills through the low-lying Tchataldja valley.

The movement was only rendered possible by the heavy fog which hung over the valley, and which completely veiled in its friendly pall the movements of the enemy. But fortune, which has not been friendly to Turkey during the war, at last came to her assistance. This flank march of the Bulgarian infantry was first sighted, not by the troops on the lines, but by one of the detachments holding Fanasakris at the head of the Chekmedje Lake. The news was immediately telephoned through to the forts.

Almost at the same moment the fog lifted in the most dramatic manner and the Bulgarians found themselves fairly and squarely caught in a death-trap of bursting shrapnel.

Every single gun which could be brought to bear was opened on the doomed columns, not only from the forts, but from Fanasakris. The range was easy, and the shooting good, and the Bulgarian infantry, unable to advance and unable to climb the steep Tchataldja hills, were obliged to retire towards the town of Tchataldja.

BULGARIAN ROUT.

Under the withering hail of shrapnel the column speedily lost all formation, and, breaking up, fled in the utmost confusion, leaving hundreds of killed and wounded. Many of the men flung away their rifles and kits to assist their flight, and over 4,000 rifles are amongst the spoils gathered by the victors.

This utter rout of the flank attack left the Turkish infantry to the west of Lake Chekmedje with only an enemy in their front.

Now came the psychological moment for a counter-attack on the enemy, who had captured the advanced position at Lahanakou during the night. Now came also the moment to avenge in some small measure the disasters of the war and to show the conquerors of Adrianople that the indomitable spirit of the Turkish infantry is not yet broken.

Six thousand picked troops, the flower of the army, formed up in serried ranks, and, regardless of the enemy's artillery fire, left their entrenchments, descended the slope, and, under a withering hail of musketry, hurled themselves on the captured position.

SPLENDID COUNTER-ATTACK.

The issue was never for a moment in doubt; in fact, the advance was never even checked. Many men fell, but their comrades pressed on over their bodies, determined on victory and revenge. In vain did the Bulgarians attempt to stem this flood of excited soldiery, worthy descendants of the warriors of Ottoman. The shelter trenches they had erected during the night proved inadequate to check the Turkish onrush, and, almost precisely at noon, a sullen roar of victory rising from out of the distant mists announced to the spectators that the hill had been re-won.

The Bulgarians fled in all directions, some towards Bogandos, some towards Kadikou, others to the high ground behind Tchataldja, abandoning rifles, kits, and baggage, and pursued by the Kurdish cavalry, who had been sent forward on the previous day.

Over 1,000 of the enemy's corpses were counted on the ground, which, together with the wounded, means a total loss of over 4,000

men: The joy which this success has aroused in Constantinople is intense. People had begun to lose faith in the Ottoman arm, and to believe that the Bulgarians had only to show themselves to be victorious now.

This battle, relatively small though it was, has proved that the Turkish soldier if he is given a fair chance and is well led, can still be victorious in the field.

The British Public and the Turks.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SATURDAY REVIEW."

Salonica, Mar 14.

Sir,—You will, I hope, allow me to confirm a large part of "Æquitas'" letter in your issue of 8 March. I will deal only with the cases of Strumnitza and Serres, which have come under my personal knowledge.

I have just come from a meeting of the International Committee for the Relief of the Refugees, at which a report was received from the Greek Bishop of Strumnitza; he gave a heart-rending account of the distress prevailing among the surviving Moslems and begged the International Committee to endeavour to organise some relief. This, unfortunately, we are not in a position to do. We are in regular receipt of a sum of £850 a week from the Greek Government; we have received invaluable help in work and money from Germany; and many generous donations have come from England through Colonel Delme-Radcliffe and the British Consul-General. But all these resources are absorbed in the support of our camp of 7,000 refugees outside the town.

It is known from other sources that the report of the Greek Bishop of Strumnitza is not exaggerated; and the impartiality of that admirable man is attested by the fact that the Chief Rabbi of Salonica has officially appointed him to protect the interests of the Jews of the Strumnitza district.

"Æquitas'" account of the Bulgarian occupation of Strumnitza is substantially correct. I can only add that the actual number murdered by the mock court-martial of Komitadjis was 891 Moslems and 2 Jews, while about 1,200 were killed in the streets and on the roads leaving the town. It should also be said that the Servian commander who entered the town with his troops three days later to a certain extent succeeded in checking the Bulgarian excesses. He certainly sent a very strongly worded protest to Belgrade, with the result that the Servian garrison was subsequently increased and restored some degree of security. The prevailing distress is due to the fact that the Bulgarians, not only at Strumnitza but habitually, seized all available stores of every kind, everything that was not required for the needs of the army being packed in waggons and sent northwards to Kustendil.

As to Serres, the history of which I happen to know in detail, your correspondent is at fault in attributing the massacre to Komitadjis. Here there is no doubt that the regular troops were directly responsible.

The Bulgarian Army entered Serres without any resistance, for nearly all the Turkish troops had been withdrawn from the Kresna Pass in response to a telegram of General Hussein Tahir Pasha, dated 29 October, appealing for reinforcements to defend Salonica against the advance of the Greek army at the river Yardar. On 5 November the various religious authorities and other notables went out to surrender the town on the usual terms of honourable immunity. On 8 November Zankof and eighteen other Komitadjis entered the town, on the next day the first regular troops, one regiment. On Friday, 8 November, General Kovatcheff made his official entry with 20,000 troops. On the Saturday afternoon at about 2-30 p. m. the massacre began. It seems to have originated in an order given by General Kovatcheff to turn the Moslem inhabitants out of their houses and search them for arms. It continued till nightfall, and between five hundred and six hundred Moslems, many of them refugees from the surrounding villages, were shot and bayoneted in the streets alone. The subsequent looting went on for many days: how many it is difficult to say, as I found it almost impossible to establish the point at which "looting" ended and legal "requisitioning" began.

A Greek cavalry regiment is now stationed at Serres, and its presence seems to stimulate the Bulgarian authorities to maintain a certain degree of order. Moreover, General Volkoff, now appointed Military Governor of Bulgarian Macedonia, is making the sincerest efforts to suppress the Komitadjis element of the occupying army. But he is everywhere hampered, as he

himself confessed to me, by the inadequacy of the administrative organisation and by the total lack of any trustworthy gendarmerie.

I am Sir yours faithfully,

J. M.

Sir E. Grey on the Balkan Situation.

(Concluded from our last.)

THE HOUSE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

THIS much I should like to say, that we all feel in the Government that the House has treated the Government with great confidence through the Balkan crisis. It, of course, makes the sense of responsibility even greater than usual. The fact that through the meeting of Ambassadors London has been made the central point of negotiation between the Great Powers and the special position in which I have stood with regard to the meetings of Ambassadors has made reticence on my part essential as far as public statements were concerned. But I hope the House will feel that in questions of the Balkan crisis so far we have not abused its confidence by pursuing in the absence of criticism any policy of which the House would have disapproved or sacrificing as far as things have yet gone British interests which might have been preserved. British trade, of course, has suffered in the disturbed area, where the war is going on, as the trade of every country has suffered, and what diplomatic representations could do to prevent the imposition of double duties and other things of that kind during the progress of the war we have done. Of course, you can not in the case of a war prevent altogether the disturbance of trade and the loss involved without intervention and departure from the policy of neutrality, which instead of limiting the extent of the war might increase it. Within those limits we have done what we could to minimize disturbance to British trade, but as regards our general policy we have pursued a policy of peace and we can say truthfully and without any qualification whatever that there has been no difficulty inherent to this crisis which has been increased by our action. (Cheers.) There is none that so far as we could we have not endeavoured to make smooth, and we have worked continuously consistently, and single-mindedly to promote agreement between the great Powers. (Hear, hear.) I do not think for a moment that the largest share of the credit of any results which have been reached hitherto, or of future result which may be reached, is going to be claimed for the British Government. The chief credit will, of course, be due to those Powers more directly interested than ourselves, and whose public opinion therefore has been much more sensitive and suspicious than our own has been. It will be to the moderation, the forbearance, and the patience of the Governments of those particular Powers who are most directly interested and whose public opinion is more sensitive that the chief credit for any settlement come to must be due. Our policy, as far as our past has gone, has been to make their task easier and to work for general agreement and peace. If that has the approval of the House, the House will no doubt feel that the forbearance and confidence which it has shown towards the Government have been justified as far as things have yet gone, and I can certainly say that the attitude of the House, and I may add of the Press and of public opinion in this country generally, has been a great support and help to the Government in pursuing that policy. (Hear, hear.)

THE POSITION IN PERSIA.

Now I would deal with the question of Persia, an entirely different matter, and one, I admit, of great importance and also of great difficulty. There is no denying the facts which the hon. and gallant gentleman opposite alleged—the insecurity of life and property in Southern Persia—and he read out a most imposing list of outrages. I wish I had a more satisfactory statement to make than I can make. With regard to the regiment at Shiraz, I think the position of that regiment has been so difficult and so trying that the time has come when it is really a primary consideration to give it relief by withdrawal as soon as possible, and that withdrawal is going to be carried out. That is a thing which stands by itself as something which is due to the regiment. I see no object in its being retained at Shiraz under circumstances. If we are to have a force in Southern Persia which is really to affect the country and be effective for any purpose, it ought to be a much larger force. It is not considerate to keep in Southern Persia a force which cannot really affect the situation, and which is kept there in a very trying position.

Mr. DILLON [Mayo, E., Nat.].—Can the right hon. gentleman say how many men there are?

SIR E. GREY.—A few hundred. However, the withdrawal starts early next month. With regard to the actual damage to trade, of course there has been great damage to trade, but according to the Customs returns from southern ports, it is really surprising when you look into them how much trade has been going on in one way or

another in the south of Persia in spite of the damage which has been done in notorious instances to caravans. The returns of the southern Customs ports are much greater than one would have expected to be possible considering the accounts we have had of disturbance and barfaced robbery on the road. There they are. With regard to Northern Persia, where the hon. and gallant gentleman said the Russians were keeping order, I think he said with 16,000 troops, it would be an erroneous conclusion to assume that 16,000 troops have preserved order in the whole of Northern Persia. Two roads have been kept open to trade in the north of Persia by the Russian troops, but the other roads in Northern Persia, I believe, have been as disturbed and as unsafe as the southern roads.

NO BRITISH OCCUPATION.

Of course it is open to us, after the list of outrages the hon. and gallant gentleman has read out, if we like, to make out a case for saying that we at any rate must ourselves take in hand the preservation of order on the southern roads in the interests of our trade. But I do not think the Russian experience in the north, considering that only two trade routes have been kept open, is altogether a good precedent for us to follow in the south. It clearly means that if you are going to do any good by your own separate individual action in Southern Persia it is a very large undertaking which, in however small a way it begins, is certain to lead to very large and undesirable responsibilities. That is why in spite of all the provocation and disturbance there has been we have not committed ourselves and will not commit ourselves now to embark on a policy which may mean the beginning of an occupation of Southern Persia and a partition of Persia. I fully admit all the drawbacks that the hon. and gallant gentleman has urged to seeing the restoration of order attempted by other means, but, formidable as the facts which the hon. and gallant gentleman put forward were, unpleasant as they sounded when one listened to them, they are, after all, in my opinion, even when you take them altogether, a far less evil than the unknown, the unforeseen, and the unlimited consequences of sending a large British force into Persia. So we have pursued, and shall as long as there is the least prospect of its success, the policy which we are pursuing at present. There is in Persia at the present time, as far as *personnel* is concerned, I believe the best Persian Government that it is possible to obtain. We wish—and the Russian Government has shown its disposition to adopt the same course—to assist that Government with a small advance sufficient, we hope, to enable it to make progress with the restoration of order in the country, to improve its prospects and give it a chance of raising a larger loan subsequently when the conditions in Persia have improved, not from the Governments or under a Government guarantee, but from independent financiers. We propose to advance £200,000, and the Russians will also advance £200,000, to the present Persian Government for that purpose. The control of Mr. Morneau I believe to be quite sufficient for dealing with a sum of that amount, advanced not in connexion with any great scheme of reorganization, but in order to deal with administrative arrears and immediate administrative necessities, but I think when it comes to a large loan and financiers are approached in connexion with a large loan to Persia, undoubtedly they will want to make their own conditions as to the control over the expenditure of the loan and the purposes to which it is to be applied and I think that ought to be supported if the securing of that condition is one which will induce them to make a loan of a considerable amount to Persia later on.

LOAN FOR THE GENDARMERIE.

Besides that, we ourselves wish to advance £100,000 specially to Persia to strengthen the *Gendarmes*, a force to protect the trade routes in the south. That will be administered by the Swedish officers in close consultation with British representatives. The Swedish officer here has a very difficult task, and I am very glad the hon. and gallant gentleman spoke of them in the terms which he did. They have shown great courage and great patience and persistence, and they have made some progress with the *Gendarmes*—as much progress as we could have expected considering all they have had to contend with. It is because we believe they have done their best and we believe they have done well that we give this support to them as the best means of proving that they have the support, the encouragement, and good will of the British Government in their task. If, all this said, we must then consider what must be done. The hon. and gallant gentleman made his suggestion. I do not wish for a moment to say that the prospects are such that it is premature to consider what we might do, but I think it is quite premature to come to any decision, and still more premature to come to announcing a decision as to what we shall do if this fails. We wish to give that scheme or policy a chance of success, and we do not improve that chance by announcing that we have already something in reserve. We want to give it the best chance we can, and until it has failed I do not think we ought to come to any decision as to what may be done. If the situation

becomes worse in Persia, no doubt it will become a matter of anxious consideration as to what can or must be done, but at present our object is to preserve the separate existence of Persia (hear, hear), and to preserve it through a Persian Government, and to do all we can to secure for the Government in Persia, which I believe is being done at the present moment, the best possible *personnel*, and to get for it the best possible outside assistance and advice, as, for instance, in the case of the Swedish officers. I deprecate the suggestion that this is going absolutely to fail, and we intend to exercise unlimited patience. We shall devote all our efforts to promote and encourage its success, as long as there is a reasonable prospect that in that way success will be assured. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bonar Law's Speech.

I referred on the opening day of the Session to the position in Persia, for, like every one else in the House, I was more or less familiar with the facts which my hon. friend behind me brought to the notice of the right hon. gentleman, and I shall not say anything on that subject now. I am sure we all realize not only the condition of things which prevails there, but the difficulties with which the Government are faced in dealing with them. We realize the difficulties, and I think we have shown that we are not prepared to do anything to make those difficulties greater. (Hear, hear.) The position really is, as indeed the speech of the right hon. gentleman himself shows, extremely unsatisfactory. I think every one feels that, but I can say for myself, and I think I can speak for the party to which I belong, that we should look with as much distaste as the right hon. gentleman himself on the necessity of facing anything like the partition of Persia (Hear, hear.) Our commitments are quite large enough, and if there is any other way out of it, and as long as there is any hope of a settlement in other ways, then I am sure the Government are right in trying to carry out another policy rather than that of partition. I am sure that is the view of the great majority of my hon. friends on this side of the House, but, as the right hon. gentleman himself realizes, there must be a limit to the patience which is shown. Like him, I hope that the measures he has taken will be successful, but, of course, both he and this country must be prepared in the last resort, not for, I hope, such a drastic step as I have referred to, but to see that these outrages are not continued on British traders engaged in legitimate trade in Southern Persia. (Cheer.)

THE POSITION IN THE BALKANS.

The sole reason why I rose is that I thought it necessary to say something in regard to the statement made by the right hon. gentleman about the situation in the Balkans. I am sure that the House is pleased that he has been able to say so much, and, while we are sorry that it is not possible to go further, we are not only gratified by what he has announced, but I think we can congratulate him and the representatives of all the Great Powers that so large a step in the direction of peace has already been taken. (Hear, hear.) I quite agree with the division he made as to the two sides of the Balkan question. For us, by far the most important question, from the point of view of our national interests, was that the Great Powers should not be involved in the difficulties which have arisen in the Near East. That was very difficult, but, as the right hon. gentleman has pointed out, while we can afford to be disinterested, for our interests are scarcely touched at all, the questions which have already arisen touch interests which for generations have affected the ambitions of at least two of the Great Powers of Europe. It says much for the desire for peace on the part of the Great Powers, and it is a happy augury for the peaceful termination of this dispute, that so far they have worked in harmony, and, so far as we can judge, with the one desire of localizing this war and preventing any general joining in by any of the Great Powers. It is, I think, a great thing that so much of the delimitation of Albania as the right hon. gentleman referred to has already been arranged—a great thing, because that, as we all know, was one of the subjects in which one at least of the Great Powers was keenly interested. I am sure it is something we have reason to be pleased with that this step has been taken. Of course, the other difficulty to which the right hon. gentleman referred, as to what may happen in and near Constantinople, equally affects the Great Powers, and we can only hope with him that the war will soon terminate, and terminate in such a way that none of the vast interests which would be involved if that question were open shall be brought into the light of day. I hope it will not be long before the right hon. gentleman will be able to give us this further assurance not only that the Great Powers have agreed on the terms in connexion with this matter, but that the Allies have accepted those terms. The right hon. gentleman stated to-day what I said on the first day of the Session, that this war seemed in many respects to be specially deplorable, because as he said, on one side it cannot affect the terms of peace. We all trust, therefore, that it will soon terminate. I am sure the right hon. gentle-

man is right in saying that it is in the interest of everybody that Turkey, when the war ends, if it is to have an existence at all—and it must have an existence—should have an existence which is compatible with reasonable strength and reasonable credit, and it is equally important that all the Allies should endeavour in peace, as they have in war, to work together to sink whatever differences there may be among them, and to realize that the great prospect of industrial development, a prospect which I think is immense if peaceful conditions are continued, is only possible if there is good government in all those countries, and that can only be secured if the Allies act towards each other in a reasonable spirit. (Cheers)

The Prime Minister's Statement.

I have listened, as I am sure the whole House listened, with very great satisfaction and gratification to what the right hon. gentleman has just said, and I repeat, with perfect sincerity, what was stated by my right hon. friend and colleague a few moments ago, that the Government feel that throughout these very troubled and anxious times, which have now extended over some months, that it has been of enormous advantage to the influence of this country, and, therefore, I hope one may say, without undue self-complacency, to the general settlement of the question, that the Government have had behind them the united support of the House of Commons and of opinion in this country. I do not think there has ever been a chapter in our foreign policy where there has been so few discordant notes or where the Government have had to acknowledge so fully and gratefully as I do to-day the patriotic support which the Opposition has given to us. (Cheers.) I wish to emphasize, if I may, two points which were made by the right hon. gentleman. The first is that, as regards the questions that have arisen between the great Powers, while no one will be more disposed than I am to acknowledge the invaluable service which has been rendered, and which I believe is recognized by them all, by my right hon. friend in presiding over the reunion of the Ambassadors, yet the gratitude of Europe at the assured prospect, for I think it is now assured that, as between the Great Powers, no serious difficulty is likely to arise, is due to the admirable spirit of forbearance, patience, and self-sacrifice which has been shown by those who are more immediately interested in the issues than we are ourselves. If it had not been for that, if there had not been this loyal spirit of give and take on the part of the Great Power directly concerned and in immediate contiguity to the local difficulties and problems, I do not suppose that the most skillful and the best-conducted diplomacy in the world would have steered the ship, which carries with it really all the fortunes of Europe, through the shoals and rocks it has had to encounter. I am glad the right hon. gentleman has emphasized this, because it will go forth as a message, which has the united authority of all parties in this country, that we feel that to all those Powers an enormous and unspeakable debt of gratitude is due.

FURTHER STRIFE DEPRECATED.

The other point, which it is perhaps not less important to emphasize at this moment, is this—the right hon. gentleman made it, and I am only really re-enforcing what he said. The conditions being what they are, the further continuance of the war between the combatant Powers is an absolutely purposeless thing. Neither on the one side nor on the other is there anything to be gained by the prolongation of useless slaughter, and both parties, Turkey on the one side and the Allied States on the other, ought to see, and I hope and believe they do see, that they have nothing whatever to gain by the continuance of this strife. Absolute impartiality and equity will characterize whatever decisions the Great Powers may come to in regard to the questions which they have reserved to themselves, and it is equally in the interests of both of the combatant parties that a settlement should be arrived at promptly, and that the useless expenditure of blood and money should cease, and that they should realize on the one hand, in the case of Turkey, that she may still have before her a great future, in which she may realize, with the possession of the territory to the east of the line which the great Powers suggest to secure the possession of Constantinople and the adjacent territory there and in Asia Minor, the infinite possibilities of material development and good government; and, on the other hand, that the Allies secured as they will be, subject, as my right hon. friend has said, to the constitution of an autonomous Albania, and the decision of the Powers with regard to the Aegean Islands will have in the territory west of that line an enormous addition both to their material and moral resources, and the possibilities of the future to which it is not easy to assign any limit. Under these circumstances I hope it may go forth to all parties concerned as the considered judgment of the House of Commons, speaking with full authority as the representative of a united British people that the time, in our opinion, has come when this terrible war, with all its

catastrophe and devastation and waste, should come to an end. (Cheers.)

Mr. Dillon said that the policy pursued by Russia and England for the last four or five years had tended in its results to destroy the separate existence of Persia and to paralyse the Persian Government. The disorder which now existed in Persia was directly due to the policy of the Russian and British Governments. He asked what steps his Majesty's Government had taken to satisfy themselves that the withdrawal of the Indian regiment from Shiraz would be a peaceful and safe operation. The whole policy of the Government was drifting irresistibly in the direction of the occupation of Southern Persia. If the partitioning of Persia took place Great Britain would have a frontier continuous with that of a great European military Power, and the advocates of conscription in this country should have an irresistible case.

Mr. Morrell (Burnley, Min.) considered the situation in Persia looked particularly black, but was glad we were adhering to the policy of preserving the existing Persian Government and were not going ourselves to occupy Southern Persia.

Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (Down, N., Opp) maintained that no responsible member of the Opposition had demanded an effective occupation of Persia by British troops. He was glad Sir E. Grey recognized that the present position was extremely unsatisfactory. The only hope for the future was in a complete reorganization of the *Gendarmes*.

Sir G. Scott Robertson (Bradford, Central, Min.) believed it would be an exceedingly unfortunate policy to introduce British officers into Southern Persia; it would lead to jealousy and rivalry with the Swedish officers. He desired more information as to the position at Shiraz, and was afraid the mistake of sending a detachment of troops far inland might be repeated. He asked what would happen if a German subject should be shot and what would be our responsibility. He was confident that it was solely because of the Anglo-Russian Convention that the independence of Persia had up to now been maintained.

Mr. Acland (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) gave brief answers to questions raised during the discussion. The loan of £100,000 apart from the joint loan of £400,000 was to be advanced for the organization of a force for the protection and administration of the trade routes in Southern Persia. The arrangements for the loans were nearly complete, and the issue would be made in a few days. If the Persian Government showed any desire to summon the *Mojlis* and thought that would assist them in the task of restoring order they would receive no discouragement from the British Government. As to the policy of withdrawing the Indian regiment from Shiraz, all their advisers united in telling them first that there was not that definite danger to life which existed at the time the regiment was sent there, and secondly, that there was every reasonable prospect of the regiment being safely withdrawn. Since the prospect of its safe withdrawal appeared to be quite favourable and the position of the regiment at Shiraz had been rather uncomfortable they felt that the only thing was to withdraw the regiment as soon as possible, which accordingly would be done.

The Refugee Relief Work in Salonica.

The following is an extract from an article published in the *Yeni Asir* of Salonica, February 21st, 1913:—

"Since the commencement of the present war we have observed with fervent gratitude that the generous British people and the highly esteemed Mussulman population of India have given the most brilliant and abundant manifestations of their humane and friendly sentiments towards us.

"In the vilayat of Kossova, for instance, a young Irish gentleman named Oshen, who is working on behalf of the 'Macedonian Relief Fund,' has, since the first day of the occupation, visited one by one every town and village in the province and dispensed relief in the name of the Society which he represents, and he is now engaged in distributing flour to the value of 700 francs a day for the relief of the refugees in Uskub itself. According to a statement made by Mr. Oshen to Osman Adil Bey, a large number of officers' families, of whom some 50 are in Uskub but the larger portion, amounting to nearly 500, are at Prirend, have been left in a very pitiable condition. At the beginning of the occupation a sum of 8,000 francs was granted to these unfortunate people by the Serbian Government, but it may easily be calculated how long this sum can have sufficed for their necessities. We look to the competent authorities to provide at the earliest possible moment the means of forwarding to the capital all these ladies, who have been left as a sacred charge to the Army and to the Nation. According to the request that has been addressed to

him, Mr. Cohen has promised to arrange at present for the despatch of a first convoy consisting of such of these families as are now in Uskub itself. It is hoped that the Servian Government will defray the expenses of their transport to Ghumendja, whilst we hear that M. Argyropoulos has promised our distinguished fellow-citizen that a free passage will also be granted them on the section Ghumendja-Salonica.

But the principal theatre of the charitable activity of England and India is in Salonica and Constantinople.

The sums remitted to the Ambassador and Lady Lowther for charitable purposes amount to over £200,000, the larger portion of which has been contributed by Indian Mussalmans.

To Salonica, besides the blankets and a first remittance of £500 presented by the Lord Mayor and the monthly allowances made by Syed Ameer Ali as President of the British Red Crescent Society to the International Commission, the Indian Mussalman newspaper *Comrade* has taken upon itself the entire charge of the Hospital established in the Sodes Camp and has also sent £250 and a considerable quantity of flour to be distributed at Serres by a small Committee formed of the American Missionary Mr. Haskell, Mehmed Nuroullah Bey and a few other persons.

Previous to this we hear that the British vice-Consul from Philippopolis personally visited Serres and made a distribution of money and flour to the Mussulman refugees and to the families of Ottoman officials who have been reduced to want.

Statement of the Receipts of the International Commission from all sources, from the date of its establishment up to the end of the month of February, 1913.

		Piastres @ ET: 104
December	2nd Received from the Prefecture for Blankets ...	16208.50
"	8th Proceeds of Cinematograph performance ...	4380.
"	10th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (1) ...	11508.50
"	11th Prefecture, 3000 drachmas ...	18500.
"	12th Cinematograph, additional ...	104.
"	" Sir Arthur Nicolson, per Mr. Lamb ...	1268.25
"	18th Lord Mayor's Fund, per Col. Delme Radcliffe ...	11250.
"	14th Ottoman Government, per German Consulate ...	20000.
"	15th Lord Mayor's Fund, per Col. Delme Radcliffe ...	11250.
"	16th The Johnston Line, per Mr. Lamb ...	5200.
"	" The Islamic Society, per Osman Adil Bey ...	5200
"	19th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (2) ...	11522.50
"	24th Ditto ditto (3) ...	11529.50
"	" Ottoman Government, per German Consul ...	26000
"	30th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (4) ...	11492.
"	" Anonymous, per Mrs. Lamb ...	1040
"	" Prefecture, 15700 drachmas ...	70650.
January	2nd American Contributions, per U. S. Consul ...	5824.
"	3rd Anonymous, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	4050.
"	4th Commander Maissa, per Mrs. Lamb ...	8080.
"	" British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (5) ...	11492
"	8th Ottoman Government, per German Consul ...	52000.
"	9th Prefecture, per Col. von Anderten ...	29858.50
"	13th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (6) ...	11479.
"	" Herr Max Solinger, Berlin, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	1118.
"	16th <i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i> , per Ottoman Bank ...	9000.
"	" Prefecture, 16000 drachmas ...	67500.
"	20th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (7) ...	11466.
"	22nd Lady Lowther's Fund, ditto (1) ...	20800.
"	24th Mr. Goodhoop, per Col. von Anderten ...	4500.
"	" Herr Wilke, Berlin, ditto ...	135.
"	25th German Embassy, per Consulate ...	8048.
"	" Sundry donations, per Col. von Anderten ...	1844.50

		Piastres @ ET: 104
January	28th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (8) ...	11440.
"	" Prefecture, 8000 drachmas ...	36000.
"	31st Comrade subscription, per Mr. Lamb (1) ...	11440.
"	" Agio ...	12.
February	3rd Prefecture, 8800 drachmas ...	39400.
"	" Lady Lowther's Fund, per Mr. Lamb (2) ...	20800.
"	" Agio ...	18.
"	6th Col. Foulen, per Col. von Anderten, ...	5200.
"	7th <i>Neue Freie Presse</i> , per Austrian Consulate ...	94.25
"	" Anonymous, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	8120.
"	10th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (9) ...	22906.
"	12th Prefecture, 18398 drachmas ...	82782.
"	" Anonymous, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	1114.
"	17th German Contributions, per Col. von Anderten ...	7070.50
"	18th Lady Lowther's Fund, per Mr. Lamb (3) ...	20800.
"	21st Croissant Rouge Ottoman, per Mr. Jenny ...	15600.
"	" Anonymous, per Mr. Maulwurf ...	1090.
"	" Comrade subscription, per Mr. Lamb (2) ...	11440.
"	24th <i>Berliner Tageblatt</i> , per Col. von Anderten ...	1105.75
"	" National Indian Association, per Mr. Fox Strangways ...	2288.
"	25th British Red Crescent, per Mr. Lamb (10) ...	22880.
Grand Total: Piastres ...		797090.75

General Statement of the Expenditure of the International Commission from the date of its institution up to the end of February, 1913.

		Piastres @ ET: 104.
December	2nd Messrs. Errera for 1600 Blankets ...	16208.50
"	31st Installation of Camp, Sundry Expenses ...	4820.50
"	" Paid for wood ...	11636.
"	" " hay for bedding ...	8009.
"	" " cartage ...	17140.
"	Cost of Cinematograph performance ...	1040.
"	Tea sugar & medicines for the sick ...	2283.75
"	Meat, beans, etc ...	4977.75
"	Paid for Bread ...	35965.75
"	Salaries of employes ...	1040
"	Freight of the s/s <i>Claire</i> to Smyrna ...	13500.
January	31st Camp Installation, Sundry Expenses ...	2446.75
"	" Paid for wood ...	8507.
"	" " cartage ...	15013.
"	" " meat, etc. ...	3239.
"	" " charcoal ...	9225.
"	" " Hospital account ...	2009.50
"	Six sets of Harness for carts ...	1279.25
"	Transport of rice, petroleum, etc., presented by sundry persons ...	701.75
"	Salaries of employe & vaccinators ...	10078.
"	Freight of s/s <i>Claire</i> & <i>Magda</i> ...	50198.50
"	Bread account of month ...	286782.75
February	3th Ditto to date ...	74883.
"	" Paid for cartage ...	2888.
"	" " meat, etc., etc ...	2404.
"	28th Bread account for balance of month ...	164238.
"	Charcoal ditto for month ...	6432.
"	Timber & fire-wood ...	1990.50
"	Meat, milk, etc., etc ...	1832.
"	Garments for Hospital ...	2375.
"	Installation of Camp, Sundry Expenses ...	1042.
"	Cartage, etc. ...	6827.
"	Medicines ...	688.50
"	Salaries of staff and vaccinators' fees ...	8110.
Grand Total: Piastres ...		771687.75

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EXECUTION CASE No. 2 of 1918.

KHUSAL KHAN ... D.-Hu.

versus

LAL BAHADUR and others ... J.-DESTORS.

To

Raj Bahadur Khan, of Monza Misc, Pergana Rudauli, District Bara Banki.

Whereas Khusal Khan, D.-Hu, has made an application to this Court for execution of decree in suit No. 202 of 1902 in the allegation that the said decree has been transferred to him by assignment, this to give you Notice that you are hereby warned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed on the 30th day of April, 1918, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to show cause why execution should not be granted, failing wherein, the said application will be heard and determined *ex-parte*.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 29th-14th day of March-April 1918.

By ORDER,

KAUNSHAL KISHORE.

Munsif.

اشعار

زیر دفعہ ۸۲ ضابطہ دیوانی

مدالت جناب محمد یوسف خان صاحب منصف درجہ دوم مقام قیومہ اسماعیل خان
قبلا رام ولد گودہ رام ... مدعی

بہام

مظاہر رام ولد لعل چند ... مدعا علیہ
ذات فہم سکھ گل امام تحصیل قوم نانکپال سکھ متاہ تحصیل
کلانی چٹک -

دھوے ۱۶ روپیہ

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مذکور فی تاریخ پیش ۵ مئی سنہ ۱۹۱۳ ع حاضر عدالت مظاہر ہو کر
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میں آویگی *

آج تاریخ ۱۸- اپریل سنہ ۱۹۱۳ ع کو جاریہ دستخط اور مهر
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—Morris.

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Mr. Fischer has telegraphed that the matter is having his earnest consideration, and that he hopes to be able to give the Government's decision shortly.

A Cape Town message states that in the Union House of Assembly on the 20th April Mr. Fischer, Minister of Interior, moved the second reading of the Immigration Bill. He recognised that there were problems with which the Imperial Government and not South Africa had to deal, therefore, they should not designate in the Legislature those whom they wanted to exclude. Nevertheless he believed it was the intention of South Africa to exclude Asiatics, as a matter of self-preservation. The power of exclusion followed Canadian lines, as being less objectionable than the Australian. Mr. Fischer paid a tribute to the fair-mindedness of Mr. Gokhale when he was in South Africa, but he emphatically declared that the mode of life of Indian immigrants was such that South Africans would be fools to allow them to attain full political and civil rights.

Mr. Chaplin denied that the Opposition were responsible for the failure of the 1912 Bill. He argued that unrestricted immigration of Asiatics, whether British subjects or not, could not be tolerated for a moment. It was impossible however to accept some clauses of the present Bill, which gave the Government unduly autocratic powers, tending to interfere with the liberty of the subject, and which might possibly stop all immigration. Mr. Chaplin referred to the very favourable impression made by Mr. Gokhale, whose visit was most valuable to South Africa. The debate was adjourned.

Indian Students in England.

Sir William Wedderburn presided at a crowded conference of Indian students at Caxton Hall when Mr. J. M. Parkh and others laid their case before Mr. Mallet. He replied in a tactful and sympathetic speech which was loudly cheered at its close. He showed in detail that so far from seeking to restrict the opportunities of young Indians here, the Bureau existed for exactly the opposite purpose; and had been singularly successful in its work. Also, he said, it was a pure delusion that the Bureau existed for espionage. He would never be connected with it in that case. His business was education, not politics. He asked for their co-operation, assuring them that he would do his best to help them and remove any real grievances, but co-operation must be on a footing of mutual understanding and trust.

The Public Services Commission.

Referring to a question in the House of Commons by Mr W. Bridgman, respecting salaries and travelling allowances to members of the Civil Services Commission, and by Mr Richard Cooper, asking whether travelling allowances had been made for tiger-hunting, Sir Valentine Chirol writes to the *Times* protesting against the tone of these questions. He says the Commission has been freely criticised, but nobody has ever insinuated that lack of industry was one of its failings. On the contrary, its activities have been condemned as excessive. The Members of the Commission receive no salary from the public purse, only a monthly subsistence allowance, while they are away, in accordance with precedents.

The Week.

Persia.

Four English engineers, who recently arrived in Persia for the purpose of making a preliminary survey in connection with the Mohammereh-Khorramabad Railway have now left Nazeri for Dizful.

A Teheran message states that six hundred gendarmes, under Swedish officers, have started for Shiraz.

China.

A Peking wire says: Owing to the amalgamation of three parties and some defection from the Opposition, the Government appears to have secured a workable majority in the House of Representatives, though the Opposition controls the Senate. Hence it is expected that legislation will be difficult, but growing desires are apparent in both Houses to follow constructive policies, and the outlook becomes brighter daily.

The contract for a twenty-five-million sterling five per cent loan was signed late on the 26th April by representatives of China and the group of banks representing five Powers. Two million sterling will be advanced immediately.

South Africa.

Gen. J. H. Smuts, interviewed, said the new South African Immigration Bill would be totally unacceptable to Indians, unless it carried the fundamental principle of compromise as regarded the existing rights of Indians, and removed the racial bar.

The Government of India has resolved to resort to passive resistance if a satisfactory assurance from the Government.

The Hornell Appointment.

Replying in the House of Commons to Sir James Yoxall, who asked if the appointment of Mr. Hornell to the post of Director of Public Instruction in Bengal fulfilled the conditions of Lord Morley's memorandum, Mr. Montagu said the procedure laid down in the Government of India, 1906, on the receipt of the despatch of Lord Morley had been exactly followed. Sir James Yoxall gave notice of further questions.

In the House of Commons Sir John Jordan asked a question with reference to the recent appointment of Mr. Hornell as Director of Public Instruction of Bengal.

Mr. Montagu replied that appointment was made by Lord Crewe, on the recommendation of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal. The latter had reported that no official in the Indian Educational Service was qualified for the post. No such report was given as regards the Indian Civil Service, nor was it required under the terms of the Government of India Resolution, which required it in the case of the Indian Educational Service.

India and Preference.

Mr. Montagu, speaking at Cambridge on the 28th April, criticized Mr. Bonar Law's reference to India and Preference. He appealed to his hearers to resist the efforts of the Conservative Party to show the world that the heart of the Empire was asking its children for payment for favours received to increase the cost of living for the people of India, to benefit a few manufacturers, would be an even a greater crime than to increase it in England. Protectionists in India, Mr. Montagu said, did not mean by Protection what Mr. Bonar Law meant. They wanted protection against England as well as against foreigners. Liberals believed that Free Trade would be right for India as for England.

Hindu College, Benares.

A serious situation has arisen in the Central Hindu College, by the sudden resignations of nineteen of the professors and teachers of the College, of the boys' school and girls' schools, among them being Mr. Arundale, Principal; Professors Wodehouse, Telang, Sanjiva Rao, Tritchaker, Mr. Gurn, Headmaster; Miss Arundale, Principal, Miss Palmer, vice-Principal; Miss Wilson, Secretary, Girls' School, and several others. The resignations have been sent in together to the Managing Committee and the reasons given are the intolerable persecution of Miss. desant by certain senior authorities of the College, and also the publication in a newspaper for which they say they have strong reason to hold Bhagwan-das, Secretary, Board of Trustees, responsible, of one of Mr. Arundale's confidential letters to a selected group of friends holding views similar to his own. It seems, however, that for a considerable time relations between the members of the staff and certain members of the Managing Committee have been very strained. Most of those who have resigned had been working without any remuneration for a long time.

It is stated that the resignations of Mr. Arundale and other Theosophical professors and teachers of the Central Hindu College at Benares have been accepted by the Managing Committee and that Mr. Prasad Bhushan Adhikari, former Principal, will again occupy that position.

The New Finance Member.

His Majesty the King Emperor has been pleased to approve of the appointment of Sir William Meyer, K. C. I. E., I. O. S., to be the Financial Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council in succession to the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, who contemplates resigning his appointment in the course of the next few months.

The All-India Medical Mission.

Dr. Ansari's letter.

DR. ANSARI writes to us the following letter —

India (formerly Omerli), 14th April, 1913.

Your letter came after ages and gave me untold pleasures. I feel very much concerned about your health. Do take care of yourself.....

As regards the Bonds, I have already spoken to Talaat Bey who told me that they were being printed and would be ready in at least a month's time. I have explained to him how absolutely necessary it was to send them to India at the earliest possible moment, but to-morrow I am returning to Constantinople and will see the Finance Minister and, if necessary, the Sadr-i-Azam about these Bonds and ask them to cable you official instructions as well as to the banks.

As regards news, there has been none to send you. The Turkish Cabinet has expressed its readiness to accept as a basis for peace

the Enos-Midia line, no war indemnity and the settlement of the islands to be left in the hands of the Powers. It is rumoured to-day that a week's armistice will be arranged from to-morrow as a preliminary to peace.

As soon as the work of the Mission is over I am going to make a tour in Anatolia and Smyrna with Zafar Ali Khan, one representative of the Ottoman Red Crescent and probably a leading member of the Union and Progress to select a suitable place for the colonisation of the refugees. After forming a reliable organisation in which I may be able to induce some half a dozen members of my Mission to take practical part by staying for some time in Turkey and other reliable men in Turkey, I will request you to help the work with all the money that would be left with you after paying up all the dues of the Mission.

Owing to the rumours of peace there has been no fighting of late and hence we have only 57 patients in Omerli and 100 in Chantak Kila. As soon as peace is declared, I will transfer them all to Constantinople and will close the hospital, handing over all the things to the Ottoman Red Crescent with the exception of the printers and a few other things which I wish to bring to India for the permanent Indian Red Crescent Society.

To-day we have had a number of very distinguished visitors here. — Izzat Pasha with staff, Talaat Bey and Basim Omur Pasha, Vice-President of the Ottoman Red Crescent. They had their lunch and tea with us and were very much pleased with their inspection of the camp. They have written very flattering remarks in our Visitor's Book.

I am getting your message to Enver Bey translated by Madame Khalida Adib and will take it to Enver Bey myself as well as have it published in the *Tanin*.

All the members of the Mission join me in their affectionate regards.

Ghulam Ahmad's letter to you this week would take away some of your reproach from the members of the Mission. I think you would find it full of interest, as they have been exceptionally lucky in seeing what he has described in the letter.

Mr. Ghulam Ahmad's Letter.

The letter of Mr. Ghulam Ahmad to which Dr. Ansari refers in his letter runs as follows:—

The reason why I have not written to you with the knowledge that you received weekly letters from the Director which gave you all the important particulars. My only excuse for venturing to write to you this letter is the fact that the experience which Dr. Fyzee, Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf Ansari and myself have gone through has been unique. In fact we were told by the officers whose courtesy has enabled us to see all that I am about to describe, that we were the only persons who had during the course of this war been shown round their trenches and the actual working of the Turkish artillery. Twice before this we wanted to get permission from Zia Pasha to go to oyuk Telchekmedje, but he very politely refused our request. The newspaper correspondents are only allowed a bird's eye view of the Tchataldja fortifications from a distance of some twelve or fifteen miles. The experience of our members has been that the unofficial sources is the best when you happen to know one or two officers in the army. We all feel it that we owe so much to you that the best we could do is to write and give you a detailed description of our fortunate trip.

After the day's work was over, on Friday, April 11th, Dr. Fyzee, Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf Ansari and myself left our camp at Hindia (Omerli) for a constitutional. As it was a beautiful sunny afternoon, we started with the intention of taking a long walk and took one of our soldiers with us. We walked over the hills beyond the village and then through the valley of the Gaba range and over to the hills behind the Moha in continuation of the second line of defences. Here a clear view of the whole of Tchataldja lines of defences right up to Boyuk Chekmedje on the left and Nakash Kni on the right could be obtained. The plain of the Karasu river where the battle of the 17th November was fought was under our view, and we could not resist taking a photograph of this beautiful panorama. This gave Hafiz a little rest, as he had strained his tendons in climbing up the hills. Our Doctor made straight for the milk bottles and had more than a lion's share of it. Not having started with any definite plan in your head we had a little discussion whether Bakhebaish or Boyuk Chekmedje should be our goal. Boyuk Chekmedje appeared to us to be nearer, the longest estimation of distance in our minds to reach this place being two miles and a half. Once we had started the strained tendon and all were forgotten, and we were absorbed in admiring the beauties of nature which lay at our feet. There were fields of wild flowers as far as the eyes could reach, and the undulating plains were yellow with daisies and in places purple with hyacinths or pink with tulips. Soon we reached towards the lake (Boyuk Chekmedje) where the soldiers were

digging up fresh trenches under the supervision of some officers. As we reached the side of the lake which lay to our right, the sea was in front of us, and we could see the fortifications on the high hills to our left. The slanting rays of the sun and the beautiful evening breezes made the view so picturesque and absorbing that we walked on for some distance regardless of the muddy damp ground until we found our feet growing heavy and our boots increasing in size with all the mud and grass sticking to the soles. Our attention was here diverted by the cannonade from behind the hills to our right on the other side of the lake. It gave us an idea of our destination which seemed just as far away as when we started. Hakkı Pasha passed us here with an escort going in the direction of Bakhshais. As we reached the banks of the lake the soil grew even more tenacious and sticky and in trying to finish the curve of the lake which seemed interminable to our P. M. O., we got the first specimens of his unparliamentary language which, I suspect, shocked Hafizji a little. But the sunset was so glorious that the "interminable curve" was forgotten for the moment and we went on bravely fighting the mud until we reached some old ruins of castles and turrets speaking eloquently of the ages gone by. We were thinking of the past glories of Islam and what mighty power those old fortresses must have seen when we were brought down to the realities by the chanting chorus of some Christian boys. It seemed like the singing of some Indian villagers giving expression to some pathetic and touching sentiments essentially Oriental. Was it really the wailing of the spirit of the East at the sight of such a great nation so suddenly bereft of all its greatness, or was it the subdued joy of the Christian people voicing their victory in the land that still remained under the sway of Islam?

We were at the outskirts of the town of Boyuk Chekmedje now, and it suddenly struck us that we would have to arrange for the night's rest as it was already dark. We searched our pockets and the richest man amongst us produced less than two piastres (about three and a half annas). But Hafizji's resourcefulness came to our rescue, and the soldier who accompanied us became our banker and advanced us the large sum of one Mejdah (two and-a-half rupees). Greatly reassured by this advance we at once started a lively discussion at the bifurcation of the road as to the nearest way to the "Hotel Cecil" in the village. Our P. M. O. is an easy going man, and he selected the shortest route which brought us to a noble gateway by which we made our "State entry." A short distance brought us to a house where we enquired from a soldier if there was any Zâhit (officer) near about. Imagine our joy when we discovered that there was not only a Zâhit living in that very house but he bore the name of the great Fethi Bey, the hero of Tripoli. In spite of our tramp appearance the prompt production of a neatly printed card by our P. M. O. had the desired effect on the soldier and convinced him that we were people of some importance. He took our card at once and came with an invitation from his master to enter the house. But when we looked at our boots which were not exactly as they wear them in Bond Street, you can imagine our hesitation in entering an immaculately clean house with a polished wooden floor. As we walked through the hall we left big lumps of mud behind us which the servant swept away, only to do it over again when anyone of us passed the hall again. Our host showed us great hospitality and that essentially Turkish courtesy which has earned the Turks the deserving epithet of "the gentleman of Europe." We vaguely hinted about some hotel where we could spend the night, but our host would not hear of it, although the poor man possessed only two beds in the house and searched all over the village to procure some more beddings in which he did not succeed. Nevertheless he was rather suspicious of us and made enquiries about us and wrote profuse notes and despatched them, I think, to the authorities. The conversation was conducted through the medium of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French, English and German with a good backing of Urdu where words failed us, and we succeeded to make ourselves generally understood. Captain Hamzi Bey and another officer joined the party, the latter being specially invited owing to his knowledge of Arabic. The dinner was a sumptuous affair consisting of seven courses, all of us eating from the same plate in the good old Turkish fashion, the only incongruous element being the use of knives and forks. We were afforded a beautiful view of the lake in the moonlight through the powerful field glasses which these officers gave us. As bed time approached Hafizji began to wonder whether his highly scented stockings might not have the effect of an emetic and spoil the evening's dinner. My own fears and tribulations were not small when I thought of the hundreds of thousands of my pet "colonists" whom I had nourished on my own milk and now that they were fattened and sleek the agony of losing them in this house was great, indeed. There was a singular lull of war at bed time, the host wanting to give us the beds and sleeping himself on the Ottoman; but we were three to one and at last prevailed on him to sleep in one of the beds.

Next morning we had an early tea and our host who had received a telegram on the previous evening was making preparations

to start. He was still suspicious, but the production of a small packet containing the dust from the graves of the *shuhada* who had died in the battle of the 17th November which Hafizji carried with him, cleared his suspicion and changed his attitude entirely. He gave us a letter to the Markaz Commandant, Mahmud Bey, and we started to the office of that dignitary. We were waiting outside the house for the reply of the letter, but the soldier who accompanied us returned soon with a disappointing message that the Commandant was not at home. We were thinking of returning when we saw some one looking at us from the window and scrutinizing our appearance. I believe our dark colour proved a positive advantage here, as a man was forthwith sent to us with a pass to go further to Enver Bey's headquarters. The first soldier was sent away, and we accompanied our new guide. We had to cross a bridge, a very old construction which was strictly guarded by sentries all along, no one being allowed to cross it without a pass. Even the military officers had to show a pass to get over the bridge. The view from the bridge was very extensive, the sea on one side with a flotilla of transport ships anchored in the port and one of the cruisers painted in visible grey ready with its guns for action and the Boyuk Chekmedje Lake on the other side with the hills sloping down to its shores. There were two pontoon bridges also recently constructed there. On reaching the village of Qali Kariseh, where Enver Bey had his headquarters, we passed a British Red Crescent Hospital and two Ottoman Red Crescent Hospitals and met Tewfik Bey, the Russian aviator, who has got a wonderful invention by means of which an airplane can be stopped in mid air for two minutes. He was here to present his plan to Enver Bey and place this new invention exclusively at the service of the Ottoman Government. If this invention proves to be what he claims for it, it would revolutionize aviation and prove a formidable weapon for military purposes.

We went to Aziz Bey, the commandant, who spoke Persian fluently and hence understood us perfectly. He spoke to us about Langar Shah, an Afghan volunteer, who had fought with Enver Bey in Tripoli and had recently shown marvellous courage and bravery in fighting against the Bulgars at Yalor. He was killed on the 3rd of April in an engagement where he rushed with a small number of soldiers in the Bulgar ranks which numbered some six thousand. Aziz Bey is one of the famous officers who had distinguished themselves in Tripoli with Enver Bey's army. We expressed to him our desire to see Enver Bey to whom he took our message. Enver Bey sent for us at once and on seeing us and saying *bişer* (I know them) the whole aspect of all the officers and men changed towards us like the magic words of Ali Baba, and all the mysteries and secrets were to be shown to us without any further suspicion or questioning. We told Enver Bey how the whole Islamic world looked to him to retrieve its lost honour and save the sinking ship of Turkey from utter destruction. We expressed a desire to kiss his hands for all the Mussalmans of India and Hafizji had a regular tussle with him before he succeeded in kissing the tips of his fingers, which he returned by kissing him on his cheek. Enver Bey spoke also very highly of Langar Shah's courage and bravery. He forestalled our request and asked us if we should like to see the newly-won position, which they had captured on the 31st of March with such heavy losses to the Bulgars. We took a photograph of Enver Bey just before we left him. This place was simply a beehive of activity, every soldier and officer moving with alacrity and determination. We returned to Aziz Bey again who was to provide us with soldiers and guide for the most interesting part of the trip. Here we met Nishat Bey, a young member of a Pasha's family working as a common soldier, and two Pathan volunteers from Afghanistan—Abdul Hakim Chahsh of Kandhar in a picturesque Kurdish dress and Syed Ismail Kabuli. We took their photographs. We met Capt. Mundaz Bey, a cavalry officer who had distinguished himself in Tripoli, and Ehsan Bey, a very brave artillery officer.

In our anxiety not to waste any further time we even refused the offer of a lunch by Aziz Bey and started on our horses, the Doctor of course getting the best mount. We had not proceeded a mile mostly spent in trying to save our P. M. O. from an ignominious fall from his horse when a brisk shower of rain caught us and gave us a drenching which proved rather refreshing. Our P. M. O. burst forth into a full throated chorus "By the side of the Zuyder Zee" apropos of our ride along the sea shore. The view was very beautiful here. The green undulating plain and the hills beyond and the sea on the left side made one of those fascinating landscapes which are found in such abundance in Turkey. Half an hour's ride brought us to the position at Monastir Tepesh where we met Salahud-din Bey,

Rais Arkan Harbi (*رؤس ارکان حربی*) in his camp. We left our horses here and accompanied him. Fortunately for us he spoke Arabic and Hafizji was able to carry on a conversation with him. Five

minutes walk from the camp brought us to a battery of eight guns, four of which were in position. On reaching the top of the hill, where the trenches began, we could see the ground harrowed everywhere by the shrapnel from the Bulgarian artillery. This was the danger zone, and we were told that we could not walk outside the trenches without being hit by the shrapnel. The trenches are made about five feet deep and the earth heaped on either side of them serves as a cover for the soldiers and their rifles. They are not made absolutely straight, but at every five or six yards they curve in a semicircle. This precaution is taken to limit the damage of the bursting shrapnel only with in the section between the two arches. The trenches extend for miles and miles all along the hills with branches and ramifications. Here and there they have dug out subterranean caves which serve as living rooms for men and officers on duty. They have got wooden roofs covered over with mud which make them shell-proof. The trenches are connected with a network of telephone wires. These trenches were continuous with the trenches at Kartal Tepé and Deksunbir Tepé (the latter named after the 91st Regiment which had made the famous charge on the 31st of March). We entered the trenches and walked along for 200 yards where we saw the Bulgarian trenches distinctly about two miles distant from here through a powerful field telescope. We could distinctly see the Bulgarian soldiers moving about and working in their trenches, their movements being watched day and night by officers on duty. We could also see the Tchataldja hills, Alibesan and Nakış Kuy, towards Derkös side. A description of the Turkish and Bulgarian positions before and after the battle of the 31st March would interest you. The Turks occupied the hill Yesel Tepé (not Lahana-kul as given in the foreign papers, this village lying further in the valley to the right). On the 30th of March the Bulgars after a terrific cannonade captured this position in the evening, but the Turkish fleet kept up a continuous fire all night. Early in the morning the Bulgars made a desperate move and sent a force from their central army located behind the village of Tchataldja under the shadow of a thick fog to try to cut off the Turkish force situated at Boyuk Chekmedje from its main body. But the fog lifted just when the Bulgars were in the plains, and all the Turkish batteries in the first line of defence opened their deadly fire with such disastrous effect that the Bulgars fled leaving their dead and wounded, throwing away even their rifles and kit behind them. At the same time Turkish troops under Enver Bey made a courageous assault, inspite of the accurate Bulgarian fire, with such grim determination that they recaptured Yesel Tepé at the point of the bayonet, and drove the Bulgarians from this position with a loss variously estimated at between 1,000 and 1,500 killed and about thrice the number wounded. It was a great charge which should rank with some of the most historical charges in the military history of the world. It has proved once more, if there is need of any proof, that the Kurdish soldiers led by able and brave Turkish officers can not be surpassed whether in offensive or defensive warfare.

The walk inside the trenches, sometimes stooping, sometimes kneeling, only at intervals being allowed to peep through, was most thrilling. Even our P. M. O.'s fear with a hundred and one enquiries regarding the interval between the flash and the arrival of the shrapnel was forgotten in the excitement of the hour. Of course Hafiz must show that he is an Ansari (انصاری) and was not a bit afraid of the buzzing of the shrapnel although, for aught I know, he was shivering in his breeches all the time! I must say, I myself felt the walk of a mile and a half inside the trenches to be much longer than it actually was, but I blame my sloppy boots for this experience and fear or fatigue had nothing to do with this. At last we reached the farthest end of the trenches from where the Bulgarians were only 1,500 yards. Here we saw the soldiers ready in their position with their rifles pointing towards the Bulgarian trenches. We were received here by several officers who took us to one of their underground bomb-proof shelters. On entering it we found it quite commodious and tolerably comfortable, but the most agreeable surprise was that the usual cigarette and coffee was not omitted even here to show the hospitality of the officers to us. With our field glasses we could see the Bulgarians whenever they put their heads out of their trenches. We were bent on taking the photograph of the Turkish soldiers in their trenches and it was after a great deal of persuasion that the officers allowed us to take the risk of snaphotting them as we had to stand right outside the trenches in the line of the Bulgarian guns to do so. We took several groups of the officers and I am hoping they would turn out good. Before we took leave of the officers they presented us with several complete Bulgar shrapnels, bullets and cartridges as a token of our memorable visit. We are making quite a nice little collection of the different varieties of Turkish and Bulgarian bullets and shrapnels which we hope we shall be allowed to bring to India and present the collection to the Central Indian Red Crescent

Society at Delhi. Returning through the trenches we suddenly saw a head projecting out of a "rat-hole" and who do you think it was? No less a person than Lt.-Col. Usman Bey, a wiry grey-headed veteran with a long flowing beard who is considered not only the most able and brave officer but a great expert in military affairs, and is always posted where there is the greatest danger. He received us most cordially as we had known him before when he was a guest in our camp at Omerli. We took leave of him with great reluctance as it was about half past three and we had still a long way to go. We returned by way of the trenches to the battery when we heard the booming of the Bulgarian guns. We were in luck to-day as we actually witnessed the way in which messages are received and batteries are worked to the finest precise tangents. A telephone message was received by Asim Bey, the officer on duty, after which he blew his whistle at the sound of which the men suddenly poured out of the trenches and in a second were at their posts behind the guns. There were seven soldiers and one officer on each gun and as the order was given by Asim Bey in his loud, clear and thundering voice, it was repeated by each officer until it went from one end of the battery to the other, the soldiers acting like a machine until the cartridges were got out from their cases by one man, handed over to another for adjusting the cap for distance while a third loaded the gun, and the fourth pulled the leather strap fixed to the trigger to fire it. The three remaining soldiers did the adjustment for distance and angle. The whole proceeding does not take more than half a minute. We had the good fortune to take some photographs of the guns in action. The cannonading continued for some time and at the word *توقف* the officers and men disappeared as if by magic inside their trenches. Asim Bey made quite a nice little speech when saying good-bye to us and said we had the unique privilege of seeing the wonders of the caves, which not even the most favoured correspondent or any outsider was ever allowed to see. We returned to the camp where we had left our horses and met Lt.-Col. Mohiuddin Bey, the Firqa Commandant. He had heard through some of his soldiers, who had been treated in our hospital, of the attention given to them and the comforts they had received and he expressed his great appreciation for our work and sent a message to the members of our hospital, and through them to the Mussulmans of India of eternal brotherhood of the Turkish people with their co-religionists in India.

For the first time we saw the name of Hindia mentioned in the maps in place of Omerli. This is not a small compliment to us which no doubt you fully realise, for there have been scores of missions working all along from Tchataldja to Constantinople, but they have not named even a cat after them.

We mounted our horses and started to Boyuk Chekmedje. The officer who had brought some bread and cheese for us having completely forgotten about the food never gave a thought to our inner man. Dr Fyze was not a little perturbed at the idea of having been taken for a camel or some such beast who did not require food for a week. Notwithstanding his hungry remonstrances the officer took no notice of him and went along until we reached Boyuk Chekmedje thoroughly famished. We paid a visit of thanksgiving to Enver Bey, in reality hoping to get some food there only to be disappointed again. Here we met Khurshed Pasha and a distinguished looking Topchi Commandant. There was some exchange of beautiful sentiments between Khurshed Pasha and our party and after taking their autographs and photos we took leave of them and started on our long walk back home, but we were so hungry and exhausted that we could think of nothing else but food. Our P. M. O.'s ingenuity to remind the officer about the food by asking him a question about buying some eggs in the village did not succeed. Alas, the officer went away with bread, cheese and all and left us in the hands of a *gendarme*. We found a café where only liquids were served which only increased our appetites. No solids were to be had for love or money. We started about an hour and a half before sunset on our weary tramp home wishing to reach our tents as quickly as our legs could carry us, as we could bear the hunger no longer, but seeing our soldier lagging behind with a sackful of shrapnels which were given to us by the officers at Monastir Tepé, we felt sorry for the man and relieved him of his burden by taking a shrapnel each. This, however, proved a misplaced sympathy, as the soldier now relieved of his burden walked at a terrific pace some 50 yards ahead of us. Every attempt to get near him proved futile as he was not going to have our shrapnels back in his sack. What with fatigue and what with hunger we felt in no mood to enjoy the beautiful sunset. The Doctor's choicest vocabulary of swear words was the only source of amusement left for us. When we saw the lights of Omerli the thought of food and good rest in our tents was only marred by the fear of the public opinion in the camp against our absence, but the cheerful faces of our men and the comfortable feeling of distention after a square meal soon made us happy and pleased with ourselves and the rest of the world.

TETE À TETE



We in India knew extremely little before the war about Adrianople, a name which has now been ringing in our ears for the last six months, and it is doubtful if any communication ever took place from one end of the year to the other between the population of Adrianople and any of the three hundred and fifteen million people of India. At any rate, it seems almost certain that telegraphic communication between India and Adrianople has not taken place even once in a lustre. But this war and the miseries which it has entailed have brought India closer than ever to the Ottoman Empire, and probably for the first time in many many years telegraphic communication has taken place between India and Adrianople. As we go to press, we receive a telegram from Adrianople, via Trieste and Suez, dated 2nd instant, 16 hours 40 minutes, addressed to us in French. Evidently it is either from the British Consul, or from General Broadwood who arrived in Adrianople on or about the 10th April with Ambulances and British Doctors and medical stores and has been distributing relief along with Major Samson, British Consul, to the Moslem families. The English version of the cablegram is as follows.---

The Relief of Adrianople

"Adrianople Mussalman are profoundly touched by your assistance. £3,000 are necessary to relieve the villagers. I beseech you to remit this amount if possible to General Broadwood, British Consulate."

When we sent £3,000 (Rs 45,000) through His Excellency the Viceroy and the Foreign Office to British Consul at Adrianople, we knew there must be an overwhelming necessity for the town which had been subjected to a siege of five months at a time of the year when the absence of food and clothing are bound to be felt much more than during the summer. Whatever the Allies or their European apologists like Sir Edward Grey and others may say, we cannot expect that the victors would show any excess of mercy when dealing with the vanquished, and even if the heroic soldiers of Turkey that kept her flag flying through all the hardships and temptations of the siege are well cared for, the civil Moslem population of the town could not have escaped the wrath and hate of the Bulgarian soldiers and of the civil Christian population of Adrianople. The only way a reach them was to seek the assistance of the very Office over which Sir Edward Grey presides, and we are thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy that in this way we were enabled to extend the hand of fellowship and assistance to the long-suffering Moslem residents of Adrianople. But evidently Rs 45,000 cannot go very far, and if we are to relieve the neighbouring villages which have suffered no less than the town—for the forts that surround Adrianople extend over a vast space of the neighbouring country—at least another Rs 45,000 should be sent as soon as possible to General Broadwood for the relief of their distress. Those who have been giving have no doubt given a great deal, but there must still be a very very large number of people who could give but have not yet given, or at least not given in anything like the proportion which the contributions of the poorer Mussalman bear to their savings. The broad river of charity that had been flowing through our Office hitherto has now assumed the meagre proportions of a dried up rivulet. But we hope there is still a good deal of moisture on the high hill tops and that the snows would melt, and the sluggish rivulet would once be a rushing roaring torrent, and then the wide expanse of water such as one sees in the stately rivers of India during the rains.

We have received another letter from Mr. Qamar Shah Khan, B.A., (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Hon Secretary of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society of Rampur. He writes:—"With regard to a malignant rumour calculated to injure the Ottoman Red Crescent Society you have already published in your issue of the

5th April a letter with which H. E. the Ottoman Consul-General, Bombay, had favoured me in answer to my enquiry. I received yesterday another letter on the same subject, which His Excellency has written under the orders of the Ottoman Government. It runs:—"Being officially charged by telegram to contradict categorically whatever malignant rumours according to which the Ottoman Red Crescent Society would be conducted by Christians and deprived of the support of the Ottoman Government, I affirm that you may continue your activity and your remittances in perfect tranquillity of conscience seeing that this institution is purely Mohammedan. Yours faithfully, (Sd.) E. Djafer, Ottoman Consul-General."

Dr. ANSARI cables to us from Constantinople on the 30th April that the Italians sustained terrible disaster on 16th April at Benghazi where the Arabs captured 25 guns, 15 officers, 200 soldiers and large stores, besides killing a very large number. So the Tripoli war is by no means over and the Arabs mean to give a rough time of it to the Italians in spite of Turkey's having signed the treaty of peace and Enver Bey's having had to go to Constantinople.

A VALUED correspondent, Maulvi Najmuddin of Calcutta, writes to us as follows:—"The Times' article, The 'Times' and the Indian Mussalman, a short summary of which was cabled by Reuter on the 19th instant, contrasting the 'wise and courageous advice' of H. H. the

Aga Khan with 'the frothy appeal' of a section of Indian Mahomedans and their clamouring for British intervention on behalf of the Turks, is in my opinion one of those occasional homilies which, as the oracle of the British nation, the Times considers itself privileged to give to the different races inhabiting His Majesty's Dominions. In the present instance it unburdens itself as follows:—"It is necessary to remind them (Moslems) that the Foreign policy of the British Empire cannot be dictated by a section of people of one portion. We are ready to respect their susceptibilities, but it is difficult to do so unless their prominent men show a stronger sense of responsibility." In the absence of the full text of the article for which we must wait till the arrival of the next mail, it is difficult to understand the exact drift of the pronouncement, but as far as could be gathered from the message, the Times eulogises the advice of the Aga Khan and deprecates the true sentiments and feelings of the community. The words 'wise' and 'courageous' which qualify the advice sufficiently indicate the meaning. The Aga Khan's advice was universally condemned by the community and evoked the pertinent rebuke from his friends and admirers. His advice might well appear to the author of the article as wise and courageous—courageous, indeed, it was, for it ignored bravely the tone, sentiments and feelings of the entire Moslem community, and wise also, for it harmonised with the views of the writer of the article himself. The officious zeal of the writer is praiseworthy no doubt, but it is necessary to correct him with regard to some unloading facts upon which he appears to have based his so-called 'sensible advice,' which has evoked the praise of Baron Reuter himself. The Times' remark about the frothy appeals of a section of Indian Mussalman, clamouring for British intervention on behalf of Turkey, is, I am afraid, the product of the fanciful brain of the writer. As a matter of fact, no appeal for intervention on behalf of the Turks was made by the Mussalman ever after the declaration of neutrality by the British Government. What the Mussalman protested against was the attitude of the British statesmen in not uttering a word of remonstrance at the inhuman atrocities and dastardly barbarities committed by the soldiers of the Balkan Allies upon innocent men, women and children, the frightful accounts of which were published by responsible eye-witnesses from time to time. It was not an appeal for intervention on behalf of the Turks, but it was an appeal in the name of humanity and civilization. Was it too much to expect from a nation, which made such indecent haste to send warships and land bluejackets to protect the Christians in Constantinople from a fanciful massacre, to interfere and stop the massacre of thousands of innocent Moslem women and children by the barbarous Christian soldiers of the Balkan Allies? This was the appeal which the Times chooses to describe as frothy and clamorous! I am surprised to find the Times resuming the old and rotten charge about dictating the Foreign Policy of the British Empire. If the Moslems were eager to see the fulfilment of the diplomatic promises of the *status quo* and the many repeated guarantees about the integrity of the Turkish Empire, I fail to understand how this could be termed as dictating the Foreign Policy of the British Empire. In justice to itself and in fairness to the Mussalman subjects of His Majesty, it would have been better if the Times had first devoted its columns to the justification of the chameleon policy of the British statesmen before criticising

the attitude of the Mussalmans of India. The article concludes with a promise to respect the susceptibilities of the Mussalmans if their prominent men show a stronger sense of responsibility. As a humble Mussalman I thank the writer for his professed high-mindedness; but alas! the lesson of the recent war upon the Moslems scarcely justifies the placing of much reliance on such promises with reference to the questions relating to the Near East. The Mussalmans in my opinion would prefer to continue to watch with keen interest the further developments of affairs in Turkey, placing their reliance upon God alone for the satisfactory conclusion of this unjust war, the safety of Islamic interests and the prestige of the Turkish Empire."

We have often commented in these columns on the atrocities committed by the Balkan Allies on the Mussalmans of Albania, Macedonia and Thrace, and given isolated extracts from the accounts of eye-witnesses published in the press of Europe.

But the full tale of outrage and unutterable horrors has been just revealed to us by a pamphlet styled "Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us," which has been issued by Le Comité de Publication D. A. C. B. in Constantinople. The pamphlet seems to have been issued in several languages, and its English version is primarily addressed to the people of Great Britain. It brings together, as far as possible, authentic details from unimpeachable sources of the campaign of extermination that the Christian Allies have been waging with ruthless thoroughness against the Mussalmans of the Turkish Provinces they have overrun. Some of the details of the outrages—of the wholesale massacres of innocent men, women and children, of forcible conversions, of the violation of young girls and burying them alive—are blood-curdling in their naked horror. A few illustrations are given showing the mutilated corpses of the victims of a terrible blood lust, of officers and prisoners of war hacked to pieces, of women and babes done to death by torture and flung about on the streets. There are places in Macedonia of which the entire Moslem population has been wiped out. The accounts of these atrocities have been officially reported by the various European Consuls to their Governments and yet there seems to be a conspiracy of silence in which the conscience and humanity of Europe have been hushed. The writers of the pamphlet appeal to the English people to raise their voice in protest against these horrible butcheries in the name of humanity and to move their Government to demand an international inquiry. We have given a few extracts from the "Introduction" elsewhere, and propose to reproduce the whole pamphlet by instalments, beginning with the next number.

The following letter from Dr. A. Suhrawardy, which appeared in some of the Indian papers recently will, we are sure, be read with the liveliest interest:—

An Interesting Communication.

"I draw the attention of the Indian public to the compliment paid by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan to the good work done by the First Indian Red Crescent Medical Mission organised by the Anjuman Ziaul Islami, Bombay, and my humble self. It is not only the First Indian Medical Mission to leave the shores of India for Turkey, but its distinguishing feature is that it counts Brahmans as well Moslems amongst its members. The graceful tribute paid by His Imperial Majesty is fraught with deep significance and not free from pathos. While Turkey has lost large tracts of her European territories the children of Hindustan, awakened from their pensive slumber of ages by the mysterious call of the East, have entered the field of action and conquered for themselves, by their selfless and disinterested service to humanity and their deep devotion to duty amidst dangers and difficulties, a spot on the soil of the West. The hill and the village of Omerli, now named by an Imperial decree "Hindustan Jahel" and "Hindustan Keny" are bound to be memorable as the field of the final struggle between the East and the West in the war of the future. A replica of the Pearl Mosque, blending the Hindu and Saracenic styles of architecture shall mark the spot in the field of Hindustan Keny where Hindus and Moslems knelt together in prayer and worship. May the Himalayan gods guard the hill and the spot consecrated with the sacred name of Hindustan! May this achievement of the present generation remain for ever a heritage for posterity! May India hold what India has won!"

We need hardly comment on the communication reproduced above. But we wish in this connection to refer to certain other communications which we have been receiving off and on from "Syed Hasan Abid Jafari, Hony. Secretary to the First Indian Medical Mission, Constantinople." This gentleman

seems to be very anxious to have the world believe that he and his friends were the first to reach Constantinople as members of a medical mission. He says that the Bombay Poor Moslems' Medical Mission has usurped their title and deprived them of their "rights." He is ready to produce his credentials to establish his claim to priority. The Bombay Poor Moslems' Medical Mission itself has not yet settled the dispute that has been going on in regard to its parentage. All we can say is that such exhibitions are humiliating to every Moslem in India. It is distressing to think that even acts of pure selflessness and sacrifice cannot escape being exploited by the fame-mongers in our midst. The only business of the Missions that have gone to Turkey is try to afford medical relief. Their chief concern should be to see that they prove of some use to their Turkish brethren and justify the heavy expenses that the Indian Moslems have had to bear for their equipment, despatch and maintenance. The people who are wasting their energies in trivial personal disputes and jealous recriminations are obviously unfit for the heavy responsibilities with which they had been entrusted. Some of their self-assertive patrons in this country might employ their time more usefully by calling for daily reports of actual work done and publishing them for the information of the public than by seeking to discover "honours" which we heartily wish they had deserved as well as received.

THE Rev. C. F. Andrews writes to us as follows:—"In connection with the 'Children's Day' to be held this year on H. E. the Viceroy's Birthday, June 20th, Her Excellency Lady Hardinge has asked us to obtain

information concerning voluntary indigenous associations, religious or social, whose object is to help the suffering, especially the poor. Her desire is that her own gift on that day should extend further than the children in the hospitals and include other suffering children also. She is especially anxious to come in touch with any social or religious reforming movements in which Indian workers themselves are helping the poor and the suffering. Might I ask you very kindly to insert this letter in your columns and call attention to it? I should be most grateful if any leaders of such movements at local centres would communicate with me stating the character of their work and in what way it comes definitely in touch with suffering children. I should add that I am already corresponding with the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission, the Depressed Classes Mission and the Siva Sadan Sisterhood." We dare say many orphanages would come under the category of institutions for suffering children, and we hope the authorities of such institutions would co-operate with Rev. C.F. Andrews and make H.E. Lady Hardinge's "Children's Day" a great success.

ACCORDING to a recent Karachi telegram, a hundred and twenty zamindars of Sind assembled in a mosque and took the oath on the Koran that henceforth they would jointly and severally resist extortion by subordinate Government officials.

A Courageous and Commendable Vow.

The particular kind of extortion to which they referred is *raddi* or the exaction of fuel, fodder, fowls, eggs, milk, mutton, etc., for the use of officers of Government on tour without payment. The zamindars have also raised a legal defence fund so that if their action should expose any of them to charges by officials, a pleader can be engaged at the joint charge of the whole body. This is a courageous and commendable vow for a body of zamindars to take, and we are sure it will be regarded everywhere with genuine estimation. It is unfortunately true that official tours in districts are not always a blessing and the petty official armed with brief authority can make the whole countryside feel the weight of his hands. Those responsible officers of Indian Government who never fail to express loud solicitude for the welfare of the masses have perhaps yet to learn that the *chaprassi* is still a great power in the land. The majority of them sneer at the idea of compulsory primary education and yet it is the ignorance of the masses that renders them easy and helpless victims to the greed of petty officialdom. It is no use asserting with a show of injured innocence that these charges are vague and indefinite. The fact of the matter is that they are only too true. The district officer on tour, hurrying on from village to village, surrounded by a large retinue and nodding occasional salams to village notables may not know it—those only know who have known the things from inside, who have seen a village scared into a state of indescribable flurry just when the red-robed functionary makes his appearance and announces the approaching visit of the "Zila Sahib." The example of the Sind zamindars deserves to be extensively followed.

The Comrade.

The Indian Colony in Anatolia.

When one looks on the past history of Turkey in the light of the horrors of the present, the virtue of toleration, which even the much-maligned Turks practised, appears like a lost opportunity. They conquered Eastern Europe, but they did not crush the Christians of Eastern Europe completely; and consequently for a century the Eastern Question has been the legacy of Turkish toleration. Nestled in the bosom of Turkey, her Christian subjects have ever been eager to bite her, and even if the venom has been their own, the fangs have been supplied to them by the Christian Powers of Europe. Having plotted with such signal success against their Moslem rulers, the Christian subjects of the Sultan, who had themselves been "liberated" before this war, and who set out to "liberate" other Christian subjects of the Sultan in this war, have shown that they mean to profit by the experience they have themselves provided for the Turks. So long as there was to be any Moslem population in the territories now under the Christian Allies they were bound to live in the same dread of rebellion as they had themselves caused the Turks. The safest and most effective remedy, therefore, was the annihilation of the Moslem population in Albania, Macedonia and Thrace, and the Allies set to achieve this stupendous and inhuman task with a determination and an effectiveness worthy of a better cause. The war had long ceased to be even nominally a "war of liberation," for in Albania and Thrace the majority of the population was not Christian, but Moslem; while even in Macedonia, where the Moslem element is two-fifths of the whole population, the Christians are so much divided among themselves that, while Macedonian autonomy, which was so often preached from European political pulpits, has always been impracticable, the Allies cannot peacefully settle among themselves whether Salonica and the neighbouring country is to be "liberated" by Bulgar or by Greek. But if the war had ceased to be a "war of liberation," it had not even then become a mere "war of conquest." It has been the most terrible modern instance of a "war of extermination," and when the statisticians come to note the numbers of the population of what was once European Turkey grouped according to religions, he will disclose on what colossal scale the extermination has been carried out. The population of European Turkey before the war was a little over six millions, of which nearly three millions were Mussalmans. When European Turkey is reconstituted after the war, the population left under the rule of the Turk is not likely to exceed a million and a half. Out of the balance of four and a half millions transferred to Christian rule, between two and two and a quarter millions should have been Mussalmans. But we doubt if their number would exceed a million, for besides the heavy losses on the field of battle and the epidemic following the first phase of the war, hundreds of thousands have perished as victims to the blood-thirst of the victors or died of starvation and exposure, and those who escaped death and dishonour sought refuge in Constantinople and Asia Minor from the horrors perpetrated by the regular troops of the Allies and the bands that prepared the ground for the Allies' victories, and afterwards reaped such a rich harvest of the lives of men and children and the honour of women.

In this connection we should like to quote from two writers—one the Lieutenant Wagner, War Correspondent of the *Kischpost*, of the notorious despatches, and the other Sir Adam Block, President of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt. Lieutenant Wagner wrote:—

The assistance which was afforded to the Allies by the bands in Macedonia and Thrace was all the more valuable in that they were not an improvised force; on the contrary they were organised in every detail and had been in activity for years.

This warfare waged by them for so many years in Macedonia and Thrace has always been carried on with savagery and barbarity—characters which it has not failed to show in the present circumstances.

The united forces have shown themselves pitiless in the war of extermination against the Turks.

For years a terrible war has been waged in which knife, gun and bomb have played their part and of which the victims were all who were not of Bulgarian race.

Not only Turks trembled before these hell-fleets, Albanians, Greeks and Serbians were equally persecuted. It is with such men that students, doctors, lawyers, merchants have fought side by side employing the same methods.

The Turks attempted to combat these bands by similar organizations of *Hamid-Bashas*, but the attempt had no great success. The Turks were wanting in energy, in organization and above all in the sentiment of hate.

Thus the eulogist of the Bulgarian speaks of the *Uomitadjis*. Is it necessary for us to add anything? Sir Adam Block writes:—

To the horrors of a war in which hundreds of thousands of men have perished, has been added the practical annihilation of the Moslem population

in Macedonia. The present war has been carried on with little regard for the recognised rules of modern civilized warfare. It would not be easy to find a parallel in the modern wars of civilized States.

The inability of the victors to prevent murder, outrage and pillage cannot redound to their credit, and whilst I would not attribute to them a deliberate policy of extermination of the Moslem element, that is what it has practically come to.

The allies will regret that, owing in large measure to their own fault, Macedonia is now but "an empty egg-shell," a land desolated by fire and sword, from which the Moslem population, the tillers of the soil, have been driven forth in misery and tribulation.

After this it will suffice to give one or two short quotations only from the Turks themselves. The Ottoman Governor-General wrote in his report of the 22nd December last about the Province of Salonica:—

It is clear that the policy pursued in the extinction of the Mussalmans to an insignificant minority. The agents employed for this purpose are the Bulgarian bands.

As I have already reported, one of the Consuls (the British) said: "It makes one ashamed to be a European and a Christian."

This evening, after I had completed this report, the Austrian Consul called and, referring to the atrocities committed in the province of Salonica, expressed the same sentiments as his English colleague, that he was ashamed of Europe and Christianity. He stated that he had forwarded to his Government reports with documents in proof. He said:—

"The Consuls of England, France, Germany and Austria have written to their Governments full details of these abominable outrages and have demanded the appointment of a mixed commission. The plan of the Allies is evidently the extermination of the Mussalmans in Macedonia. Nothing but a report from an International Commission will suffice to persuade Europe of the reality of these barbarities."

The following quotation from a pamphlet just received from Turkey throws still further light on the situation as a whole.

Estimates as to the number of the victims vary enormously. A distinguished European diplomat at Constantinople, writing to Rome, places the probable figure, including Albanians and murdered prisoners of war at 250,000. Another European diplomat in high position at the Turkish capital informed M. Roeg'in (French) that at least 200,000 had been massacred. Others place the figure much higher and there is no doubt that in many districts the Mussulman population has been wiped out. Our author, upon a view of official reports, estimates the number at over half a million. It is significant that in the official Bulgarian memorandum "justifying" the demand for a war indemnity, a strong point is made of the fact that the *Mussulman population*, the tillers of the soil and the most valuable element in the country—has practically disappeared, leaving the provinces "an empty egg-shell" as Sir Adam Block aptly says.

For those that fell on the field of battle the responsibility lies to a great extent on Turkish diplomacy, which has always been maladroit, and on Turkish military authorities that have in all recent Turkish wars denied the Ottoman soldier to gain most of the honours while his opponent has been permitted to snatch the victory. For the victims of Christian cruelty, the responsibility is shared by the Christian Allies who have been the original offenders and the Christian Powers of Europe that have been their accessories after the act. For the former, we can only say that, terrible as the lesson has been, we trust the Turk has now mastered it at last. For the latter, we have often and often raised a futile protest against it and have now come to the stage described in the couplet

کڑویوں کی کام سب آسان کر دی

اب ضبطِ آہ و نالہ بھی مشکل نہیں رہا

(Weakness has made everything easy. It is no longer difficult to suppress the sighs and the wails.)

But what of those that escaped a swift and sudden death at the hands of the foes of their faith and the sworn enemies of all humanity and honour only to be face to face with a lingering death by starvation even in their haven of refuge? In Anatolia to be the graveyard of those that have escaped the jaws of death and, worse than death, the mouth of hell, in Albania, Macedonia and Thrace. If it is to be so, the responsibility for this would lie at the door of every Moslem throughout the world who had a crust of bread and did not share it with his brother the Turk. Indian Mussalmans have done not a little to relieve the sufferings of their brethren in Turkey, but they have not yet been reduced to the munching of dry bread which they throw away to the dogs, but which would still save many a life in Asia Minor if thrown to a man and a brother. Sir Adam Block says:—

The miseries of the stricken Moslem population are by no means ended. From every part of the Aegean comes the same sad story of starving and destitute refugees to whom the Turkish authorities hard pressed for funds are striving to give temporary relief unless they can be passed on to Asia Minor to seek for new homes in place of those they have irretrievably lost.

We have published from time to time extracts from the letters addressed by Sister Wheatley, copies of which have been kindly forwarded to us by the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali, which show the condition of affairs among the refugees of European

Turkey in Asia Minor. Money has been sent to Mr. Ameer Ali and to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society for the relief of this distress; but the conditions that prevail are not such that doles offered here and there to relieve immediate needs can solve the problem permanently. All credit is, therefore, due to the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali and His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha and the Committees appointed by them for a scheme of colonisation which we published in our issue of the 1st February. But as the needs of the moment, both in connection with the relief of the war-sufferers and assistance to Turkey for continuing the war, were most pressing, it was not possible to push forward any scheme calculated to provide for the future needs of the refugees. Our own advisers in Constantinople were at the time far too busy to have assisted us with advice, but we wrote to Dr. Ansari to advise us as regards the permanent relief of those whom the war left terribly stranded the moment the war came to an end. When the fall of Janina, Adrianople and Scutari finally sealed the fate of Turkey, Dr. Ansari—who had already written to us that before coming away from Turkey he would make arrangements for the relief of distress with the assistance of some members of the All-India Medical Mission who intended to stay on for a time even after the war—in reply to a telegram from us informed us by wire, sent on the 23rd December from Constantinople, that thousands of homeless Muhajireen required a start in life, and that he intended commencing work with a Model Colony of 200 families in Anatolia for which the Ottoman Government was granting land. He estimated the expenditure at £80,000 (Rs. 4, 50,000) and, informing us that a Committee had been formed, asked us if the *Comrade* and the *Zamindar* would contribute Rs. 50,000 each. In this telegram the Editor of the *Zamindar*, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, who is staying in Constantinople, was also associated, and subsequently on our informing Dr. Ansari and the Ottoman Government that we were cabling £3,000 (Rs. 45,000) for the Model Colony, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Dr. Ansari wired from Constantinople on the 26th April to the *Zamindar* that the Committee appointed for establishing the *Zamindar* and *Comrade* Colonies consisted of Talaat Bey, Bassim Omar Pasha and Messrs. Zafar Ali Khan and Mohamed Ali as members, that Dr. Ashad (?) Pasha was President, and Dr. Ansari Secretary. The Imperial Ottoman Bank was to be the Banker. It was also stated that His Excellency the Grand Vizier had only approved of the scheme. It was also mentioned that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Dr. Ansari were shortly proceeding to Anatolia in this connection. We have not yet received further details of the scheme, and probably the entire scheme has not yet been formulated. When it is received we shall compare it with the scheme of His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha's Committee, and we are drawing the attention of our Constantinople friends to that scheme, which has, in our opinion, many excellent points, although it appears to us somewhat Utopian in its idealism.

When His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha forwarded his scheme to the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali towards the end of December last, he stated that the number of refugees exceeded one hundred thousand. But we are inclined to think that by now this number has been multiplied several fold, and the best way of bringing the situation home to our readers is to compare the number of refugees in Asia Minor with the population of some of the Native States and towns of British India. Imagine the entire population of a State like Dholpur, Tonk, Nabha or even Kapurthala to become absolutely homeless and penniless, or the entire population of a town like Delhi, Lucknow, Lahore, Rangoon or Benares to have lost its all and to be in need of food and clothing and shelter, and you will easily realize the state of affairs which Turkey has to face to-day. It is difficult enough for her to fill her depleted treasury so as to carry on her ordinary administration, to provide arms and ammunition and military stores for her future protection, and to finance the projects for agricultural exploitation and irrigation, roads and railways, education and sanitation which were maturing when the war broke out and which must now be taken up immediately to develop the sources of revenue of her Asiatic possessions. But if, in addition to all this, she finds a population numbering about a quarter of a million which has already sought refuge in Asia Minor, and a still larger number of refugees that, failing to trust their new Christian rulers, are waiting for the declaration of peace to leave the indifferent security of even the larger towns in Albania, Macedonia, and Thrace for the quiet and peace of Asia Minor, we say, if Turkey finds all these all of a sudden turned from so many pairs of productive hands into hungry mouths that have to be fed, and bare bodies that have to be clothed and homeless waifs that have got to be provided with shelter, without any outside assistance, we can well imagine that to Turkey peace, in that case, would be even worse than war. Under these circumstances, is it or is it not the duty of Indian Mussalmans, so carefully guarded from the horrors of war during three or four generations that they have no idea of its ravages and consequent miseries, to impress on the Turks, as Vice-Consul Morgan writes, that "their co-religionists in other parts of the world have

not abandoned them in their bitter hour of defeat," and that "they are not left alone to bear the burden of their sorrow and affliction, but that their Indian co-religionists have come to share it with them, and by their sympathy and humanity to take it off their shoulders, and to bid them to face the future with more cheerful and more hopeful hearts"? Indian Mussalmans have, as we have acknowledged, done a good deal to relieve the sufferings of Turkey; but we do not believe the total contribution of India has yet reached the figure of a crore of rupees, and we are more inclined to believe that it has hardly exceeded 50 lakhs. Much has been done, but more remains yet to do, and if Egypt with a population only 15 per cent. of the Moslem population of India has done more than all Mussalmans in India have done, there is reason not so much for pride as for humility.

The proposal of Dr. Ansari and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is to establish a Model Colony of two hundred families with a total population of about a thousand souls, and the expenditure is estimated to be four and a half lakhs. If this is established it will only touch the fringe of the problem but it would be something of which Indian Mussalmans could legitimately feel proud. But that is not all. When we organized the All-India Medical Mission it was not so much to cure a few wounded soldiers as to impress Turkish Mussalmans with the feeling of Islamic brotherhood which inspired the Mussalmans of this country, and Dr. Ansari's letters have fully justified our hopes and beliefs. But great as has been the moral effect of the All-India Medical Mission, which could never have been realised by merely sending money to Turkey or sending English Doctors and other Englishmen and Englishwomen to offer relief on behalf of Indian Mussalmans, it is far more ephemeral than that which will result from a permanent colony of the refugees from European Turkey, established in the heart of Anatolia entirely at the expense of Indian Mussalmans. So long as a single descendant of the thousand refugees established in the Moslem Indian Colony of Anatolia lives and breathes he will feel that practically all that he and his possessors in the world they owe to the fraternal feeling of Indian Mussalmans, and if by God's grace this colony grows and prospers, as we trust it will grow and prosper, then every addition to its numbers will be a link added to the chain of good feeling and brotherliness that binds the Mussalmans of Turkey with the Mussalmans of India. We had heard a good deal about Pan-Islamism before this war; but for its friends it was little more than a pious sentiment, more or less vapid, while its enemies made of it a bogey wherewith to frighten Europe with mischievous complications and dire political consequences. It is only now that the sufferings of Turkey have, to some extent, been relieved by the Mussalmans of the rest of the world who sent food for her starving populations and doctors for her wounded soldiers that Pan-Islamism has become, for the first time in recent history, a force of humane beneficence, and has yet made the political Cassandras look foolish in the light of the prevailing peace. If, however, a colony of refugees is established in Asia Minor by each of the principal Moslem countries, the reality and humanity of Pan-Islamism would be immortalized, and every Indian visitor to Turkey would love to visit the Colony he had assisted in establishing and feel proud of the faith that moved him and the country that provided him with the means for settling some of his co-religionists again on their feet when they had been knocked down by such a tremendous and sudden catastrophe. We trust our readers will not fail to understand the full significance of this new enterprise, and that they will gird up their loins once more and provide us with the means for carrying it to a successful issue. We have already sent £1,500 (Rs. 2, 500) by wire to His Excellency the Grand Vizier for this Model Colony, and have requested Mr. Ameer Ali by wire to send approximately the same amount out of the unpaid balance of the £2,900 which we had sent to him for purchasing equipment and stores for the All India Medical Mission. We learn that the *Zamindar* is sending Rs. 35,000 for the same purpose, and we have no doubt that it will increase its contribution before long.

But this will only provide for a Colony of forty families, and four-fifths of the work would still remain to be done. For this we appeal to our readers and to the organizers of all the Turkish Relief Funds and Red Crescent Societies in India, and we suggest the following plan of work, which, if followed, would enable them to place sufficient funds at the disposal of the Committee formed in Constantinople for this purpose. The cost of establishing each family is Rs. 2,250, and we suggest that every town of India desirous of taking part in this noble work should contribute at least Rs. 2,250, so that the home of at least one family be named after it, and bear an inscription stating that it was built at the expense of the Mussalmans of that town. Similarly, if the Turks were agreeable, each refugee family could adopt the name of the town which had started it in life again as part of its name. Thus even a small town like Budana, Sialkote, Muzaffarpur or Broach could have a home bearing an inscription that it was built with the money contributed by that

town, and the family living therein could be called Budanni, Sialkoti, Muzaffarpuri or Brachi, as the case may be. Larger cities such as Bombay, Benares, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Lucknow and Gorakhpur could have roads or streets or lanes named after them according to the number of homes built by them, and the families living therein could take up the name of the Mohalla which contributed an amount sufficient to start that family in life again. This would bind not only large cities, but small towns and even Mohallas with the Mussalmans of Turkey, and their names would be perpetuated by their being adopted by the families which they had helped to start in life again.

As regards money contributed out of the *Comrade* Fund, it is not our desire to connect this journal with any part of the Colony or with its families. But if the contributors to our Fund do not oppose the suggestion, we wish to give to the part of the Colony built out of our Turkish Relief Fund the name of "Aligarh" and we suggest that the families thus started in life should be associated with the names of the Honorary Secretaries of the College and its chief benefactors and workers who have largely assisted in its progress. Families named Ahmadi, Mohini, Mahmudi, Vqari, Nisami, Ishaqi, and Aftabi would link up the greatest constructive work of Moslem India with a no less noble if more modest constructive work in Turkey, and we hope our proposal would prove equally acceptable to the Turks and the contributors to our Fund.

The Political Situation.

Now that the war between Turkey and the Allies is practically over, the real dangers attending a final settlement in the Balkans have begun to emerge in future and outline. Whether these dangers will be successfully removed from the path of diplomacy or will prove unmovable rocks on which the Concert of Europe will come to grief, the next few days will decide. There can, however, be no question that the situation at this moment is the most perplexing that European diplomacy has yet had to face, and the issue of peace and war hangs in the balance. The *Times* calls the situation grave and solemnly adjures Austria against doing anything that might compromise the peace of Europe, although only a fortnight ago it was lecturing Montenegro. Lord Morley has referred to it in equally grave and anxious tones. The present distraction and nervousness of Europe sheds a side-light on the real character of the Concert and its capacity to deal with a crisis of real gravity. We need not say what a European Concert has usually meant in history. It is a splendid instrument to glorify sham and advertise situations after they have ceased to be dangerous. Sir Edward Grey's recent statement was hailed in every capital of Europe as summing up a marvellous diplomatic achievement. But when we analyse it carefully this achievement is found to consist of mere pious resolutions. It amounts, in bare truth, to two simple facts, viz., that the European Powers have been kept from drifting apart through the conference of their ambassadors in London and that they had come to agreement on certain points regarding the future settlement of the Balkan question. The moment, however, soon arrived when these decisions were put to actual test. It has been manifest since then that the Concert of Europe lacks the necessary will and cohesion to carry out its much flattered resolutions. The only Power that shows an energetic desire to be consistent and logical is treated to a ponderous sermon by the ludicrously inconsistent *Times*. The Concert is fumbling stupidly in face of the only situation which it was ostentatiously designed to meet. The supreme test of action is shaking it to its base. We will not be surprised if it sinks into the vasty deep again from which it was summoned.

The elements that constitute the existing crisis need not be recounted here. They are writ large on the whole tangle of race, creed and diplomacy which is known as the Balkan Question. Throughout the war their potential menace to the European peace has haunted the European Chancelleries. Generally speaking, these elements have resolved themselves into a sharp antagonism of motive and interest between Austria and the entire Slav world in relation to the reshuffling of the Balkan territories. The Balkan League is a creation of Muscovite diplomacy, and the secrecy in which it was hatched and the promptitude with which it set to work gave the Muscovite a rare initiative in controlling the main currents of the situation. The Triple Entente scored an initial victory and the weight of its influence was freely exercised in favour of the Allies. Austria and her allies have since been making strenuous efforts to restore the diplomatic balance. After many awkward shifts and angry protests Austrian attitude crystallised at last into a minimum demand for an autonomous Albania. The Ambassadors' Conference accepted this as a *sine qua non* for the peace of Europe.

The unanimity of the Powers on the Albanian question can not, however, simplify the problem. The vital factors of the situation are the Allies, whose ambitions for territorial expansion come into conflict with the decision of the Powers. By a laborious process of negotiation the boundaries of the future Albanian State were provisionally drawn up, and important towns of purely Albanian

character were left out of the provincial boundaries in order to pacify Serbia and Greece. Austria, however, placed a sharp and decisive veto against the handing over of Scutari to Montenegro. All the Powers including Russia agreed to leave Scutari to Albania. Montenegro was accordingly informed of the Powers' decision and was directed to cease operations against the city. King Nicholas, however, talked loud and defiant and snapped his fingers at the decision of Europe. Austria insisted on the adoption of strong and active measures if the will of the Powers was to be enforced. After a protracted conference it was at last agreed to send an international fleet to blockade the coast of Montenegro. In itself this was an ineffectual method to carry out "a solemn affirmation of the will of Europe." Russian assent to the intervention of the Powers did not go provisionally beyond acquiescing in a mere blockade. In Montenegro itself the spectacle of eight warships anchored two miles off the shore produced little effect. The news of their arrival was received in official quarters with absolute equanimity almost amounting to indifference. Even this abortive measure was adopted when the Powers of the Triple Entente could not see their way out of an obvious dilemma. Either Europe was to stand aside and witness Austro-Hungarian intervention, or it was to enforce its will. Russia agreed to joint demonstration, but refrained from taking an active part herself. The French Government decided to send a warship only after it had received a letter from the Russian Ambassador officially informing it that Russia desired the participation of France and Great Britain in the naval demonstration.

Matters had reached this stage when an important event intervened. What was most dreaded by diplomacy at last happened. Scutari fell into the hands of Montenegro. The place was evacuated by Essad Pasha of his own accord, and it is generally believed that he did so after making certain agreements with Montenegro and Serbia. We do not know how far this belief is correct, but there can be no doubt that Essad Pasha did not march out of Scutari under pressure of military exigency. He is clearly in pursuit of some ulterior aim. He has formed an Albanian Government under Turkish suzerainty and declared himself the King of Albania. This, again, has complicated the situation, for those most anxious to preserve the integrity and independence of Albania had reserved it as handsome gift for some needy princelet in Europe. The existing state of affairs has enormously increased the anxiety of the Powers, and the atmosphere is charged with dangerous sparks which may set the whole of Europe ablaze at any moment. To sum up the situation, Montenegro is in effective possession of Scutari in spite of the solemnly expressed wishes of the Powers. The international fleet is making a futile demonstration on the high seas. The vital question that has arisen at this stage is: How Montenegro can be coerced to evacuate Scutari? The latest conference of the Ambassadors which met to discuss this grave issue has come to no decision. There is obvious reluctance on the part of Russia to sanction any coercive measures. Austria is showing signs of impatience and threatens to act independently if the Powers do not speedily make up their minds. Slav feeling in Russia is at fever-heat and we shall not be surprised if the Russian Government falls a victim to popular frenzy and leaves the Concert to its fate, though a recent communication issued by the Russian Foreign Office leads one to think that Russian Government will resolutely adhere to the decisions to which it was a willing party.

In view of the supreme importance of the attitude of Russia in the present crisis, we shall textually reproduce some portions of the Foreign Office *communiqué*. After outlining the broad features of the Russian policy during the war, it goes on to say that as the result of long and persistent negotiations amongst the Powers a compromise was reached on the basis of mutual concessions. Having preserved Prizrend, Ipek, Djakova, and Dibra for the Slavs, Russia thought it necessary to concede the annexation of Scutari to Albania. This concession was made in order to preserve peace, the rupture of which for the above cause would have been manifestly absurd, Scutari being a purely Albanian town and the seat of a Catholic Archbishop. This has been fully confirmed by reports from the Russian Vice-Consul in Scutari, who has adduced facts to show that the Montenegrins play an essentially military rôle and have proved incapable of assimilating several thousand Catholic and Mussalman Albanians who have been established in Montenegro for 85 years. Consequently the annexation of a portion of the Sanjak of Scutari would only weaken Montenegro considerably, as it would swell the scanty Montenegrin population with an influx of 100,000 men, foreigners to them in religion, blood, and language, and Montenegro would thus be threatened with the fate of becoming a Montenegrin Albania. The Russian representative further believes that the union of a considerable number of Roman Catholics with Montenegro might furnish an opportunity for the strengthening of foreign ties and thus render easier the penetration of foreign influences. King Nicholas broke the understanding into which he had entered to warn Russia in the event of war and to obtain her consent. Nevertheless, the Tsar magnanimously came to the aid of Montenegro by supplementing the resources of her

population. When the question of Scutari was settled a friendly notification was sent to King Nicholas, and he was at the same time warned of the grave responsibility which he would assume if he continued his resistance. He was afterwards advised to desist from all recrimination and the pursuit of his personal aims, which would condemn his people to useless massacre. These representations to King Nicholas have proved to be without effect. It has become clear that he bases his calculations on embroiling Russia and the Great Powers in a European war. The Russian Government could not, therefore, oppose the taking of measures which had become necessary since the refusal of King Nicholas to submit to the decrees of the Powers. The Russian Government cannot abandon the hope that Montenegro will cease her obstinate effort, and will consider it sufficient for her *amour propre* to submit to the will of Europe, supported by an imposing display of naval force. In this case Europe will be able to find means of alleviating the lot of the Montenegrin people, who have been overwhelmed by the excessive sacrifices demanded by the siege of Scutari.

After such a frank and clear enunciation of policy it may be difficult to believe that Russia will oppose the adoption of coercive measures. And yet the latest hitch that seems to have come over the proceedings of the Ambassadors' Conference in London is obviously the result of Russian recalcitrancy. The ways of Muscovite diplomacy are inscrutable and no one, therefore, can calculate the future with any degree of confidence. The only thing certain is that Austria is determined to force Montenegro to evacuate Scutari. If the London conference does not come to any speedy decision, she will adopt stringent measures herself. In that event Slav feeling in Russia is bound to burst forth into flame and it is hard to imagine that the Russian Government will be consistent and courageous enough to resist the temptation of figuring as the champion of the Slav race. As we have already pointed out there are so many diverse and incalculable elements in the situation that it is futile to speculate about the course of events during the next few days. The Concert of Europe is often held up as a great instrument for the preservation of the European peace. The only crisis of real gravity that it has yet had to deal with is the existing one. At the first touch of genuine peril it is showing unmistakable signs of irresolution and weakness. We have never had great faith in the ability of Europe to combine and act to some useful purpose. A temporary combination may be attained where no higher effort is demanded than a blank and fruitless expression of good will or moral censure. The first breath of solid interest shatters the combination into shambles. In view of the two hostile camps into which European diplomacy is divided at the present time the very conception of a Concert, effective enough to deal with interests which have their roots in selfishness, which are fed on the eternal prejudices of race and nationality, which have been consecrated by diplomatic euphemisms and are kept within bounds only by means of checks and counter-checks and strange devices like the Balance of Power, is in itself an absurdity. The first Concert known to history was the creation of hate and aggression. It was a sordid and selfish instrument to despoil the Turk of his heritage. It has been brought into existence again when the Turk is disappearing from Europe. We doubt very much if it can bear the strain that recent events have thrown upon it. The peace of Europe hangs on a strip of territory to which none of the Great Powers can have even a shred of title. The right of Albania to the possession of Scutari is indisputable. But is it pure altruism that moves Austria to champion the Albanian cause? If this were so she would be the first Power to recognise King Rissad as the legitimate ruler of the Principality. Be this as it may, if Europe quarrels over the fate of Scutari it will afford yet another lesson of how futile are all conferences and concerts when the elemental passions of races come into conflict. A no less interesting feature of the situation, however, is the position of Rissad Pasha in relation to Turkey, and we fear he has betrayed the Power that he would now nominally adopt as suzerain.

Relief of Refugees at Salonica.

MR HARRY H. LAMB, H. B. M. Consul-General at Salonica, encloses in his letter, dated 28th March, the following which he had received from Mr. Vice-Consul Morpan in regard to the distribution of the sum of £100, which he had entrusted to him on behalf of the Comrade for the relief of destitute Mussulmans at Serres.

Having been entrusted by Mr. Lamb, H. B. M. Consul-General in Salonica, with the distribution at Serres of £100, part of the sum collected by the Moslems of India for the relief of their co-religionists in Macedonia, I left Salonica for Serres by a Bulgarian military train on the evening of February 25, 1913. I was fortunate in finding that a passenger coach had been attached to a long train of goods-waggons loaded with hay and coal for the Bulgarian forces in Thrace, and travelled in relative comfort. The twilight of the cold winter day intensified the feeling of melancholy that took possession of me as we passed through the hilly country to the North East of

Salonica, now wearing a more desolate and abandoned air than usual. Occasionally we would pass a little Moslem village of low farm houses with red-tiled roofs, nestling under the brow of some hill but no smoke issued from its chimneys, no children ran down to salute the passage of the train, no dogs raced alongside barking at the fire-breathing monster. The village, like many others out of sight, was abandoned. Its inhabitants were scattered. Some were with their army at the front. Others were captives in far-off Athens or Sofia. Some were fugitives in near-by Salonica, awaiting their opportunity to pass over into friendly Asia Minor, where they could again tread the earth as free people, ungalled by an alien yoke. It is unlikely that they will ever return to the peaceful villages of Macedonia. In years to come, may be, exiles in Anatolia, or Syria or Egypt will think with regret of the green hills and red-roofed houses of Macedonia, of their old homes where they lived in a quiet old-fashioned way, content to plough and work in the fields as their fathers before them, and to spend their leisure on an eminence under some shady tree, within sound of the muezzin's cry, with the blue waters of the Mediterranean on the horizon, and the forest-clad, snow-capped hills behind them. With regret will these voluntary exiles think of their former homes, for though travel is easy in these days of the steamer and the 'iron road,' none, whatever the inducements, will ever return to a land, once theirs and now under the rule of the foreigner.

The coming of night and the disappearance of the landscape from view put an end to these reflections. Candles were produced and stuck up in various parts of the compartment. Slowly and with long halts at each station the journey continued, until at length in the early hours of the morning we steamed into the brightly-lit station of Serres. A long drive through unlit cobbled streets brought us to the 'hotel' where a sleepy-headed youth prepared us the inevitable Turkish coffee over the embers of an open charcoal stove before we retired to rest.

The following day was devoted to securing the co-operation of the local authorities, the Protestant pastor and some of the Turkish elders in the preparation of lists of those in need of help. A large number of families of Turkish officers still at the front, and of smaller Turkish officials, who since the beginning of the war had remained without money or work, had at one time or another applied to the Bulgarian authorities for help, and I decided to devote a part of the sum at my disposal to their relief. These persons being for the most part reluctant to appear at a public distribution of relief, I decided to visit each of them separately in their homes and distribute to them according to their needs.

On the following day, therefore, accompanied by the ex-Turkish chief of police, who was well-acquainted with the various quarters of the town, and a member of 'The American Tobacco Co.' which has been working for a number of years in the town, I visited some 40 Turkish houses and distributed in each sums varying from 50 to 150 piastres (8/4 to 25/-) according to the circumstances of each case.

In the course of the distribution I had occasion to visit almost every quarter of Serres and to become well-acquainted with the town. Serres is situated on the slopes of hills that run back to the northward right into Bulgaria. In front, stretching east and west, is a great plain, containing the Lake of Tahnos, to the South East. Just behind the town rises up a lofty eminence crowned by an old Byzantine fortress. The land in the vicinity is very fertile, and distress will quickly disappear when normal conditions again prevail, and commercial activity is again in full swing. Here, and there spanning valleys in the hills may be seen parts of an old Roman aqueduct, and parts of the same work are to be found hidden away in secluded corners of the town. As in most Turkish towns, the streets of Serres are narrow and winding, and shaded from the sun by the projecting upper stories of the houses. Few of the houses have windows opening on to the street on the ground floor and entrance is effected through the heavily-barred gates that open on to the courtyard of the house only after much parleying and explanation. All this is reminiscent of medieval times when unsettled conditions obliged each one to make of his house a miniature fortress, ready to resist attack at any time.

On coming to a house that we wished to visit, after the preliminary parleying and after giving time to the women of the house to veil themselves before our entry, we would enter a cobbled courtyard spotlessly clean, round the sides of which ran the house built generally with verandas on the upper story, where in the hot weather the family work and sleep. At the time of our visit, however, the weather was cold and snow lay on the hills at the back of the town, so that the family was generally found in the rooms of the house, clustered round the mangal (charcoal stove) where a handful of lighted charcoal gave out a feeble heat. The appointments of most of the rooms that we visited were of the scantiest—a rush mat or two, a mattress and a cushion in one corner, used to seat guests on during the day, and to sleep on at night, a mangal and a coffee pot, and on the walls a text from the Koran or a string of blue beads to avert the evil eye.

Among the first of those we visited was an old man of 102 years of age. He was at the time of our visit lying ill, and we found him on his mattress on the floor huddled up under a thick quilt. He talked quite cheerfully about his illness and summed up his sentiments about the future by stating that 'whatever Allah wills, He will send.'

Another house contained the wife and daughters of an officer at the front. No news had been received from him for over 4 months, but it was thought that he was in Constantinople.

Several of those whom we visited were refugees from the mountainous districts to the north of Serres. On the approach of the enemy, they had hurriedly abandoned their homes and farms and had hastened for refuge to the town. Many of them, once prosperous landowners, possessors of many buffaloes and sheep, were now reduced to misery and were dependent on the kindness of their co-religionists for their lodging and keep.

We were careful to impress on all of them that the money we were distributing to them was subscribed for the purpose by the Mussalmans of India, and the thought that their co-religionists in other parts of the world had not abandoned them in their bitter hour of defeat, but felt themselves more drawn to them on that account must have done much to cheer them up and to brighten their future.

After distributing some £50 by house to house visitation, I changed the rest of the money into small silver and in the afternoon of my third day in Serres distributed that sum to the general Moslem poor of Serres. Lists had previously been drawn up by the headmen of the various quarters, working with Mr. Pakis, a protestant pastor who has lived all his life in Serres and each family was given a ticket, giving details of the number of the family, and sealed with the seal of the Commission. On presentation of these tickets each person received a sum of money (generally about 10*l* per head) greater or less according to the size of the family. In this way some 900 persons received a small alms.

Most of the tickets were presented by the women of the family who looked picturesque in their black wrappers and white veils. They waited patiently their turn standing about or squatting down round the courtyard in which the distribution took place.

One felt amply rewarded for whatever slight trouble one had taken when one saw the gratitude displayed by the poor people for the relief they received, and I have great pleasure in testifying to their gratitude to the Moslems of India who have so nobly come forward to the aid of their fellow-Moslems in Turkey at this trying time and have helped them to realize that they are not left alone to bear the burden of their sorrow and affliction, but that their Indian co-religionists have come to share it with them and by their sympathy and humanity to take it off their shoulders, and to bid them face the future with more cheerful and more hopeful hearts.

Details of Distribution of £100 to the Moslems in need at Serres.

	Persons	Francs.
1. Mehmed Ali, 162 years old, 1 daughter ...	2	10
2. Ali Galib lawyer and family ...	6	20
3. Akil bin Mehmed, servant and family ...	7	15
4. Ali Agha, watchman, and family ...	3	10
5. Salih Effendi, Clerk in Corporation, and family ...	4	20
6. Suleiman Chawush, retired Gendarmery Corporal, and family ...	7	20
7. Emin and Mustafa, policemen and families ...	11	35
8. Family (3 daughters, child and mother) of Mustafa Effendi, Military Surgeon, still at front ...	5	20
9. Refeb Effendi, telegraph operator, and family ...	6	15
10. Wife and 3 daughters of Emin Agha, at present in Constantinople ...	3	20
11. Mehmed Agha, retired Gendarmery, old man ...	5	20
12. Sidika, a widow, refugee from Rahova and 2 children ...	3	20
13. Emine, widow, teacher, and family ...	5	20
14. Ayeshah, an Arab women, and husband, an old man ...	2	10
15. Habis, widow, an Arab woman ...	1	5
16. Demir Effendi, refugee from Demir Hisar ...	9	20
17. Hussein Bey, an old man, refugee from Nevrocep ...	6	15
18. Family of Tawfik Effendi, treasurer of Nevrocep, now a prisoner in Sofia ...	8	25

19. Family of Hamid, tax collector of Nevrocep	4	15
20. Pala Osman Agha, formerly doorkeeper in law court ...	6	30
21. Hakkı Effendi, telegraph clerk, wife and self, ill ...	4	30
22. Bedri Agha, a blind man ...	3	10
23. Karnulint Khoja, refugee from Demir Hisar, 70 years old ...	5	30
24. Kiamil Effendi ex-underchief of police at Juma Bala ...	4	20
25. Haj Ahmed Agha, merchant, and family ...	7	30
26. Hassan Hoja, teacher and wife ...	2	20
27. Hafiz Mustafa, School teacher from Zehna, refugee ...	3	15
28. Salim Effendi, policeman ...	3	15
29. Durnish Khoja, teacher ...	5	20
30. Mollah Mumin, seal-maker, and family ...	4	15
31. Mahmoud Effendi, sub chief of police at Zehna, refugee from Zehna ...	9	35
32. Mustafa, ex-policeman ...	6	20
33. Sengelli Demir Agha, refugee from Memlik	6	20
34. Veternah Mustafa Agha, refugee from Osmanli village (4 hours from Serres) ...	10	25
35. Wife and child of one Tewfik Effendi ...	2	15
36. Families of Ibrahim Agha and Hafiz Effendi, refugee from Juma Bala ...	8	20
37. Husni Effendi, official in Police Department ...	5	15
38. Rahmi Effendi, head clerk in Archiva Department ...	2	20
39. Akel Effendi, Policeman ...	3	20
40. Kieur Hassan Hoja, blindman, and family ...	3	25
41. Hussein—ill—2 children and 1 grandchild	4	15
42. Rasen Effendi and wife ...	2	15
43. Mustafa Effendi, retired Captain ...	4	25
44. Ali Riza Effendi, teacher in pupil teachers' school of Juma Bala, refugee ...	5	25
45. Pashazade Mehmed Bey and family ...	5	25
46. Fornah Hussab Agha and family ...	4	25
47. Emima, a widow, and family ...	3	25
48. Ibrahim Effendi, record clerk in civil court ...	5	30
49. Ahmed Effendi, clerk to Justice of Peace	7	25
50. Hatil and Ibrahim, ex-Policemen, and families ...	9	35
51. Esma, widow, and daughter ...	2	20
52. Yakub Agha, widow and family ...	4	20
53. Embiah Hanum, widow, with mother and 2 daughters ...	4	15
54. Ummi Hanum, widow, and family ...	4	20
55. Hafiz Ahmed Effendi and family ...	6	20
56. Mehmed, Postman, refugee from Zehna ...	4	10
57. Ahmed Effendi, watchmaker, and family ...	12	30
58. Rualem Effendi, Assistant Examining Magistrate ...	6	20
59. Khateja Hanum, widow, and 3 daughters ...	4	20
60. Hassan Agha, tanner, and family ...	6	20
61. Zehri Hanum, widow ...	1	15
62. Tahir of Razlog, blind man ...	3	20
63. Zia Effendi, tax collector ...	4	20
64. Ibrahim Effendi Head Clerk of Civil Court, and family ...	3 (?)	20
65. Mishir Hassan Usta, Sudder, and family ...	3 (?)	20
66. Zeinelaheddin Effendi, schoolteacher, and family ...	3 (?)	20
67. Hassan Effendi, sick man, and family ...	2 (?)	10
68. Rabie Hanum, widow ...	3	20
69. Akile Hanum, widow, 3 daughters ...	4	30
70. Halije, widow, and 2 daughters ...	3	20
71. Zehri, widow of Ali, public crier ...	5	20
72. Hafiz Effendi, guide in Serres, and family ...	5 (?)	40
73. Tax collector of Zehna, refugee from Zehna ...	6	20
74. General Viekoff, Governor of Serres for Relief Fund ...		30

843 1,510

Average relief distributed to each persons 4 francs 40 centime about 3*l* 6*d*, per head or £ 50 6 0
The remainder £39-12-0 was changed into pieces of 5 piastres (10*d*) and one piece of 5 piastres was handed to each of 922 persons, of whom 817 came provided with tickets from the Commission formed for that purpose, 90 were female refugee with families from the surrounding villages

and others were sundry poor persons without tickets, who presented themselves at the distribution centre.

JAMES MORGAN,
Acting Vice-Consul,
Cavalla.

The British Red Crescent Society.

WE HAVE received the following communication and enclosures from the Secretary of the British Red Crescent Society and gladly publish them for general information:—

The Secretary to the British Red Crescent Society begs to enclose herein an Affidavit from the Senior and Junior Surgeons who have worked at the British Red Crescent Hospitals at Scutari and San Stefano respectively, together with a copy (translation) of an appreciation from the Doctor-in-Chief of the Turkish Hospitals, and solicits the courtesy of the Editor of the Comrade to publish the documents in the next issue of his paper.

The Committee hope that these papers will show the falsity of the aspersions on the British Red Crescent staff that have been circulated in India by means of various publications both in the vernacular and in English.

The Secretary also begs to enclose a copy of a report from Mr Frew, a member of the Anglo-Ottoman Relief Committee, on the work of the Soup-Kitchen at Constantinople.

41, Sloane Street, S. W.
11th April, 1918.

ENCLOSURES:—

1. An Affidavit from the Doctors in charge of the Hospitals.
2. Appreciation from the Doctor-in-Chief.
3. Mr. Frew's Report on the work of the Soup-Kitchen at Constantinople.
4. Secretary's further Report of the British Red Crescent Society's work.

Affidavit sworn before the British Consul at Constantinople.

We, the undersigned, Edward Spencer Calthrop and Alfred David Eldred Bayliss do solemnly and sincerely declare that we are respectively the Senior and Junior Medical Officers of the First Unit of the British Red Crescent Society under the Directorship of Colonel Conyers Surtees, C. B., D. S. O., and we have since the 18th day of November, 1912, been in Constantinople and its neighbourhood.

1. That we were in charge of the First Unit of the British Red Crescent Society and have had charge especially of, first the Hospital at Scutari on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and secondly subsequently, at San Stefano where we have been attending to Cholera and other cases with Doctor Baynes.

2. That we have ~~had~~ shown to us a translation of a passage referring to the British Red Crescent in Constantinople which was published in the Watson in India under date of the 26th January, 1918, and purporting to be signed by a Correspondent of the newspaper named *Standard*.

3. That as to such statement respecting the three hundred patients who have been entrusted to the said Mission and have all died, the same is wilfully false and a lie in every sense of the word.

4. That as to the general statements in that passage referring to the British Red Crescent Mission in Constantinople the same are false and intentionally wilfully misleading.

5. That before the date of the libellous statements above mentioned, the Mission had a Hospital at Scutari where as can be shown from the records such Hospital had eighty-five cases admitted and out of the same there were only four deaths, one of which was true Asiatic Cholera, two Dysentery and one case of Sceptic poisoning arising from an operation which operation, however, was not performed in the Hospital, the patient only being admitted to the Hospital after the event.

6. We further solemnly and sincerely declare that out of all the cases no operation case died in such Hospital, which speaks for itself considering the numerous, including several double, amputations on soldiers who were worn out from dysentery at the time they were received into hospital.

7. Further that such Hospital and its work was inspected by the Inspector-General of the Forces stationed there who expressed himself as delighted and that the Surgeons of the Turkish Government Hospital at Haidar Pasha also made frequent visits expressing their approval and finally that I the declarant Edward Spencer Calthrop have a letter from the late Nâzım Pasha, then Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief, expressing himself as delighted with the work.

8. Subsequently to such time and after proceeding to San Stefano, and which hospital has been really started since the said libellous statements—everything has gone on well although the death rate has been heavier owing to the notorious Cholera epidemic at such place, namely, at San Stefano, and that out of 301 admissions up to the 18th March there have been only 47 deaths and these mostly from Dysentery, pulmonary trouble, Typhoid, Typhus and Cholera.

9. We also further state and sincerely declare that no Doctors have ever tried or desired to leave the Mission. The said Mission has been working harmoniously and as for the Head Doctor receiving one hundred pounds a month, this is absolutely untrue, the Doctors only being paid one pound per day with the exception of the declarant, Edward Spencer Calthrop, who received about one pound two shillings and six pence per day and the Sisters being paid eight pounds per month, the Superintendent Sister receiving ten pounds per month.

10. That we are in possession of a certificate or document from the Turkish Lieutenant Colonel, the Chief Doctor of the Sanitary Establishments at San Stefano, who praised in the highest terms the work done by the Red Crescent which he states has worked so well under the protection of our beloved friends and brothers, the Indian Mussulmans, and he also states that they, the Turks, have learned much from us and that the memory of the services, patience, and assistance, etc., of the Sisters and Doctors, members of such Mission has made an eternal impression on all and one which will never be forgotten.

And we make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the Statutory Declaration Act 1835.

Declared at His Britannic Majesty's Consulate General at Constantinople this 1st day of April 1918.

Before me:

(Sd.) EDWARD SPENCER CALTHROP.

(Sd.) ALFRED DAVID ELDRED BAYLISS.

(Sd.) H. E. STAINSON,

Vice-Consul.

(Stamp.)

An Appreciation.

San Stefano:

16th November, 1918.

BEFORE making my declaration I wish to convey to your honoured and respected Society my gratification and profound gratitude for the useful and benevolent sacrifices that the Medical Mission of the British Red Crescent, organized under the protection and administration of our beloved friends and brothers the Indian Mussulmans, have made and which they have abundantly testified to by rendering their zealous and precious help to their afflicted Turkish brethren. We wish to make a solemn and sincere declaration that everything possible has been done for the sick and wounded; and that the mortality among them was not as it has been mischievously represented.

I take this opportunity to contradict solemnly the statements in the article of which we have heard it in an Indian newspaper (the Watson) which are false, and have caused us annoyance, and we make this assurance that we, the Turkish Medical Corps at San Stefano, appreciate extremely the valuable services and the useful assistance which the British Red Crescent Medical Mission has rendered, and that the memory of the services, patience, and assistance of the sisters and doctors of the British Red Crescent Mission have made an eternal impression on all and one of us which will never be forgotten.

Please accept my devoted and respectful sentiments.

(Sd) DR. A. REFI,

Lieut.-Colonel,

Director of the Sanitary Establishment

&

Doctor-in-Chief at San Stefano.

Report on the Soup-Kitchen.

Club de Constantinople, PERA:

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SYED AMER ALI.

MY DEAR SIR,—Colonel Surtees has suggested my sending you a few notes regarding the work of the Soup-Kitchen.

The need of the Soup-Kitchen has been shown by the crowds that come for food. We had at first thought of giving food to 2,000 people each day, but it has been impossible to refuse the numbers who come and we now give food to over 4,000 refugees every day. Everyone of these people has been visited by one of our Committee or myself, and they have our tickets and give them they get the food. Although we give to us many every day it is quite distressing to see how very many we must refuse.

One can realise how very needful they are when they will come two miles and more to carry back a little soup. Till we opened the kitchen many of them had only bread to eat and very often not enough of that "man cannot live on bread alone" and there was very much sickness and the mortality has been terrible. Now among our people I am thankful to say there is a very marked improvement. The hot food every day has put new life into them. It is very painful to see these quiet kindly people sitting so patiently half-fed and seeing their children die and never complaining. I am sure that those who have helped to support the soup kitchen would feel amply rewarded if they saw the thankful satisfied people as they come every day for their food. If those who give the money could only live as long as they pray that they might it would be many long ages before they died.

We give one kind of food every day. One day soup made of meat and potatoes—another haricot-beans and oil flavoured with tomato sauce, a kind of flavouring very much used by the poorer people of this country—another day we give leeks, and rice and butter—another day rice and onions and oil, and so on. All the dishes are common dishes liked by the people of the country. We have three cooks—refugees—whom we pay a very small sum for the work, and they cook very well indeed. When we started we thought of feeding 2,000 people, but it was not possible to limit the number to that. So many poor half-fed people came pleading for a little hot food for their children that now we have doubled our original idea, and of course the expense is greater.

The refugee problem is a very serious one here—I think more so than in the provinces. I made a tour into Asia Minor and visited most of the refugee centres and I think the people here are much worse off than in Asia Minor. I visited a company of 88 families one Saturday, most of them were living in old disused stables, no flooring and scarcely any roofing. In four different families we found small-pox, and the poverty of the people was appalling. Often in visiting the people one asks "How many are there in the family?" "Five," they may say—you look at the Government paper and you say: "But here it is written seven." "Yes," will come the quite resigned answer, "Yes, but two died." It was to give a little nourishment to stop that, that your soup-kitchen was started. So we endeavour to give really nourishing food and we do not buy the very poorest. And it has proved a genuine blessing to them. Nearly all—I might, I think, say all—who get from the kitchens are Moslems; our district being almost entirely Turkish. The Greeks have in the Greek district a soup-kitchen for their people.

If you should like any further information about the soup-kitchen or the condition of our refugees, I would be glad to send it.

Very truly yours,
(Sd.) ROBERT FARW.

April 3rd, 1912.

Relief Work.

SIR,—You have been informed from time to time of the relief work which the British Red Crescent Society is doing in Asia Minor and elsewhere. Col. Antees, the Director, has been touring in various parts of the country organising local Committees and relieving, with the help of Turkish officials and temporary employees, a large number of refugees—men, women and children—besides the widows and orphans of the soldiers killed in the war. Capt. Deedes, of the Ottoman Gendarmerie, and Sister Wheatley have been touring in other parts and personally relieving thousands of destitute people.

In Constantinople, Soup-Kitchens have been established with funds supplied by the Society, and food has been regularly distributed to more than 4,000 people daily by Members of the Anglo-Ottoman Relief Committee (organised by H. H. Usmed Ferid Pascha) which is working in co-operation with this Society. The amount of distress that the Society's officers and helpers have so far relieved will appear from the reports that have been regularly furnished to the subscribers to the fund and published widely throughout India.

Local Committees have been established at Sou-Soulouk, Pendurme, Kirmasti, Eski-Shehir, Yenishehir, Iamilt, Ada Bazar, the Broussa districts, Scutari, etc. The members of these Committees are Turkish notables assisted in many places by the British Consul or Vice-Consul.

The entire administration of the Society's charity has, so far as possible, been placed on the practical basis.

As the warm weather has begun in Asia Minor and there is a prospect of work for the able-bodied refugees, Capt. Wyndham Deedes, a very capable officer who speaks the Turkish language fluently, has been entrusted with the relief work in Asia Minor, and has been instructed to supply the refugees with opium and carts and, where available, with implements of husbandry.

Owing, however, to insufficient funds the Society has had to abandon the idea of building habitations for the homeless refugees, leaving it to the Turkish Government to do what it can under the circumstances. It has been impressed upon Capt. Wyndham Deedes and the other helpers that special attention should be devoted to the relief of the families of the soldiers killed in the war and of those still in the field, and also of the sick and wounded who have returned to their homes.

Besides this work in Constantinople and Asia Minor, the Society has sent further assistance to Salonica and Monastir. At Salonica, from the reports of Consul-General Lamb and Sister Augustine, the influx of the destitute seems to be still ceaseless and the Committee propose to continue their financial assistance to Mr. Lamb and Sister Augustine as long as its funds permit.

As the subscribers will have seen from the report previously forwarded there is terrible distress in Thrace and the Committee have accordingly allocated £2,000 for the relief of the starving and destitute in that part of the country. They had, at the same time, appealed to the Ottoman Red Crescent and to that generous and most pious of Mussalmans, Prince H. H. the Khedive, whose humanity and sympathy with the suffering in Turkey cannot be too highly extolled, for help in alleviating the misery and distress in the afflicted districts of Thrace. Unfortunately the reply of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society is not favourable and the Committee have not as yet received any answer from H. H. the Khedive. The British Red Crescent Society has, therefore, to depend upon its own limited resources. In the meantime the Committee have sent through the Foreign Office £500 to Consul James Morgan of Cavalla, for the relief of the destitute Moslems in his district and £500 to General Broadwood for the same purpose in the Dedeagatch district.

On the suggestion of the Anglo-Ottoman Relief Committee the President has approached the British Foreign Office to obtain the permission of the Bulgarian Government to send (funds permitting) a Relief Mission to Thrace.

The calamitous fall of Adrianople has thrown upon the Society the relief of the terrible distress among the Turkish population in that unfortunate city. In order to render medical and surgical aid to the Turkish sick and wounded soldiers the Committee have ordered Dr W. E. Haigh, who has been until now ministering to the needs of the Turkish prisoners in Sofia, to proceed to Adrianople with an auxiliary contingent from our Constantinople Mission consisting of two surgeons and two experienced Sisters. We have also sent £500 to Mr. Douglas Turner, who is well known for his sympathy with Moslems and is at present at Sofia for relief work in Adrianople and we propose to send through the British Consul (Major Samson) at Adrianople another £500 for the same purpose. Major Samson kept up a hospital in Adrianople during the siege for the help of the Turkish soldiers over the maintenance of which he spent a sum of £800; towards this amount he was only able to raise £150 from subscriptions in the city. The British Foreign Office has brought the need of some assistance towards this to the notice of the President and the matter will shortly be placed before the Committee for the sanction of a substantial contribution towards the upkeep of Major Samson's hospital.

As there are now a large number of Hospitals in Constantinople and every penny, that can be saved from other than absolute necessities, is needed for supplying food and clothing to the starving and destitute Moslems, the Committee have decided to recall their Hospital Staff from Constantinople and devote all their means on relief work and in trying to alleviate the sufferings of a part of the enormous number of Moslems afflicted by the War.

In this unfortunate war Turkey has lost the flower of the nation less from deaths on the battle-field than from lack of proper organisation for the rapid transport of the wounded from the front to the base hospitals. The mortality has, in consequence, been very great, and Asia Minor has become greatly denuded of its male population.

The proper settlement of the able-bodied refugees in Anatocha, which is the most important Province of the Ottoman Empire, would be a source of economic strength to Turkey. And the British Red Crescent Society is rendering considerable assistance so far as its funds permit, in starting local industries and helping the refugees in finding work.

I regret to have to report that one of the Sisters of the San Stefano Hospital is suffering from typhoid fever contracted in the exercise of her duties, and another Sister just returned is under observation showing symptoms of the same illness.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. KASIM HOSKIN.

41, Sloane Street, S. W.
11th April, 1912.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, April 24.

The fall of Scutari evoked wildest demonstrations of joy in the capitals of the Allies, which were decorated and illuminated. All classes in Belgrade joined in an orgy of rejoicing, wine flowing in the streets and people dancing to the strains of gipsy music. Large crowds, including many officers, attended a Te Deum in the Prochorovskiy Cathedral in St. Petersburg, and a procession marched to the Serbian Legation. The police hardly intervened at all.

The news was published at Cetinje at two o'clock in the morning. King Nicholas appeared on the balcony of the palace, and, after addressing the crowd, publicly embraced representatives of the Allies, amid indescribable enthusiasm.

It is stated in Cetinje that the Turks marched out with the honour of war, taking their light guns with them. The town was short of foodstuffs and ammunition was nearly expended.

The fall of Scutari has caused a painful impression in Rome, Vienna and Berlin. It is feared that the unity of the Powers will disappear when it comes to the point of expelling King Nicholas. The *Reichspost* urges that Count von Berchtold take action without delay. The official Press in Berlin is of opinion that the fall of Scutari will not affect the decision of the Powers in the slightest, but the unofficial Press regards the situation as most critical, and threatening to revive Austro-Russian antagonism. Fears are entertained that Austria may take military action single-handed. The semi-official Vienna *Fremdenblatt* says that Austria has submitted to the Powers concrete proposals for drastic action to compel the Montenegrins to evacuate Scutari without delay.

Speaking at a banquet of the Foreign Press Association last night, Mr. Asquith spoke of the results attained by the Concert of Europe. Despite difficulties, such as the fall of Scutari, he believed that they would reach the goal which they had so long and so laboriously sought.

It is unofficially stated in Vienna that Austria has asked the Powers to take action to expel the Montenegrins from Scutari within forty-eight hours, or to entrust Austria with a mandate to do so.

It is confirmed that Austria last night circularised the Powers requesting that action be taken to restore their prestige, otherwise she herself would be obliged to see that Montenegro vacated Scutari.

In spite of the above note, excitement in St. Petersburg, and patriotic fervour in Montenegro, the feeling prevails among diplomats in London that the crisis will be surmounted. It is believed that if Montenegro is not coerced, she will be prepared to listen to proposals for a compromise. A St. Petersburg message says: The fall of Scutari has revived all the Pan-Slavist enthusiasm. Papers of all shades of opinion urge that a new factor has arisen which Austria must acknowledge. A compromise must be bought. The papers say that isolated action on the part of Austria would be likely to provoke a European conflagration.

A Constantinople message says the armistice between Turkey and Bulgaria has been extended till May 5th.

London, April 25.

Reuter learns that as a result of an informal exchange of views by diplomats in London yesterday, there is reason to believe that the Montenegrins will accede to the decision of the Powers regarding Scutari, in return for territorial compensation.

A Constantinople wire says: It is officially stated here that the fall of Scutari was due to the exhaustion of provisions. The troops retained their arms, guns, and ammunition and were authorised to embark at San Giovanni di Medua.

The Montenegrins captured 120 guns at Scutari. The garrison was allowed to retain their rifles because King Nicholas knew that among them were many Albanians loyal to Montenegro.

The Turkish garrison are withdrawing from Scutari to Pirana. The evacuation will be complete to-morrow. Two Montenegrin Battalions have been moved to Scutari, to maintain order. The Crown Prince will enter the town to-morrow and will hoist the Montenegrin flag over the citadel. King Nicholas has sent three steamers with provisions for the sufferers.

Reuter learns that Montenegro proposes a boundary running north-west from Vraka, through Koplik, to Kaldrun, on lake Scutari, which will include in Montenegro the Clementi tribe of Catholic Albanians. She also asks for the left bank of the river Boyana, including the town of Sardica, and a line from Sardica to the coast north of San Giovanni di Medua.

It is stated in Vienna that Austria has proposed to the Powers that there be an international military occupation of Antivari and San Giovanni di Medua, and, failing this, occupation by Austria

and Italy, or by Austria alone. No answer has yet been sent to this proposal.

Pan-Slavist demonstrations in St. Petersburg to celebrate the fall of Scutari, have been stopped by the police. Many arrests have been made.

The Powers, having received favourable replies to their proposed mediation, have now invited the belligerents to negotiate the preliminaries of peace among themselves. This procedure has surprised the Balkan Allies who expected that the Powers would draw up terms of peace and submit them to the belligerents.

In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Anbray Herbert drew attention to the destitution prevailing in Macedonia, Thrace and Albania, and suggested that Government send warships to convey destitute persons from Salonica to Egypt, and send vessels with grain for those starving. Mr. Ackland mentioned that £100,000 had been raised in England, and he appealed to the people of England to continue their help. If and when peace were restored the Balkan Powers appealed to the civilised nations of the world to help in obliterating distress. Government would be bound to consider the question of joining other nations in repairing the ravages of war.

London, April 26.

Reuter learns that the Ambassadors yesterday discussed the question of Scutari. The result of their deliberation may be summed up as follows in the words of a diplomatist: "The spirit of the Conference was such that, with the exercise of patience, we shall certainly turn the corner safely. It was added that the discussion emphasized the absolute unanimity and unwavering resolution of the Powers to uphold their decisions. There was an entire absence of any desire for hasty action. It is expected that King Nicholas will be notified officially in a few days that he must give up Scutari. Meanwhile, fresh instructions will be telegraphed to the Fleet to extend the blockade and make it absolute. It is denied that Austria suggested giving a limit of forty-eight hours as reported in Vienna.

A Vienna message states that Count von Berchtold and General von Hoesendorf, the Minister for War, had an urgent conference with the Emperor yesterday evening, lasting two hours. It is stated that if the Powers fail to agree on united action by Monday, Austria will act alone. It is reported that Germany has promised support in all circumstances.

A Vienna wire says: The semi-official *Fremdenblatt* discussing the question of Scutari, says if Austria is to be really tranquillized, something more will be required than a platonic declaration of the unanimity of the Powers. Their goodwill must be translated into acts, without delay. The constant talk abroad of compensation for Montenegro makes an especially bad impression. Europe's political and military prestige has been injured by the fall of Scutari. If the Powers are indifferent to this shock, Austria cannot follow them. The minimum she requires is the presentation to Cetinje of a demand by the Powers for the immediate evacuation of Scutari, and in the event of the refusal, the adoption of military measures to compel compliance. Any back hanging from this minimum on the part of Europe will excite dissatisfaction and bitterness in Austria, which it will be to the interest of Europe to prevent.

A Cetinje wire says that Essad Pasha, the defender of Scutari, has proclaimed himself King of the Albanians at Alessio.

A Berlin message states that in the Reichstag to-day Herr von Jagow, the Foreign Minister, said that Germany and the other Powers had intimated that the capture of Scutari in no way altered the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors that Scutari should belong to Albania. The last Conference had decided to call upon King Nicholas to evacuate the city. If Montenegro did not comply, further steps would be considered.

A Salonica wire states that the seventh Bulgarian Artillery, which has been quartered there, has been urgently recalled to Serres, and proceeded there this morning. The Fourteenth Infantry proceeded to Serres in three days. The delay is supposed to be due to the necessity of assuring the withdrawal of everything Bulgarian, including posts and telegraphs.

London, April 26.

A telegram to the *Daily Telegraph* from Cetinje says the Ministers of the Powers have presented a joint Note demanding the evacuation of Scutari, but the Montenegrin officials have excused themselves from considering it, as the present time is a festival of the Orthodox Church.

It is regarded as significant that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand has suddenly returned to Vienna, as he was not expected till May 3rd. According to accounts appearing in the papers, Essad Pasha's

step was made with the connivance of Serbia and Montenegro, and the storming and surrender of Scutari was a put-up job. A telegram to the *Daily Mail* from Belgrade says that Essad Pasha has concluded an alliance with Montenegro under which the latter keeps Tarabosh Ridge and Boyana Valley, while Scutari becomes Albanian.

The Powers have presented a collective Note at Cetinje declaring that Scutari must be evacuated with the briefest possible delay and handed over to the Commanders of the International Fleet. A prompt reply is requested. Montenegro has made a formal protest against this cruel and unjust demand.

A Vienna message says: An official telegram states that Prince Danilo and the Montenegrin troops have marched out of Scutari to the north. Only five battalions of Montenegrin infantry are left in the city.

The Ottoman Consulate General, Bombay, received the following telegram yesterday from the Foreign Office, Constantinople:—

Sublime Porte, Constantinople, 26th April: Owing to exhaustion of all provisions, Essad Pasha was obliged to evacuate the fort of Scutari and deliver the fortress to the Montenegrin Commandant, under certain conditions. Essad Pasha will proceed towards San Giovanni di Medina and Tirane, with the corps of Nizami (Regulars), Redifs (Reservists of first class), and Mustahfiz (Reservists of second class) taking with them the quick-firing guns, mountain guns, and all ammunition.

Accounts from Vienna say that the belief prevails there that Russian intrigues are behind Essad Pasha's move, which is, in any case, likely to complicate the situation.

Essad Pasha is a typical Chieftain and comes of an old and wealthy Albanian family. He has had a most adventurous career.

It is reported that Great Britain is negotiating the purchase of the two Turkish battleships which are being built at Barrow and Elswick. They closely resemble the King George V. class, but are equipped with superior armament.

London, April 29.

Reuter states that the Ambassadors yesterday conferred for three and a quarter hours, which is the longest conference so far. Sir Edward Grey presided. The Conference subsequently adjourned till Thursday. It is believed that it may then be found possible to convey the desired information to Austria regarding the intentions of the Powers.

The latest move of Essad Pasha is regarded as seriously complicating the situation. In Austrian circles there is un concealed irritation at the reluctance of the Ambassadors to agree to further pressure on Montenegro. They declare that Austria will not agree to indefinite delay. She will insist that Montenegro be forcibly compelled to evacuate Scutari. They do not believe that this will necessitate fighting. Russian quarters are of opinion that there would be grave difficulties caused by Austria acting alone.

Reports that Austria had decided an independent action against Montenegro momentarily demoralised the stock-markets to-day, especially on the Continent, though prices afterwards partially recovered. At present London has no official confirmation of the rumours.

The *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the meeting of the Ambassadors on May 1st will decide which, if any, of the Powers will take part in possible coercive action with Austria against Montenegro, in the event of King Nicholas not yielding unconditionally.

Everything tends to confirm that the climax will be reached at the meeting of the Ambassadors on May 1st. Reuter learns that the Conference of Ambassadors has shown that the majority of the Powers are not prepared to adopt warlike measures in the case of Montenegro, although they are, apparently, prepared to consent to the occupation of the coast towns in the event of the continued recalcitrancy on the part of Montenegro. The Austrian Press is manifesting the greatest impatience. The military organ demands the breaking off of Conferences.

The departure of Montenegrin troops from Scutari is not regarded as indicating the intention of Montenegro to yield to the Powers. Rather they are going to Cetinje and Antivari to resist a possible advance or to occupy Tarabosh and Boyana, which region Montenegro demands as compensation for Scutari.

A Cetinje wire says Prince Danilo arrived here to-day and handed the keys of Scutari to King Nicholas, amid a scene of spontaneous enthusiasm. A procession was then formed to the Cathedral, the Queen and other ladies each supporting a wounded soldier. The populace strewed their path with flowers. It is now generally accepted that the surrender of Scutari was the outcome of a preconcerted arrangement between Essad Pasha and the Montenegrins, with a view to a future settlement of the Albanian question which would be convenient to both.

A Salonica message states that orders for the withdrawal of Bulgarian troops from all places occupied by the Greeks have been countermanded.

London, April 30.

A Cetinje message states that in a written reply to the Powers for the evacuation of Scutari, Montenegro declares she will not give a final answer till after the Greek Easter holidays.

Though the feeling is somewhat more hopeful as a result of Austria's decision to postpone action pending the conference of Ambassadors to-morrow, the reports of the massing of Austrian troops on the frontier and preparations for defence by Montenegrins show that the situation is still critical. Fifteen thousand Montenegrin troops are already at Antivari, and others are constantly arriving. Most active preparations are being made to defend the town.

A Vienna message says that newspapers emphasize that Austria's object is to carry out international decisions, and that she would doubtless welcome joint action; nevertheless, she will take severe measures for the coercion of Montenegro unless there is a speedy change of policy at Cetinje.

Important negotiations are proceeding in London which have considerably relieved the international situation. The Austrian Ambassador had two hours' conference with Sir Edward Grey this afternoon. Thereafter the Russian Ambassador and the Montenegrin Delegate, M. Popovitch, had interviews at the Foreign Office. In continuation with the latter, it is announced that the Montenegrin reply to the Powers was presented this afternoon.

A Berlin wire says that the Budget Committee has adopted the Government proposals increasing the peace effectiveness of various arms and adding third battalions to eighteen Infantry regiments.

London, May 1.

A Berlin wire says information has been received here from Vienna that if Montenegro does not reply satisfactorily, Austria will, at to-day's Conference of Ambassadors, announce that he resumes liberty of action and will leave the other Powers the option of joining her.

Lord Morley, in deprecating the discussion in the House of Lords yesterday of the Scutari imbroglio, described the situation as one of the most perplexing knots which have ever confronted diplomatists. The accuracy of this description is reflected in the wealth of conjectures regarding Austrian intentions which are filling the Continental Press. While it is officially declared that Austria has not yet decided what her action will be, or how and when it will be carried out the Vienna Press asserts that preparations have been completed for striking at Cetinje or operating against Scutari. Vienna papers are of opinion that Austria's objective would be attained within a month.

After an active interchange of visits between the Ambassadors and Sir Edward Grey to-day, the conference of Ambassadors met at Downing Street this afternoon. The Ambassadors separated at 6-30 this evening, after a two and half hours conference. It is understood that they discussed the communication from Montenegro expressing her readiness to evacuate Scutari if she obtains compensation elsewhere. Austria's view is that the evacuation must be immediate and unconditional. The other Powers are considerably less obdurate. It is not known yet whether means will be found of reconciling these contrary views and avoiding a rupture of the Conference. Reuter learns that the fears of the breakdown of the Conference have not been realised. The Conference will re-assemble on Monday, the Ambassadors in the meantime informing their Governments of the decision reached to-day. After to-day's Conference the Austrian Ambassador conferred for some time with Sir Edward Grey.

The attitude of Italy, without whose agreement Austria cannot act, is still a mystery. Count von Berchtold had a lengthy conference with the Italian Ambassador in Vienna yesterday. It is suggested in Vienna papers that Italy will occupy Southern Albania, while Austria will proceed to Scutari.

An inspired article in the Italian paper *Tribuna* states, with emphasis, that Italy will not allow the question of Albania to be settled by Austria single-handed, but will act with a view to keeping Austria within the limits prescribed by old agreements.

According to one suggestion in the London Press, the Ambassadors, at their Conference to-day, may adopt a middle course. An International detachment, probably composed of Austrian, Italian and British, will seize Antivari and Dulcigno, while Austria will pledge herself not to take isolated action for a fortnight. The situation may be summed up thus: The world is awaiting most anxiously the result of to-day's conference, which may possibly decide the question of the peace of Europe.

A Cetinje wire states: Russia yesterday renewed her demand for the immediate evacuation of Scutari in the bluntest terms, intimating that Montenegro was courting ruin. The communication has created great bitterness here.

The *Times* in a leader headed "Grave Situation," does not expect Austria to hearken to the good advice, or that the Ambassadors to-day will be able to agree to her demands. The *Times* is, therefore, forced to conclude that Austria will take independent

measures, and warns Austria of the terrible responsibility of jeopardising the peace of Europe.

A Constantinople message says: Replying to Essad Pasha's request for instructions and for money and provisions, the Porte has telegraphed to him to dismiss the native troops after disarming them, and to send the rest to Beirut, or if an International blockade prevents him doing so, to Valona, to join Djavad Pasha's troops which are near there. The Porte will send money and supplies to Valona.

Owing to the representations of the Balkan Allies it appears practically decided that the Peace Delegates will reassemble in London when the Powers will submit their draft of the preliminary peace terms for signature. It is anticipated that protracted discussion will be avoided by this plan.

The Lay Council of the Armenian Patriarchate has decided to dispatch a deputation headed by the Patriarch to the Grand Vizier to insist on the removal of a number of Valis from Armenia, the punishment of brigands, and the fulfilment of promises to secure public safety. Failing an improvement in the situation, the Patriarch and both Councils of the Patriarchate have resolved to resign.

The Vienna papers *Zit* and *Arbeiter Zeitung* disagree with the attitude of the semi-official Press, and point out that Austria does not know what to do with Scutari after ejecting Montenegro. It would be impossible to force Essad Pasha to retake it, and there is no other real power in Albania. Some London and other papers deprecate a prolonged Austro-Italian occupation.

The Bulgarian Check at Tchataldja.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Sofia, April 6.

DESPITE the optimistic tone of the official bulletins published from the headquarters of the Bulgarian Staff, there is no doubt that the Bulgarians have suffered a severe check at Tchataldja, as your Constantinople correspondent has already telegraphed. The fighting, moreover, had certain peculiar characteristics, which may possibly react on the political situation.

It will be remembered that two Sofia regiments suffered very severe losses early in the campaign owing to injudicious handling by the divisional commander. During the last five months these regiments have been restored to their full fighting strength by the inclusion of young recruits, many of them belonging to the best families and hardly more than boys. Great care was naturally exercised to avoid a repetition of the disaster, and when the regiments were sent south to Tchataldja it was decided that they should take the place of a couple of Danube regiments, which occupied a position near Beyuk Tohekmedje, protected by swampy ground, where it was considered unlikely that they would be subjected to a surprise attack. The Danube regiments marched out of the position at 5 p.m. on March 29 and the Sofia regiments arrived at 7 o'clock. By some means or other the Turkish spies got to know that the troops were inexperienced, and the Turks selected the next morning to make an attack. Under cover of a heavy mist, which is very common in that region, a flanking party worked its way round and succeeded in enveloping the position and inflicting enormous losses on the Bulgarians, the majority being killed.

The heavy personal losses in the capital itself have very naturally caused a considerable revolution of feeling, and have made many prominent men more favourable towards peace, despite the diplomatic and political value of the capture of Adrianople. The military, however, view the matter from a totally different standpoint. The issue is still in the balance, and the question of the possibility of a general attack on Tchataldja is still being discussed.

The Fall of Adrianople.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" SOFIA CORRESPONDENT.)

THE following account of the capture of Adrianople has been given to me by one of the Turkish officers who have been brought here as prisoners:—

"After the resumption of the fighting the Bulgarian troops began to bombard the city itself, but the damage done was insignificant. Only the mosque Gioteh Sherifi Jamasi and part of the Sultan Selim mosque were demolished. Some of the shells caused small fires in the wooden houses; one killed two Greek girls who were in the street, and another killed two Jews and a child. But the total number of people killed by shells in the city does not exceed thirty or forty.

CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS UNITED.

"Throughout the siege we did not suffer any privations. We had abundance of food, and the Bulgarian troops found 5,000 sacks of flour and stores of wheat, fish, and cheese. Neither did the civil population suffer starvation. Rations were distributed to the poor as to the soldiers. The health of the city throughout the siege was

excellent, and there were no outbreaks of disease or epidemics. Misfortune gave us strength to conserve our courage and hope, and the good feeling amongst the citizens was exemplary. We had forgotten who were Turkish and who were Christians. Our troubles united us; and if only we had lived on such terms with the Christian population earlier, I assure you that the present war would not have taken place, or at least it would have had a different result.

"From information we were receiving from Constantinople by wireless telegraphy and from the operations of the besieging army, we had come to the conclusion that the Bulgarians would storm the fortress, and that Adrianople would save the honour of Turkey. The fortress was very strong, and we never imagined that we could be attacked with such ferocity and rapidity. The greatest strategists and engineers would have told you that such a fortress, even attacked by the most powerful siege guns, could not be captured within two days, and yet the Bulgarians captured it in twenty-eight hours, thus giving the lie to the experts. In this war the Bulgarians have accomplished feats that recall the great deeds of our Sultans when conquering the peninsula. We are grieved by our disasters, but we admire the Bulgarians' heroism, for we are a warlike nation, and duly appreciate bravery.

A PRESENTIMENT OF EVIL.

"On the Sunday preceding the fall of the city the air was heavy and oppressive. We could not breathe freely, we experienced a sense of great fatigue, and we felt in very low spirits, though we could not say why. We had a presentiment that something important and decisive was about to happen.

"On March 24 a general bombardment from all directions began, but it was most vigorous and intense upon the eastern section. Shukri Pasha gave the first orders to reinforce the defence of the eastern forts.

"On the morning of the 25th, after a night of fierce attacks, we lost all our outlying positions and redoubts, and were compelled to retire behind the line of forts. The bombardment proceeded slowly but surely. The Bulgarians advanced from the valley towards the heights of Arnaut Tabia and Kaik. Our soldiers, driven from the Maslan forts, were telling wonders of the enemy's bravery. I was at the Kaik, and can tell you what I saw with my own eyes. The Bulgarians advanced with reckless gallantry and dash; we sighted our guns, and as soon as they appeared we fired from all points. I saw how we moved down their ranks, but fresh and more numerous regiments kept on appearing to replace the fallen. Hurrahs rent the night air, and the Bulgarians finally succeeded in crossing the fire-swept zone, leaving four parallel lines of dead bodies.

"ALL IS LOST."

"On March 26, Wednesday morning, we reported to Shukri Pasha that the forts Arnaut Keni and the Kaik had fallen into the hands of the enemy after their defenders had died to the last man. About three o'clock in the morning, when we still had some faint hope, I went to report at Shukri's headquarters. He was up and had gone on a last inspection of the forts. When he learned that the eastern fort had fallen he burst into tears, crushed by the news, and exclaimed to his officers, 'All is lost!'

"At eight o'clock Shukri sent his last message to Constantinople, announcing that he could not hold out any longer. Then he gave orders for the destruction of the apparatus, the stores, and ammunition. At the same time he issued orders that the western forts should cease firing, as the shells were falling in the town and causing panic amongst the population.

"At ten o'clock Shukri Pasha was informed that the Bulgarian troops had forced an entrance and invaded the city. Thereupon he ordered white flags to be hoisted over the forts. The entry of the Bulgarian troops increased the panic, the population fearing massacres; but, fortunately, nothing of the kind occurred. At two o'clock in the afternoon Shukri Pasha surrendered to General Ivanoff. The guns of the fortress were silenced, and the city began to be flooded by the Bulgarian troops, who marched in with colours flying and bands preceding them."

Notes from Servia.

(THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Belgrade, April 5.

The Turkish Prisoners.

ALL prisoners formerly belonging to the Turkish army who are natives of the conquered territories, whether Christians or Mohammedans, are, by order of the Serbian Government, liberated, and are undergoing medical examination. Those certified as free from infectious disease are sent back to their homes in Macedonia and Old Servia. The reason for this precaution is that in various places where the prisoners have been kept an epidemic prevails, more especially in Negotin, Knahevatz and Zaitchar, where typhus rages.

The Servians at Adrianople.

Major Milovan Gavrilovitch, of the Servian Army, has written a letter relating his experiences in the capture of Adrianople. He says it was pitch dark when the first position was stormed at the point of the bayonet, it was a terrible hand-to-hand combat, Turks and Servians falling in heap, the Turks fighting at first desperately, but later flying panic-stricken, closely followed by the Servian troops. At 4 A. M. the Servians had occupied the advanced positions, and it was three hours later that the Bulgarians conquered the advance posts of their sections. Later, at break of day a murderous fire was opened by the heaviest guns of the Turkish artillery, surpassing anything that could be imagined, but the Servians still went forward, and by midday they had conquered the first fortresses on their side, where they passed the night.

Before dawn General Ivanoff, the commander-in-chief, gave orders that the whole army should make a general attack, assigning the points which each division should take. Then, in the morning, began the combined attack from all sides, which met with energetic opposition, the Turkish artillery fire being especially formidable. But the bayonets of the allied troops scattered the Turkish infantry, and after several hours' fighting a white flag was hoisted, and an envoy approached an officer of the Major's division, the 20th Regiment, and asked to speak with the Servian general commanding, desiring to discuss the terms of surrender. Although the white flag was flying and the artillery fire had ceased, the advance of the Servians continued.

Major Gavrilovitch states that when he approached the fort of Haderlach he saw a group of Turkish officers standing outside the fort, and one of them, a captain, came forward, to whom the Major spoke in French, saying: "At last all is over. So much the better for us and for you." The captain replied "For you, yes, for us, no." Another group of officers could be seen standing inside the fort, and the captain explained that they were Shukri Pasha and the whole General Staff. Through dark passages Major Gavrilovitch was conducted to Shukri Pasha, whom he saluted with military precision, and said:—"Excellency, the Servian major, Milan Gavrilovitch, has the honour to inform you that from this moment you are under the protection of the Servian Army." The major intentionally avoided using any expression that might be displeasing, such as prisoner, for instance, and he adds:—"I begged that he and all his officers and troops should accept congratulations and admiration of the whole Servian army upon the heroic defence." Shukri Pasha passed the night in his old quarters, and the next morning was conducted to General Ivanoff.

Opening of the Skupschina.

On the 2nd, at the time of the funeral of the King of Greece, a requiem was held at the Belgrade Cathedral. On the 3rd the Skupschina was opened, and the President sent the Servian Parliament's condolences to the Parliament in Greece.

The Prime Minister in his speech lauded the Servian army and expressed his sympathy with the wounded soldiers and the families who have been bereaved of near relatives. He stated that Government will erect a church at Kosovo in commemoration of the victories which have been gained in this war. The town of Kosovo is chosen as denoting that the defeats Serbia suffered in ancient times at the hands of the Turks are now obliterated.

The "Hamidiyeh" at Haifa.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Haifa, Mar 25.

On Friday afternoon, March 21, nearly a month after her last visit here, the *Hamidiyeh* was again sighted off this port. But whereas her former visit was marked by the apprehensions of the inhabitants for her safety, her second call was an occasion for a demonstration of peace and confidence. Reports of her expected arrival had reached the local authorities and had rapidly circulated through the town, and the name of Rauf Bey, her commander, and stories of his operations in the Adriatic found a theme for animated discussion amongst the inhabitants for several days.

Rauf Bey Interviewed.

On the occasion of the vessel's previous visit all efforts to interview her commander had been unsuccessful, owing to the circumstances then existing. This time, however, I was successful in seeing Rauf Bey, and obtaining for the *Near East* an account of his recent raid in the Adriatic from his own lips. Boarding the *Hamidiyeh* I encountered no difficulty in obtaining access to her gallant commander. I was at once ushered into his private cabin, where I found him bending over a map.

He is an alert, young-looking man, of medium height, dark complexion, and very fine eyes, and he gives one the impression of great activity. He greeted me in fluent English, which he spoke

with a good accent; but gave me to understand at once that he was much occupied and could not spare me much time.

Asked, first, as to the exact number of vessels that he had sunk, he replied six steamers, used as transports, and one sailing ship, which had been found at San Giovanni di Medua. He remembered the names of five—the "Trifolia," the "Alibai," the "Zanos," the "Chrisomani," and the "Macedonia." Some of these vessels were loaded with stores, ammunition, and provisions; others had troops on board.

I then referred to the various rumours current regarding his nationality and the existence of some foreign officers on board his ship. To this he replied "I am aware of various statements concerning my identity that have appeared in the Press, but I am proud to declare that I am a Turk serving my country and my Sovereign, and ready to do so to the death." He further averred that during his three years' service as commander of the *Hamidiyeh* not a single foreigner had been employed on board.

Greek Prisoners.

The officers informed me that on their return, while still in the Adriatic, they had sunk a ship, but had saved her crew, who were still on board the *Hamidiyeh*. These I found numbered seventeen, all Greeks apparently, and in reply to my questions they expressed themselves as contented with the treatment accorded to them by their captors. The following day, however, they were, I understand, disembarked and forwarded to Port Said at the Government's expense.

"Revenge!—and Peace."

In connection with the letter from Mr. Williams, which will be found on another page (643), we have pleasure in reproducing some further passages from his article "Revenge!—and Peace," to which we have already referred in these columns.

"But the renaissance of the Turk? What of it? At the present moment it would seem that he is among the eternally lost. Some of the caricatures of the Turk in his hour of trial to be found in British newspapers are too brutal to warrant description. All we can say of them is that they do not savour of Christ-like humanity.

In these days it is anathema to say one word for the Turk. According to all accounts, some 200,000 of him have now been put to the sword or laid low by plague. A great revenge and at a similar cost to the avengers. Cannot the Turk be improved, cannot he be allowed to improve himself? There are crusading, foolish, medieval knights abroad like Dr. Dearnier in "Everyman," good men (in some senses), who talk about hauling the Crescent from the dome of Ayiah Sophia and putting up the Cross instead. A sentiment more mischievous could not well be conceived. Five hundred years of sentiment has gathered about St. Sophia, and Christianity will not be bettered nor advanced by trampling on the age-long love which has been bestowed on this venerable building by Moslems.—The *Near East*.

The Future of the Near East.

In the *Graphic* of March 29 Mr. Lucien Wolf writes in gloomy strain regarding the outlook in the Near East. Europe is vastly relieved at the prospects of peace, but is it a wise one? Mr. Wolf doubts it. He doubts whether it is workable even in the immediate future:—

"It is a thing of unworthy postponements and still unworthier compromises and recantations. Why is Bulgaria warned of Constantinople and even Rodosto? Out of kindness for Turkey? Obviously not, seeing that it leaves Turkey only hanging on to Europe by her teeth, while no one ventures to gainsay the old "bag-and-baggage" axiom which for nearly forty years has been the ideal panacea of every statesman who has had to do with the Eastern Question. The reason is that the Powers cannot agree upon an help to the Turk at Constantinople or upon a common-sense settlement of the Straits Question. That is why south of the Midia-Enos line they create a new *status quo* infinitely more fragile and artificial than the old. In other words a question which has haunted Europe for over a century, and which with a little courage might now be solved for all time, is to be left to another generation to get rid of at the cost of another bloody war.

"So much for the Southern aspects of the Midia-Enos line! And what about the Northern and Western? Here Europe insists that with the exception of an as yet undelimited Albania everything shall be ceded to the Allies to do with as they please. Now this is a double apostasy on quite an unprecedented scale. Of its cool repudiation of the solemn warning concerning the sacrosanctity of the *status quo*, which the Powers addressed to the Allies only six months ago, it is unnecessary to speak, because, as a matter of fact, the *status quo* has always been a convenient, though somewhat fraudulent, expedient for carrying out with a minimum of friction the great work of reshaping South-Eastern Europe in accordance with a larger policy of racial

and religious emancipation. What I complain about, and what, I am afraid, Europe will later on have to pay heavily for, is that the Media-Egean line is a blinding recantation of this larger policy. Instead of emancipating the misgoverned European provinces from the Turk, it sells them into a new subjection. Thrace, Macedonia, and Salonica are handed over, bound and gagged, to be haggled over and partitioned by Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks.

The Balkan Situation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, April 7.

THE Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, opened this afternoon the general discussion in the Reichstag of the Army and Taxation Bills. It has been arranged for the purposes of the present debate to discuss the military and financial policy separately, and so the Imperial Chancellor avoided to-day all reference to the latter subject. His careful and considered statement of Germany's relations with her neighbours is better to read than it was to hear, and its public reception will probably be more favourable than the comparatively faint applause in the Reichstag would indicate. The House and galleries were crowded to-day, but the Imperial Chancellor is not an inspiring orator.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg began by saying that the Army Bill demands the strengthening of the forces which according to the unanimous judgment of the military authorities, "is necessary in order to secure the future of Germany." The Army took about 280,000 recruits every year, but the reserve of able-bodied young men was so large that they could take some 60,000 a year more. Notwithstanding the periodical increases, the development of the Army had not kept pace with the growth of the population. If war were forced upon them they could and would fight with sure confidence in the efficiency and bravery of the Army, but the question was whether they could any longer afford the luxury of going without tens of thousands of trained men whom they could have but at present did not take. No man could know whether and when they would have a war, but so far as human foresight could see there would be no European war in which Germany would not be involved and then they would have to fight for their existence. Who would bear the responsibility for Germany being in a life-and-death struggle less than she was able to be? This question had forced itself upon everybody.

A TRIBUTE TO SIR E. GREY

From the beginning of the Balkan war the Great Powers had laboured to localize it. No Great Power had desired to share in the territorial alterations in the Balkans, but a state of tension had existed for months which caused Austria-Hungary and Russia to take extraordinary military measures. He would not say that the danger of war had at any moment been immediate, but it had constantly required the whole sense of responsibility of the Governments most nearly concerned to deprive the differences of opinion and of interests of a sharpness which might have led to war. The Chancellor continued:—

"Europe will feel grateful to the English Minister for Foreign Affairs for the extraordinary devotion and spirit of conciliation with which he conducts the discussions of the Ambassadors in London and with which he has constantly been able to bridge over differences. Germany shares all the more sincerely in this gratitude, because she knows herself to be at one with the aims of English policy, and, standing loyally by her allies, she has laboured in the same sense." (Cheers.)

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg then remarked that Sir Edward Grey had explained in the House of Commons the results which had been reached in the Conference of Ambassadors. The business now was to give effect to the decisions of the Great Powers, and "in this Germany was determined to co-operate most energetically." After the fall of Adrianople one could assume that there would soon be peace. Unfortunately that had not been the case. Turkey had accepted the peace proposals of the Powers. The reply of the Balkan States, which had not been received until Saturday, had now to be considered by the Great Powers all together, and he could not discuss the matter now because, in view of the challenging resistance of Montenegro, the great point was that the firm co-operation of the Powers should continue. All the Great Powers, with the exception of Russia, who, however, had approved of the action in itself, were taking part in the naval demonstration. He would repeat that the London decisions must be carried through with all speed and with emphasis, and then a peaceful solution would be found for the questions still unsolved.

THE SLAV SUCCESSORS.

The Imperial Chancellor then dealt at length, in language which must be given textually, with the consequences of the new situation for Germany. After remarking that everything showed how closely events in the Balkans touched, and might disturb, the relations of the Great Powers, he said:—

"For the future the decisive point is that into the place of European Turkey, whose State life has become passive, there have entered States which exhibit a quite extraordinary active vitality. It is in the interest of us all that this vitality shall stand the test in works of peace, as it has done in war, and that the Balkan States shall enter upon a long period of peace, which will bring them into association in the economic and other spheres of progress with their neighbours and with the whole fabric of European States, so that they will constitute a factor of progress and of peace. But one remains beyond doubt—if it should ever come to a European conflagration, which sets *Slaventum* against *Germanentum*, it is then for us a disadvantage that the position in the balance of forces, which was occupied hitherto by European Turkey, is now filled in part by Slav States. This alteration of the politico-military situation on the Continent has passed through its preliminary stage, and now that it is a fact we should be acting unconscientiously if we did not draw the consequences (Hear, hear) I do not say this because I regard a collision between *Slaventum* and *Germanentum* as inevitable (Socialist laughter) Many publicists take a contrary view, and the proceedings of these writers are very dangerous. Such conceptions are like catchwords, which fall on the ears and work by suggestion. They fertilize the soil upon which misdirected popular passions grow up and ripen (Hear, hear)

"With the Government of Russia, our great Slav neighbour Empire, we enjoy the most friendly relations (Cheers) Since I came into office I have regarded it as my duty to maintain frank and sincere relations with the Russian Cabinet, and from the course of events, and from my own personal relations with the statesmen who, in accordance with the will of the Emperor Nicholas, maintain Russian policy upon the lines of good neighbourly relations with Germany, I have won the conviction that my efforts are reciprocated. I know of no direct antagonisms of interests between us and Russia. Germany and Russia can work to strengthen themselves economically and to progress without interfering with one another's rights. The racial antagonisms between Slav and German will not by themselves lead to a war between us and Russia. We, at any rate, shall never stir up such a war, and I do not believe that those who at present hold power in Russia will ever do it. It is, however, as well known to the Russian statesmen as it is to us that the Pan-Slav current, about which Bismarck even in his day complained and which caused him uneasiness, have received a powerful stimulus from the victories of the Slav States in the Balkans. Bulgarian victories over the Turks have been celebrated in these quarters as victories of the Slav idea in contrast with the Germanic idea. Together with the real conflicts of interests these tendencies have contributed to the tension which has prevailed this winter between Austria-Hungary and Russia, I need not refer to the excited controversies between a part of the Russian and the Austrian Press. In these passionate disputes we hear the echo of old differences which the Balkan problem has caused to arise between Austria-Hungary and Russia. As loyal allies of Austria-Hungary we endeavour as far as possible to mitigate the tension, but that does not allow us to bury our heads in the sand. For, as I need not insist, we preserve our loyalty as allies not only within the range of diplomatic mediation. Because of the new and acute revival of racial instincts, the alteration of the politico-military situation which has arisen from the Balkan war acquires an increased significance. We are compelled to take it into account when we think about the future."

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

The Imperial Chancellor then turned to France, and said that German relations with the French Government are good. In January, 1887, Bismarck in a great speech had said that if the French desired to maintain peace until Germany attacked them, and if Germany could be sure about this, peace would be secure for ever. There had been no change. During 40 years Germany had given the world, and France, many proofs of her desire to Western neighbour. Bismarck had feared a French attack if a Government came to power which was bellicose, or driven by internal troubles into action abroad, and if France had reason to believe that she was superior either by her own strength or through her alliances Bismarck had not experienced these events. The Imperial Chancellor said he had every reason to believe that the present French Government desired to live in neighbourly peace with Germany. As compared with 25 years ago he considered that the chances of Great Powers forming a centre of warlike aspirations had decreased rather than increased. Nobody could conceive the dimensions of a world-conflagration and the misery and trouble which it would bring upon the peoples. All previous wars would probably be as child's play, and no responsible statesman would be disposed lightly to set the match to the powder.

On the other hand, the power of public opinion had increased, and within public opinion the driving force of the positivist elements which in excited times tended—the more democratic institutions became—to be not majorities but minorities. He did not believe that French people as a whole, with all its valour and courage and

pride, with all its love of country and self-sacrifice, was pressing on to war, but, as regarded large circles, not only of Chauvinists but of the quieter and thinking people, the situation had arrived which Bismarck feared. People in France believe that they were at least equal, if not superior, to Germany "in confidence in the excellence of their own Army, in confidence in the Alliance with Russia, and perhaps also in the hope of England." That was the dangerous side of the revival of French national sentiment. The French Army was good—according to military opinion very good. It was the hope of nation, and the whole people gave to it all that was possible. But a Chauvinistic literature had arisen which, when it spoke with just pride of the Army, did so in order to display German inferiority in a future war. They boasted of the superiority of French artillery, of the advantage gained by French aviation, and of the superior training of the French soldier, and they saw visions of Germany overrun by masses of Russian infantry and cavalry. The lively French spirit regarded the defeats of Turkey as defeats of the Germans, and assumed that both the Balkan States and Alsace-Lorraine would attach themselves to France. By illusion France had already won the war.

THE GROUPING OF THE POWERS.

Continuing his comparison with the situation in 1887, when Bismarck introduced the Septennate Bill, the Imperial Chancellor said that the Triple Alliance existed then, but there was no Dual Alliance and no Triple Entente. They had to consider the whole grouping of the Powers. He was convinced of the great value for peace of the Triple Alliance, which had been renewed and was as solid as ever, but even with the Triple Alliance which was most advanced towards East and West, Germany was like no other country, "wedged in between the Slav world and the French." The Minister of War would explain in Committee the military strength of their neighbours—not that the Army Bill was based upon an idea of competition in armaments or *rage de nombres*. (Loud Socialist laughter.) The laughter of the Socialists showed that he was right in explaining this. Germany would never compete with Russia, whose Emperor could always call out more men than Germany. In any war Germany would stake her confidence upon the courage and the spirit of the people, but it was necessary to give figures to show what extraordinary efforts Germany's neighbour were making.

In Russia there was a most marvellous economic development of the giant Empire with its inexhaustible natural resources, and an army reorganization such as Russia had never known, as regarded the excellence of material, the organization and the speed of conversion from peace to war strength. France had long passed Germany in the using up of its whole military resources. For a long time past she had called up every man, and now she was reverting to three years' service. The extraordinary effort of France did not constitute a challenge any more than the German Army Bill constituted a provocation of France or of anybody else in the world. France desired to be as strong as she could be, Germany would be challenging Providence if she said that, although she ought to be stronger, it would cost too much money and she would remain as she was. That was how it had been in France in 1870, and in Turkey lately. The German Army Bill was presented not because Germany wanted war but because she wanted peace, and because if war came she wanted to win. The great majority of the people recognized this meaning of the Bill (Socialist laughter) and desired the Bill to become law.

RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

The Chancellor went on to say that it had often been declared of late from the English Ministerial benches that, while the existing grouping of Powers remained perfect and unchanged, it was possible to weave threads of friendship between a Power of one group and the other group. Not only did he agree, but he would go further, and say that these threads of friendship must be woven. They would be able to do that the more easily in proportion as they were able to look to the future in confidence and calm. For political friendships—let them not be sentimental—were political bargains. And in politics, just as in commerce, bargains could be concluded most easily and most surely between strong partners. It was always the weak who was crushed. (A few expressions of assent.) As he had said, Germany was cultivating good relations with the French and Russian Governments, not, he thought, without success. The same was true concerning England. The Chancellor continued:—

"In the great speech which he delivered recently, Mr. Churchill explained the relation between the English and German Navy, and repeated an idea which he expressed last year—also in Parliament—the idea that with a view to the diminution of armaments the shipbuilding yards of the great nations might from time to time declare a year's holiday. Mr. Churchill directed this proposal spe-

cially towards Germany, and indicated the year 1914 or 1915. But he himself recognised that all the Great Powers would have to be associated in this arrangement. The naval experts on both sides of the North Sea have, it seems to me, pretty unanimously referred to the great difficulties, and Mr. Churchill himself recognized these difficulties. So far, moreover, as I am aware his idea has not been taken up with particular decision in the English Parliament or in English public opinion. (Hear, hear.) We can, therefore, wait and see whether the English Government approaches us with concrete proposals. But the fact that this idea has been expressed, and the form given to it by the First Lord, constitute a great progress.

"There was a time when every kind of comparison between English and German naval strength and ship construction led to a naval agitation which always poisoned afresh the relations of the two countries. (Hear, hear.) I hope that these times have passed. (Cheers.) To me it seems that the confidence is beginning to return which for so long has been lacking—to the injury of both countries and of the world. We all know the language in which Mr. Asquith and Sir E. Grey have discussed Anglo-German relations. The statement that these relations are at present good I can only confirm, and I rejoice that I can do so. Mr. Churchill closed his speech with words which represented the confidence of recognized strength. He celebrated English naval sea power, and said that in these months, full of anxiety, tension, and peril, there had been no Great Power which had not been thankful that the influence of Britain in the European Concert was a reality and not a shadow, and that she had been free and strong to work for the general peace. That, gentlemen, is nothing else than what we desire. We desire to be free and strong, not in order to press others down, but in order that we may develop in freedom according to the strength of our people, and that in case of need we may be able to throw our influence into the scale with the whole weight of our strength for the general peace.

UNIVERSAL SERVICE.

Amid Socialist interruptions the Chancellor then delivered a peroration on behalf of universal service, declaring that every Army Bill had been described as a preface to war, but Germany had never made war. He said:—

"History knows of no people which came to disaster because it had exhausted itself in the making of its defences, but history knows of many peoples which have perished because, living in prosperity and luxury they neglected their defences. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) A people which thinks that it is not rich enough to maintain in armaments shows merely that it has played its part. I beg you to look beyond all difficulties and to hold fast to the single idea—if anybody menaces our house and home we stand ready to the last man."

The Chancellor, who had delivered the rest of his speech quietly, almost shouted the last sentences, and sat down amid cheers from the Right and National Liberals and prolonged hisses from the Socialists.

The Prussian Minister of War, General von Heeringen, followed but only spoke for 15 minutes.

To Stop the War.

SOME wars can be ended only by overwhelming force, and others only by diplomatic finesse. It is something a little less and a little more than either which the dragging cruelty of this Balkan struggle requires. It asked for a resolute word, and that word, we hope, Sir Edward Grey has spoken. It is many a long year since any European statesman has had it in his power to make a statement so authoritative and direct as that which he made this week. His speech, in its energy and decision, had a certain element of surprise, but it came none too soon. It will go far to end the last phases of a war which ought never to have been resumed. The siege of Adrianople is happily ended, and it is now the unanimous wish of all civilized peoples that a decisive European intervention, undertaken without a day's delay, should end the siege of Sutiari. That bloody and useless detail in this war has been from first to last its most painful episode. A primitive and ill-organised little people, with nothing in its favor save its tradition of a reckless physical courage, has hurled itself in vain through all these months against a strong position, bravely defended and scientifically fortified. The Montenegrins differ from their allies by the nearly total absence of the discipline of culture and science which Bulgarians, Greeks, and Servians have in one degree or another imposed upon themselves. These highlanders have the qualities of border cataners, with the defects of a very recent and wholly superficial contact with civilization. Their officers have shown themselves incompetent children in modern warfare. By their total failure to provide for their own

sick and wounded they have doubled and trebled their inevitable losses in this war. Most of all, the struggle has, we are afraid, developed in them a lust of blood and a fury for domination, unqualified by any respect for a gallant enemy. We write with some first-hand evidence before us of the cruelties which they have practised already in the regions which they have overrun. An experienced and friendly witness on the spot talks of the deliberate massacre of vanishing clans. As the siege lengthened out, and the brave savages in front of the well-drawn trenches saw their dead counted by great numbers in a day, a determination seems to have grown among them that Scutari, if at last it should surrender, should be totally destroyed, and its male population butchered in the ruins. It was, no doubt, the knowledge of this intention which moved Austria to make her easy of intervention, and something of the same fear may be read between the lines of Sir Edward Grey's speech.

The operations before Scutari inevitably changed their character after first meetings of the Ambassadors' Conference. Montenegro went to war with a strong place which flew the Sultan's flag. It was, when the war opened, a Turkish fortress, and nothing more. From the moment that the Concert determined to create an autonomous Albania, the siege was no longer an effort to reduce an Ottoman stronghold, but an attempt to take and conquer an Albanian town. The question of right admitted of no debate. There is not in Scutari or round it the vexed question of race and creed which haunts the future, as it has wrecked the past, of most Macedonian towns. The Montenegrins are Orthodox Slavs. They are attempting to take a city, itself purely Albanian by race and speech, the centre of a district no less homogeneous, and divided in religion between Catholicism and Islam. The Montenegrins, if they were to acquire it, would come as aliens, with a double feud, both racial and religious, behind them, and the conqueror would benefit them only if they had intended, as doubtless they did intend, to annex it on the primitive, old-world plan which used to allot lands and houses with the sovereignty to the conquerors. To have allowed such a barbarity would have been a grave infraction alike of common humanity and of the principle of nationality adopted by the Concert. From the moment that the Conference decided, as it did last week, that Scutari, whatever the event of siege, must belong to Albania, it became a stupid and wanton cruelty to tolerate the continuance of the siege for another day. So far from resenting the energetic intervention of Austria, we can only regret that it was not taken sooner, and by all the Powers in unison.

The fall of Adrianople makes the Albanian question more than ever the absorbing issue of the war. It is a matter for congratulation that the Ambassadors' Conference has decided to allot Scutari to Albania. But we cannot feel the same satisfaction at its resolution to assign all the other North-Albanian towns of Ipoh, Djakova, and Prizrend to Montenegro or Serbia. Their case is indeed by no means so clear as that of Scutari. They were predominantly Serbian towns as late as the seventeenth century, when the great migration of the Serbs to Southern Hungary took place. They are the seats and shrines of historical memories, as dear to the Serbian race as the Sepulchre was to the Crusaders. They still contain a considerable Serbian population, which, in Prizrend, amounts to a full third. But the loss of all three to Albania will leave it in the north-east with no centres of trade, education, or population capable of development, and with the problem on its hands of somehow civilising wild clans of mountaineers, impatient of any rule, destitute of any culture, and too poor, if they were not also too turbulent, to tax. It is a still more anxious question what the fate of this Albanian majority, Catholic and Moslem, will be, under its Orthodox Serbian rulers. The Austrian reports that the process of converting Catholics to the Orthodox fold has begun already by the crudest use of force are only too probable. Exposure and interference may check this elementary barbarity, but there remain the subtler methods of economic and scholastic pressure by which this Albanian population will in time be forced to choose between emigration and assimilation with the conquering race. The decision has been taken, and any question of its wisdom can be only academic. But it will be a grave blot on European statecraft if the frontiers of the new Albania are drawn on the same ungenerous lines in the South. It is no boon to the Albanians themselves to give them a territory so sparse in towns, so lopped of fertile plains, so poor in the relatively cultured population that within its borders, that its existence will be a hopeless struggle with economic anemia. It would be a curse to the other Balkan peoples to plant among them so ambitious little State, which will arm with the one resolve to free its brethren across its frontiers, and to recover an *Albana irredenta*. The prosperity of the new State no less than the peace of its neighbours, calls for ample frontiers. Epirus with Jannina city, will go, of course, to the Greeks. They have won it by arms, and though by race it is mainly Albanian, its Christian population is Orthodox, and has been slowly Hellenised by the Greek churches and schools, while even the Moslems are mostly bi-lingual. But beyond Jannina, the

indisputably Albanian country begins. It is fair that such a thriving, progressive town as Coritza should go to Albania, and about such places as Tepelen and Berat there can hardly be a dispute. The Greeks, so far as our knowledge goes, are free from the ghastly record of outrage and massacre which has stained the triumphs of their allies. They know, moreover, how to assimilate an alien race by the prestige of their historic culture. But, even with these allowances, we cannot admit the propriety of giving to them districts which are necessary to an independent Albania, while they are also indisputably Albanian by race and language.—*The Nation*.

Europe and Montenegro.

MONTENEGRO is not showing any readiness to comply with the demands of united Europe. Last week the Powers "invited" her to raise the siege of Scutari and to discontinue hostilities in territories which they have proclaimed it to be their intention to assign to Albania. She has not even replied to Europe in an official form. Unofficially she and Serbia, to whom a like "invitation" was transmitted, have signified that they must consult their allies. That is an old and well-worn diplomatic method of evasion. It is meant at any rate to gain time, and we know pretty well how Montenegro means to employ the time so gained. In the teeth of the summons delivered to her by Europe, this petty State, whose population of some 250,000 is about that of a large English provincial town, was continuing the bombardment of Scutari on Sunday, when two of King Nikola's sons had left for the front, and the doctors in Cetigne has been warned to get the hospitals ready for a large number of wounded. Yesterday the fighting was still being continued with vigour. The Turks, we are told, made a sortie from their positions at Tarabosh, and a desperate fight followed—with what results we are not informed. The inference which our Cetigne Correspondent draws from facts such as these, and from the temper of the people, is obvious. They all point to the conclusion that the King and his counsellors mean to defy the Powers and to force their way into Scutari in spite of the prohibition addressed to them. It is no doubt conceivable that the King and his advisers may be playing a more game of "bluff" for dynastic and domestic reasons, and that at the last moment they may give way. But they have not given way yet, nor can we discern any indication that they will give way. The population, our Correspondent reports, assume that, as a matter of course, their Government will not pay any attention to the Powers, and accordingly they are not showing any signs of excitement. The attitude of Serbia is less clear. We are assured, on the one hand, that she is understood to be persuading Montenegro not to alienate the sympathies of the Powers. On the other hand, we are told that she has reminded the Powers that she is the ally of Montenegro and is bound to give that State assistance until peace is signed. Our Cetigne Correspondent suggests that she too may be ready to join in the assault on Scutari before the Powers have time to act. As, according to our Vienna message, the assault appears to be impending, if it has not actually begun, a few hours must show whether the suggestion is well founded or not. Serbia's responsibility in the matter is hardly less than that of Montenegro, for without the help of her troops and of her heavy guns a Montenegrin attack would seem almost hopeless. She cannot excuse any action which she may choose to take in disregard of the injunctions of Europe by averring that her ally has also flouted them, and that she was obliged to follow suit.

The Powers, we are glad to think, have at last determined to take a first step for making their admonitions effective. All of them, without exception, have resolved that a naval demonstration shall be made against Montenegro. Montenegro is not indeed an ideal sphere for operations of the kind, and our Cetigne telegram proves that the Montenegrins are quite well aware of the fact, and taking account of it in their calculations. Scutari itself is some fourteen miles inland, Antivari consists mainly of the Crown Prince's villa and of an Italian hotel, while Dulcigno—where some of us can remember a former demonstration—is for the most part Albanian, and San-Giovanni di Medua, like Durazzo, is merely in the temporary occupation of the Allies. Nevertheless the fact that the Powers are absolutely unanimous in their decision cannot but have a sobering effect upon the Servians and upon any of the Montenegrin statesmen who are well-informed enough to understand its significance. They have been counting on divisions between the Powers whenever the moment for coercive measures came. That, as we pointed out the other day, is the transparent explanation of their stubbornness. All the Powers, it is true, may not take actual part in the demonstration, but those of them who do will have the full and express sanction of the rest. Russia, it is understood, will not send a ship, but it is explicitly stated that she has given her approval to this collective action. She has done so because she believes, as we believe, that it will be in the best interests of the Balkan States. England, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary are, it is believed in Rome, the Powers upon whom the duty will fall of enforcing respect for the injunctions of

Europe. They will, however, act on behalf of all the Powers, all of whom have authorised them by express mandate to do so.

We trust that this unanimous decision of the Powers may convince Montenegrins and Servians that the only prudent course for them to take is to comply fully and at once with the demands made upon them. The Powers cannot give them any further proof that united Europe is earnest and means to be obeyed, except resort to actual force. Can either Montenegro or Serbia shut her eyes to the dangers which the use of force must bring to them? Can they suppose that, if a naval demonstration is ineffectual in view of geographical difficulties, it cannot, and will not, be followed up by measures of another kind? Our Cettigne Correspondent explains the grounds on which the Montenegrin politicians think that they may be able to go their own way with impunity. These are exactly the sort of reasons which we have foreseen that they would entertain. They argue that Europe has only to be confronted with accomplished facts to induce her to waive all her declarations, decisions, and demands. They profess to be wholly sceptical as to the real agreement of the Powers, and to hold that it will end the moment the time comes for the employment of force. The mere existence of such ideas, we need hardly say, is a danger to the peace of the world. In innumerable contingencies that peace must depend upon the authority of united Europe with the lesser States. It will almost certainly so depend in the settlement between Turkey and the Allies, to say nothing of the settlements between the Allies themselves. Nothing could be more unwise at any time, and more particularly in a time of crisis like this, than for the Powers to allow this authority to be weakened or impaired. If Montenegro, with or without Servian help, succeeds in defying it unpunished, it will be at an end in all the larger questions now ripening for decision. Unless Europe has the moral courage to impose her deliberate judgment upon Montenegro, it will be plain to all men that she will not impose it upon any State. She will have taught the smaller peoples that all her solemn and elaborate diplomatic business is a sham, that her decrees are hollow, and her menaces are empty. We trust that her statesmen have realized the vital need of averting from Europe so disastrous a result. Montenegro has put them to the test. How will they stand it?—The Times

The Balkan War.

EFFECT ON TRADE.

A VALUABLE survey of the probable effect of the Balkan war on British trade is contained in the report for 1912 of Mr. Waugh, the British Consul for the Constantinople district. In the circumstances, says the Consul, it is surprising to see that the importation into Turkey from the United Kingdom in 1912 fell little short of the record totals of 1910-11. No doubt the disappearance from the Turkish market during the war with Italy of the important Italian competition accounts for some of our large total in cotton yarns and piece-goods. It is to be expected that Italian manufacturers will make every effort to recover their lost ground.

What will appeal most to the commercial element in Britain is the effect on the United Kingdom's trade to the Levant likely to be produced by the annexation of European Turkey by the various Balkan States. In regard to certain articles of British manufacture imported into Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia (woollen, linen, and cotton fabrics), Mr. Waugh points out that Turkey levies considerably lower import duties than Greece, Bulgaria, or Servia, and in the case of Greece and Bulgaria, an extra is levied in addition. It appears also to be the experience of merchants that in these Balkan States foreign goods are subject to interpretations of tariffs and regulations on the part of the Customs House officials from which it is very difficult to appeal effectively. "Nevertheless," says the Consul, "the opinion was expressed to me in the spring of 1912 by two Lancashire manufacturers who had made a journey through Bulgaria that a great opening existed in that country for the introduction of British goods. If the new condition of things leads to peace and tranquillity it is quite likely that an increased development of the resources of the conquered districts may follow. This would probably benefit British trade, in spite of the higher tariffs. It must not be forgotten that Turkey hopes to obtain the consent of the Powers to an increase of her import duties to 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, or to a specific tariff on that basis, and it may fairly be expected that the Turkish market as a whole will increase in importance as soon as the immediate effects of the war wear off. Already in Syria the native merchants are looking forward to a large development of local trade as a result of the war."

WIDESPREAD DEVASTATION.

"It must be feared," the Consul continues, "that the devastation wrought in the European territories by the war will take long to repair. Whole villages have been destroyed; and the agricultural population has fled in terror from the invaders and is now a mass of refugees scattered in Stambul and over Asia Minor. There is no news from the different European districts, but it is probable that very little of the autumn sowings were put under ground before the war broke out and nothing can have been sown since. But if the country is blessed with a good harvest, the Asia Minor districts will probably be found to have suffered less from the war than might be expected. There is a surprising power of recuperation in the Anatolian peasantry and it would be a great mistake to conclude that the loss of territory in Europe means that Turkey has lost its importance as a market."

As to Constantinople, Mr. Waugh states that it depends upon that city itself to maintain its importance as a distributing centre, and this importance has a special interest for British trade. A large and powerful colony of Armenian and Greek houses has long been established in Lancashire, where they serve as selling agents to our merchants and manufacturers. Constantinople is the place where they show off their stocks to the buyers from the interior. Lancashire will lose much of the benefit of this old-established connection if buyers learn to deal direct with other countries in Europe, or if they are encouraged to pay their annual visits to the attractive markets towns in Austria-Hungary rather than to Constantinople.

With the Bulgarian Staff.

WITH THE BULGARIAN STAFF. BY NOEL BUXTON, M. P.
(Smith, Elder, 3s 6d, net.)

SOMEWHERE in his book the author mentions that every Bulgar is familiar with the name of Gladstone. That every Bulgar is at least equally familiar with the name of Noel Buxton the author modestly omits to mention, but that is a fact which all who have travelled in the byways of the Balkans will readily admit. "It was our duty to give you, so far as the interests of the war permitted, the possibility of witnessing the realization of an idea to which you were attached," wrote General Savoff to the author. And he carried out that duty by making Mr. Buxton and his brother honorary members of the Headquarters Staff and permitting them to accompany him when, six days after the great battle of Lule Burgas-Bunar Hissar, he moved his headquarters from Kizil Agatch across the frontier to Kirk Kilisse, and next made a hurried visit to Tchataldja before the first attempt to storm the lines. This, unfortunately for Mr. Buxton and his brother, was just the moment when the cholera outbreak was at its height; and anxiety on behalf of his guests induced the General to drop them behind at Tchorn whilst he himself went on to interview his army commanders and to inspect the preparations being made for the attack. So that Mr. Buxton never reached the lines and never saw the fighting troops in actual action. Whilst waiting for the General to return he took the opportunity first to visit the cavalry, then the infantry, and next the trenches along the battlefield of Lule Burgas.

From many points of view the battle of November 17-18 at Tchataldja was more decisive, more directly affected the course of the struggle in the Balkans as a whole, than any other single action. And to have been in close touch with the brains of an army immediately before, during, and immediately after a crisis of that magnitude was an experience not vouchsafed to many in this or any other war. Mr. Buxton notes briefly and vividly exactly what he saw and heard and thought. Being behind and not with the fighting line he witnessed, perhaps, more than his fair share of the horrors of war and makes no effort to conceal them. He was present, for instance, when the first wave of the wounded recoiling from Tchataldja reached Kirk Kilisse. And the staff of doctors and dressers being quite inadequate to meet the strain, Mr. Buxton and his brother at once rolled up their shirt-sleeves and volunteered to help. Many readers will be shocked at his blunt description of things which they would prefer not to know. But "what," says Mr. Buxton, "is the distinction between horrors to tell and horrors to conceal? It is surely in the difference between evils removable and irremovable." And the object of the author in laying bare these horrors is to strengthen the barrier of public opinion against permitting their recurrence; that is to say, if wars must be fought at all, at least let the medical services be properly organized in the rear. This idea leads Mr. Buxton further. Why should not wars be prevented altogether? Never was there a less easily prevented war than this between the Bulgars and the Turks, and yet even this, maintains the author, might have been prevented—by the concert of the Powers. We wonder.

"But then the doubt arises," writes the author, "if war were to cease altogether would there not result some loss of national character?" Are, for instance, the Bulgarians a better or a worse race as the result of their war? He devotes a whole chapter to that point. The Bulgarians won the war, he writes, because in tenacity of purpose, enthusiasm, coolness, education, intelligence, zeal, patriotism, and idealism they were superior to the Turks. And yet these excellent qualities were developed not by or during the war, but before it. "The Bulgarian, according to the militarists' theory, ought to be feeble for want of fighting. He had fought no war worth mentioning, he had not even won his own freedom, like the Greek and Serb and Montenegrin, he was a parasitic protégé of his Russian patrons." That, we think, is unfair both to the Bulgarian and to the so-called militarists' theory. "The Bulgarian surely fought gallantly and hard in 1877 and again in 1885? And in many senses the Macedonian Bulgarian has been at war for at least a generation. Whilst the militarist theorist may well reply to Mr. Jinxton with the question, "Can the qualities you enumerate be developed in peace without the threat of war, and will they prevail amongst nations who determine beforehand that come what may they will not fight?" Incidentally the author throws cold water on the notion that superior military training of the Bulgarian rank and file contributed much to their victories; and maintains that the standard of training was, if anything, below the average of other armies. That is a dangerous theory which, we think, he would find it difficult to prove. For, unless military reports, attachés, and observers were all hopelessly mistaken, no nation has more consistently and thoroughly trained itself for war. And in any case, to be logical, the comparison must be made not with "other armies" which the Bulgarians have never met but with the army which it fought and conquered. And no one will deny that the Turks were most inadequately trained. The book affords plenty of food for thought. And it is in any case a pleasure to read, in English, a book about the Balkan War which deals, first, with the war and not even secondly with the personal adventures of its author; and a book which never mentions the Censors, or the telegraph officials, or the London dailies, and only once a motor-car.—*The Times, Literary Supplement.*

Distress at Adrianople.

THE Secretary to the British Red Crescent Society sends to us for publication a copy of a letter received by the President from Mr. Douglas Turner, who had kindly undertaken the Society's relief work in Adrianople which describes the frightful suffering and mortality among the Turkish prisoners, numbering over 20,000 (the official estimate is 30,000).

Immediately on the fall of Adrianople the Society sent three Doctors, two Sisters and three orderlies for attending to the Turkish sick and wounded, and wired £500 to Mr. Turner to proceed at once with food supplies to relieve the famished and starving Turkish soldiers. His letter states that up to the time he was writing, this was the only help that had reached the unfortunate sufferers.

As Mr. Turner has been obliged to leave for Cairo owing to a family bereavement, and General Broadwood is now in charge of the administration of the British Red Crescent relief, the Society has remitted to him by wire another £500. The Committee have altogether allocated £3,000 for saving the lives of the Turkish prisoners from death from starvation at Adrianople.

In view of the terrible condition of these unfortunate prisoners and the urgent need for help and the depletion of the Society's funds the Committee earnestly appeal for contributions from all humane people in England and in India.

Contributions may be sent to the Society's Bankers: Messrs. Coutts & Co., 400, Strand, W.C., or to the Honorary Treasurer, A. S. M. Anik, Esq., 2, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C. 41, Sloane Street, S. 14th April, 1913.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Douglas Turner addressed to the President of the British Red Crescent Society.

Adrianople, April 4th, 1913.

You will be glad to know that owing to your promptness in sending money we were able to take provisions into the city days before any else, and up to the present yours is the only relief that has arrived.

The city was in great disorder and some of the Turkish hospitals in the direst straits—patients had had no food for four days.

I distributed at once flour, potatoes, beans, rice, oil, oranges, &c., to those hospitals and shall continue to do so if they need.

The Turkish prisoners were also in a terrible plight—some 8,000 were confined on an island in the river on one side of the town and 15 or 20,000 on the banks of the river on the other with no shelter, except a few tents for sick—entirely inadequate—no warmth and provisions which at first were one loaf per day to eight men now one loaf per man.

Every day at least 200 die. They are being marched off as fast as possible, but there are still at least 20,000.

We have established a soup-kitchen on the island and to-morrow establish another on the bank of the river.

As our stores are at present the only ones available the American missionaries are assisting us.

Haigh and his staff are here also helping. Haigh will take charge of the British section of the Red Crescent Hospital of which I am now Secretary and will also try to attend the sick prisoners who are not allowed to be taken to the hospitals for fear of cholera.

General Broadwood has just arrived, but I have not seen him.

Excuse this hurried note, more news later.

We are all working together here and all agree the most pressing need is Turkish prisoners. The town's people are being fed for the present by Bulgarians, but this can only be temporary.

(Sd.) G. D. TURNER.

Extract from Dr. W. E. Haigh's Report from Adrianople.

Calthrop and Baylis are here, the Sisters I stopped *pro temp*, and have communicated with the Bulgarian Red Cross and started them working at Kniajevo, there being no work here suitable for women at present.

Turner has gone and Major General Broadwood is, in charge of relief work and most valuable in getting at the authorities.

It would take too long to explain all that is happening—the work is mainly relief in the camp of prisoners who at first were in a dreadful state and the death-rate has been very heavy.

The Medical authorities with whom we are co-operating are more alive to the problem, but dreadfully afraid of cholera so called.

My colleagues are in charge of work amongst two groups of prisoners at different points, and we are trying to get all sick men housed—but the big hospitals are full and buildings have to be utilized. I gave over the orderlies immediately we arrived for the feeding, &c., and with certain other funds we are all practically recognised as doing what we can for the sick and starving prisoners, the most important problem certainly of all.

One building has been taken over and Calthrop has filled it and now Baylis will take it over—about 200 cases of dysentery, diarrhoea, weakly sick men who need feeding, the whole being in quarantine. On the other side of the suburbs a large camp in an exposed place with no natural shelter has many sick and we are steadily reducing the numbers by removing them to Hospitals of a temporary character, but have to avoid the mistake of 'dumping' in places where there is no food-supply.

I have taken over the part of the Hospital which Major Henson worked as the Anglo-Ottoman Red Crescent Hospital—40 odd beds—but only a few frost-bites need operation.

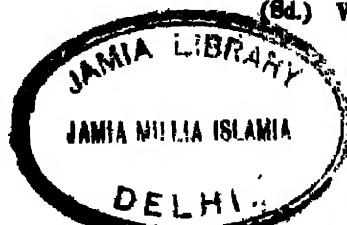
After these days the work is now settling down a bit and our presence has been a tremendous stimulus to the proper authorities.

Half of the men live at the above-mentioned Hospital and walk to the camps, the others here in Adrianople in a house the Anglo-Ottoman Red Crescent is renting for me, and I sleep out—Miss Peddar cooked for us—at present I cannot manage it but shall proceed to Sofia to-morrow or Sunday for four or five days as I hear the Surgeon appointed at Kniajevo is not there and there are further admissions.

(Sd.) W. E. HAIGH.

Adrianople:

11th April, 1913.



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The Week.

Peria.

THE Persian Legation announces that Colonel Hjalmarsen has arrived at Bushire, and sent off to Borsajan arms which arrived at Bushire for the Government. A further force of gendarmes, consisting of 378 infantry and 168 cavalry, with 25 mitrailleurs, left Teheran on April 26th for Fars. The situation in the South is generally much improved. The Governor of the Gulf ports has drawn up a scheme ensuring complete security in the Gulf.

The Turkish Battleships.

THE Porte denies that the two Turkish battleships now building at Elswick and Barrow, the purchase of which Britain was reported to have been negotiating, will be sold. The construction is proceeding on behalf of the Turkish Navy.

Admission to Pledership.

At a meeting of the Law Faculty, held in the chamber of Sir Arthur Reid, Chief Judge, to consider the question of restriction of admissions to the legal profession, it was decided that the standard for pass be left as at present, namely, forty per cent in each subject and fifty in the aggregate, but that certificates to practise as pleaders be given only to those who get fifty per cent. in each paper.

China.

A letter from Sun-Yat-Sen is published in the London papers. He appeals to Foreign Governments peoples to prevent the loan to the Peking Government. He declares that the effect of a liberal supply of money will be to precipitate a terrible civil war.

In a manifesto, Yuan-Shih-Kai, referring to the threatening reports of Sun-Yat-Sen's agitation in Shanghai, emphatically warns

the people, while he is President, not to allow plotters to stir up trouble. He says he has hitherto refrained from employing military force lest the people should be alarmed, and because he hoped the conspirators would cease their evil ways. He refers to the coming Presidential election, after which he says, he hopes to be relieved of the cares of office.

The Premier's Secretary Hung has taken refuge at Singtan. He has telegraphed confessing that he fraudulently used the name of the Cabinet. He says he only intended to expose the misdeeds of ex-Minister Sung. He never contemplated murder.

The vote in the Lower House of Parliament in Peking against the Five Power Loan was 322 out of a total of 374 deputies present.

In consequence of telegraphic requests from the Vice-President, Li-Yuan-Heng, and the majority of the Provincial Governors, the Foreign Minister will address a despatch to the British Minister requesting the revision of the Opium Agreement by the mutual consent of Great Britain and China, the latter desiring liberty totally to prohibit the importation of Indian and the sale of native opium.

The American Charge d'Affaires yesterday entertained four hundred Chinese and Americans in connection with the recognition of the Chinese Republic by the United States. The leaders of rival factions were present and fraternized in the most friendly manner.

Oriental School of Languages.

Presiding at the anniversary meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on 6th, Lord Reay expressed gratification that the Haldane Commission had recommended that the projected Oriental Schools should be a department of the reformed London University, which meant that the Professors of King's and University Colleges would be taken into the school. He urged that Lord Cromer and the Committee would now expedite the scheme so that the school might be started so soon as possible after the alteration in the building had been completed.

Indian Students.

In the House of Commons on 6th May, 1908, Sir J. D. Rees asked whether it was the result of the revolt of the Indian students in Edinburgh against the surveillance assumed by the Secretary of State for India that it was decided that only students placed under the guardianship of the India Office would come under the direction of the Adviser, how many such students there were, what was the cost per head, whether this voluntary principle would be generally applied and what was the outcome of the Glasgow students' decision to have nothing to do with the Adviser.

Mr. Montagu replied that no supervision or surveillance had been assumed over Indian students generally either in Edinburgh or elsewhere. Eight out of 229 students in Edinburgh had been placed under the guardianship of the Secretary of State's representative. Towards these latter, he would have special obligations, but his advice was at the disposal of any student. The fee payable to him was £100 per annum. Mr. Montagu was happy to say that the position of the Adviser in Glasgow was now better understood. His advice and aid were sought by an increasing number of students. Students of engineering particularly found him most helpful in securing facilities for practical work during the vacations. There was no question of surveillance.

The All-India Medical Mission.

Dr. AFSARI sends us the following letter this week :—

Dardanelles, 20th April 1913.

I went to see the Minister of Finance on the 15th of this month immediately on the receipt of your cable. As Rifaa Bey was indisposed I could only speak to him for some 15 minutes, but I had a long interview with his Chief Secretary and the Financial Adviser to the Ministry. After three hours' conversation I got the following information from them :—

1. The Bonds could not be sent out to India in less than two months. They were at present being printed in Vienna (Liepzig) and as their printing involved a great deal of care, that would be the least time in which they could be got ready.

2. Each Bond was divided into five separate portions by perforation—one for each year; and these yearly slips had two portions each, one for the principal and the other for the interest. Every year one of these slips would be presented, and one-fifth of the principal would be paid up by the Turkish Government. Persons desirous of taking interest would present the slip containing both the portions for the principal and the interest, but those who wanted only the principal but no interest, could tear off the portion denoting the interest and present only the portion denoting the principal. The Turkish Government will thus pay up on every 30th of November one-fifth of the principal, and interest to those who desire it. The sketch given below would clearly explain the shape of the Bonds. The entire principal will be paid up in five years.

10/ Sterling.				
Interest.	3	3	4	5
Principal.	3	3	4	5
2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-

3. Printed circulars in English and Persian containing the *Iradd* for issuing the loan and all the rules regarding the payment of the principal and the interest have been sent out to the Consul-General in Bombay some three weeks ago. Several thousand copies of these have been sent with the intention of circulating them freely in India. Please ask Jafar Bey to circulate them freely. I am sending you a dozen copies in English and Persian. In case the Consul-General does not circulate these, you could have similar ones printed for circulation.

4. The Turkish Finance Ministry has printed several hundred thousands provisional receipts to be given to the buyers in India till the Bonds are sent out. These receipts are ready and are being sent out by this mail to the different Banks in India that are willing through your efforts to act as Agents for the Turkish Government. I bought one of these receipts for 10 shillings and I am sending it to you as a sample.

5. I explained to these gentlemen in the Finance Ministry the urgent necessity of sending out cables to the Banks in India advising them to forward the money received at once by cable at the expense of the Turkish Government. I was promised that this would be done the following day.

After spending a fortnight at Omerli and a week in Constantinople I returned the day before yesterday to Dardanelles. I have already reported to you about the Omerli section. Here in Ohanak Kila they are working exceedingly well under the energetic and able guidance of Dr. Abdul Rahman. The total number of patients up-to-date has reached 292, the number of patients at this moment in the hospital being 108. The number of out-patients since my last letter has reached 102. I enclose the latest report written in our Visitors' Book by Amin Pasha, the head of the Army Medical Service. Now that the armistice has been arranged and peace would most likely be signed by the end of this month, I must naturally think of the time when we will have to close our hospitals. I think by the middle of May at the very latest both of our hospitals would be closed. At first I was thinking of handing over all our tents and equipments to the Ottoman Red Crescent, but I have changed my mind now. I mean to bring back to India everything that would be necessary to look after fifty patients. This would form the nucleus of the permanent Red Crescent Society at Delhi. Considering the innumerable claims on the generosity of the poor Mussulmans of

India this is hardly a fit time to expect a great deal of support from them for establishing a permanent Red Crescent Society. But if we possess the necessary equipment a great deal of useful and humane work could be done in India with the help of only a small sum. For instance, a very small unit of two doctors, one compounder and three or four dressers, with equipment for twenty-five beds, could be sent out to combat dreadful epidemics like cholera, plague, etc., which break out in India and carry off so many thousands of people every year. This Red Crescent Mission could also undertake with greater success than Government officials inoculation against plague, typhoid, etc. It could do a great deal of ambulance work and treatment of accidents, etc., by sending out units during big fairs like the Nauchandi in Meerut, the Numaish at Aligarh, the Magh Mela in Allahabad, or the Sonapur fair in Behar. But the most useful service of the permanent Red Crescent would be when it would go out with the Hajis to Mecca. The rest of the things I intend keeping stored until after my tour in Anatolia where, as I have already told you, I wish to start immediately the work of colonization for the Muhajirs. I do not yet know what amount of money there would still be at your disposal to spend on this great work of mercy. If you could manage to collect twenty to thirty thousand pounds, a model village of 100 to 150 houses containing as many families should be built with this capital. It would relieve 1,000 to 1,500 emigrants only, which, as you very well know, would be a very small number considering the vast number of these homeless, wretched victims of the War. My rough estimate is one hundred pounds for each family consisting of about five individuals. The cost would include a cottage with the necessary furniture, the implements of agriculture and cattle and seed for one year. To begin with the immigrants would be kept in the tents now used for patients and fed and clothed. They would provide all the labour necessary for building the houses with the exception of skilled labour such as masons, cabinet makers, joiners, etc. I think I would be able to induce some half a dozen members of my Mission to stay in Anatolia and conduct the construction of the houses and the supervision of the general work, etc., on a very moderate monthly pay. But this would be a most important essential as my experience has convinced me that the presence of our Indian compatriots here for supervising the work capably and honestly is indispensable. I know you have got far too many things on your hands, but please remember and give me definite instructions by cable as to the amount of money that could be spent on this scheme and any other matter you may consider it necessary to advise me upon. It is necessary that I should know this, so that I may try and induce my men before our work is closed and they disperse. Think carefully about this scheme of colonization. It would sow the seed of greater things in future should Indian Mussulmans be disposed to invest their money which they are lending to the Turkish Government in developing some kind of industry in the very village which their own efforts would be able to bring into existence. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan has suggested an International Moslem Co-Operative League to be started on a capital of one million pounds. There would be one million shares of £1 each sold to the Moslems of Turkey, India, Egypt, Morocco, Persia, etc. The object of this Society would be to foster Moslem industries and to encourage industrial development in Turkey. The Mudafi'a-i-Milli where he discussed his scheme has appointed a committee for this Society, and I have been asked to be present in its meeting on Tuesday. I shall be going to Constantinople to-morrow for this purpose. I will probably start for my tour in Anatolia in the second week of May, after waiting for your instructions.

Translation of the Remarks of Amin Pasha, Head of the Army Medical Service, in the Visitors' Book of the Mission.

"On visiting the Hospital of the All-India Medical Mission at Ohanak Kila, I found cleanliness, asepsis, perfect order and organization. Especially the great care and attention devoted to the diagnosis of disease and its treatment is worthy of note. The zeal and hard work of the members and their humanity and the general comfort of the patients, their dieting and clothing deserves admiration and all kind of thanks. I thank the Chief Medical Officer, the Surgeon and other doctors, the dressers, dispenser, and other members of this Mission. Seeing our brothers in Islam coming from far away countries to give us help and render the most humane service I give them their due praise and similarly thank all the Mussulmans of India. I declare we could never forget their kind help, but will appreciate and remember it for ever.

“(Sd.) FARUQ GENERAL AMIN,
“Chief of the Sanitary Department of the War Office.”

Ottoman Treasury Bonds.

Copies of the Law and Decree

For the Issue by the Imperial Ottoman Government of Treasury

Bonds to the Value of 550,000,000 Piastres

Copy of the Provisional Law

Art. 1.—The Imperial Ottoman Government will issue Treasury Bonds to the amount of 550,000,000 piastres under the conditions prescribed in the annexed decree

Art. 2.—This provisional law will come into force from the date of the Imperial Iradé. The Minister of Finance is charged with the execution of this law.

Dated the 28 Sefer 1331 and the 19th January 1928.

(Signed) MEHMED RESCHAD,

The Grand Vizir

The Minister of Finance

MAHMOUD CHEWKET

RIFAAT.

Copy of the Decree.

Art. 1.—By virtue of the Imperial Iradé of the 18th of January of the financial year 1328 (1912-13) the Imperial Ottoman Government has decided to issue Treasury Bonds to the value of 550,000,000 piastres, secured by the real property tax.

Art. 2.—The issue will consist of 4,611,000 Treasury Bonds comprising Bonds of the value of 110 piastres-gold each (£ 1 sterling or 25 francs) and multiples thereof; as well as Bonds of the value of 55 piastres each.

Art. 3.—The period for the redemption of the Bonds, which will carry interest at 5 per cent per annum, is five years. Each Bond will have 5 coupons attached, divided into two parts: one part being for the redemption of the principal, and the other for the interest. The coupons will be paid yearly on the 30th of November and the first payment will be made on the 30th of November 1929.

Art. 4.—The coupons of which payment is due will be payable at all Imperial Revenue Offices in the Ottoman Empire, and payment will be made abroad by the Banks authorised by the Ottoman Government, the names of which will be published in the newspapers. The coupons will also be accepted at their nominal value by the Revenue Offices in payment of the real property tax ("Emlak Vergisi").

Art. 5.—No reduction will be made in the payment of the coupon on account of the principal. The coupon for interest will not be accepted as valid unless it is presented without having been detached from the coupon relating to the principal. If the coupon for the principal is presented detached from the coupon for interest, the principal only will be paid. The fifth and last coupon will not be paid unless it is presented with the Bond to which it is related and without having been previously detached therefrom.

Art. 6.—The coupons and Bonds which have been paid or redeemed each year, as well as those accepted on account of the real property tax, will be perforated and cancelled by the Ministry of Finance.

Art. 7.—The interest payable on these Bonds will run from the 1st of December 1928. Full interest will be paid on the Bonds sold within the first six months after the aforesaid date, (i. e. sold up to the end of May) but in the case of Bonds sold after this period the purchaser must pay, in addition to the value of the Bonds purchased, a sum corresponding to the interest accrued for the first six months.

Art. 8.—The Ottoman Government reserves the right to withdraw and redeem the Bonds issued under the present Decree at any period before the expiration of the 5 years, on payment in cash of par of the principal and of the interest accrued to the date of redemption.

Art. 9.—The Bonds and coupons will be free of all taxes and stamp duties in the Ottoman Empire.

Art. 10.—Bonds and coupons which are not presented for payment within a period of 5 years from the date on which their payment was due, will be liable to repudiation.

TETE À TETE



WE ARE indebted to Dr. Ansari for printed copies of the Law and the Decree promulgated by the Ottoman Government in connection with the Ottoman Treasury Bonds now about to be issued. We do not know if H. E. Jafar Bey, the Consul-General, has yet circulated any of these printed copies; and, if not, their publication in the *Comrade* is all the more necessary. We draw the attention of our readers particularly to Art 7 of the Decree and trust that, in order to avoid paying "a sum corresponding to the interest accrued for the first six months" in addition to the face-value of the Bonds—which is unavoidable under the circumstances,—intending purchasers will deposit money in the Banks selling these Bonds before the end of May.

IN ANOTHER letter, dated 18th April, Dr. Ansari informs us that Shaikh Shaweesh, who has so often very kindly assisted us in the way of authentic news, is to be the Principal of the Medina University for which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan granted a Charter the other day. Shaikh Shaweesh was for some time a Reader in Arabic at the University of Oxford, and we are confident he would combine the best in the East and the West in the University to be located in a spot where sleeps the greatest of mankind who in his broad-mindedness said "Leave what is unclean, take what is clean." We look forward to hear in greater detail from our valued correspondent about the general scheme of the University at Medina.

IN VIEW of the fact that some kind friends of Turkey are doing their level best to discredit Turkey's future solvency, we reproduce the following from the Financial Supplement to the *London Times*. It says "The Turkish Treasury bills, amounting to £2,767,000, which matured yesterday, were not paid. The holders were fully prepared for this, and have not 'noted' the bills, as they have adequate assurance that they will eventually be paid. In the meantime the bills carry interest at 9 per cent." We hope this will suffice to dissipate all fears that money invested in Turkish Treasury Bonds will never be returned to the investors.

MR. W. GUINNESS, Unionist Member for Bury St. Edmunds, asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Powers considered it essential that there should be some guarantees for the protection of Albanian Mussulman and Catholic minorities in the territory

ceded to Servia and Montenegro and whether the same guarantees would be insisted on in the case of territory ceded to Bulgaria. Mr. Acland, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who replied, said—"The question of some guarantee for minorities in certain places on the frontier of Albania has been considered, but it has not yet been settled what form these should take, and I cannot add to what has been said by the Secretary of State on the subject." We should think the best answer to this question would have been the famous reply given on a famous occasion by Mr. Asquith, viz., "wait and see." So long as a Christian is in a minority he has got to be protected and even "liberated," but if a Moslem is to be in a minority, he must, as the Right Honourable Mr. Augustine Birrell, talking of minorities, said on one occasion, suffer and wear the badge of his tribe. Has anybody heard of a Moslem minority in Crete which was at one time a sufficiently flourishing part of the population of that island? When Crete was still under an international government the Moslem minority was so well treated that it ceased even to be a minority for all practical

purposes. After all the Allies are imitating the example of Orde under international control, and their only modification of the Ordean programme is that they have begun to "protect" the Moslem minority before the sovereignty of the occupied territory was granted to them by the Concert of Europe.

DELHI has been a veritable confessional for us since our migration; and, although our readers must have been tired of giving us absolution every now and then, and must have come to regard us as a confirmed sinner, we must confess once more that we are no less tired of confessing than they of having forgiven us. But, if they only subjected our confessions to a little careful analysis, they would find that the only sin for which we have come before them so often in sackcloth and ashes is that we have called a Tuesday a Saturday. When we left Calcutta we asked for leave for a bare fortnight, which was, as we afterwards found, too low an estimate for setting up a large new Press; but in view of some important preliminary questions to be settled before we could keep a Press or publish a paper, we do not think we sinned alone if we took an extra week to bring out our first issue from Delhi, and in return for this made it practically a double number. But owing to the difficulties of setting up a new Press in such a place as Delhi we could not bring out the first issue on a Saturday as it had always been issued, and the paper was published on a Tuesday. Since then the *Comrade* has practically been a Tuesday paper, and although we tried to come back to the original day of issue, and for that purpose took a week's leave, we confess we have failed in our endeavour. Nevertheless, but for that our issue less and a week's leave taken on the occasion of the Aligarh Old Boys' Re-Union and the Moslem League Session, the *Comrade* has been appearing with a fair punctuality every Tuesday. We have also been publishing information received much later in the week than was the case when the paper was published on Saturdays in Calcutta, and if our readers would only glance at the extracts from the European Press reprinted in our War Supplement and the weekly letters of Dr Ansari and the doctor in charge of the Hindia (Omeri) section of the All-India Medical Mission, they would see that we have been reproducing on the following Tuesdays what we received very late on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays. Similarly, leading articles and editorial notes have been written on Sundays and Mondays and sometimes even on Tuesdays, in which we have incorporated news received later than the nominal day of publication. We could easily have changed the day of publication to Tuesday and avoided the reproach of unpunctuality. But as we consider Saturday to be a generally more suitable day, and have always lived in hopes of catching up the Saturday we seem to have left behind in Calcutta, we have stuck to it even if only in name. Our enormities will not appear so great to our readers if they would take into consideration this belated *Erratum* and read Tuesday for Saturday. They must also remember that we have not been palming off on them a stale paper of the day before yesterday, but sending them things quite hot from the baker's shop. It is true that there is not the same variety in the weekly repast served before them. But have we not all been supping entirely with horrors since we left Calcutta, and if our readers condemn us for playing the woman with our eyes, have theirs been entirely dry? Our apology is the same as that of the poet who wrote --

سنتی ہیں حالی سخن میں تھی بہت وسعت کہی
نہیں حضور کی لٹی لاکھوں طرف راہیں کھلی
داستان کوئی بیان کرنا نہ احسن و عشق کی
اور تصوف کا بیان میں رنگ بہرنا تھا کوئی
کہ فضل لکھ لکھ کی دل یاروں کا گرمائی تھی لوگ
کہ قصیدے لکھ کی خلعت اور صلی پائی تھی لوگ
پر ملی م کو جمالِ نقشہ اس محفل میں کم
راگی لی وقت کی لٹی دیا م کو نہ دم
نالہ و لہجہ کا طوطا کہیں جا کر نہ سم
بان کوئی رنگینہ ترانہ چھیڑی پاسے نہ م
سینہ کوئی مینے دھی جب تک کہ دھیم دم رہا
م دھی اور نسوم کی اقبال کا ماتم رہا

The Comrade.

Moslem Education and Government.

I.

THE Government of India, and particularly Sir Harcourt Butler, are to be congratulated on the wise step they have taken in addressing a letter to Local Governments and Administrations in connection with Moslem Education. When on the 25th February the Hon. Mr. Fazulbhai Currimbhoy Ebrahim asked Government for some information about the expenditure from State revenues, the total number of students and the number of Moslem students, with reference to Government, and Moslem and Non-Moslem Grants-in-aid Arts Colleges, Sir Harcourt Butler, who could then supply only part of the information asked for, promised that Local Governments would shortly be addressed on the subject of Muhammadan Education. That promise has now been fulfilled, and the Imperial Government has done its duty by inviting the attention of the Governments of various Provinces to a question that is in its nature mainly Imperial. In the recent Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy it was stated with much truth that each Province had its own educational system, which had grown up under local conditions, and had become familiar to the people as a part of their general well-being, and that in view of the diverse social conditions in India there could not in practice be one set of regulations and one rate of progress for the whole of India. Granting that the Government of India have no desire to centralise provincial systems or to attempt to introduce a superficial uniformity, or to deprive Local Governments of interest and initiative in education, there is still such a thing as a general educational policy of the Government for India as a whole; and there are communities inhabiting all parts of India the educational conceptions and requirements of which are not affected so much by the territorial and political divisions of the country into provinces and administrations as by the general character of the communities themselves. It is, therefore, the imperative duty of the Government of India to declare its general educational policy from time to time, and to invite the attention of Local Governments to the special educational requirements of the communities to which we have referred, asking Local Governments to state how far the general principles of the Supreme Government's Educational Policy find local application, and to what extent local conditions permit the satisfaction of special communal requirements. In view of these facts, the Government of India declared their general Educational Policy in the Resolution of 21st February, and have now invited Local Governments to state their views about the special educational requirements of the Moslem community.

It is gratifying to learn from the figures supplied in para. 57 of the Government's Resolution that within the last nine years the number of Muhammadan pupils has increased by approximately 50 per cent, and now stands at nearly a million and-a-half. The total Muhammadan population of British India is stated to be 57,423,866, and the number at school accordingly represents over 16.7 per cent of those of a school-going age. In the matter of primary education it is still more gratifying to learn that the proportion at school of all grades among the children of the Mussalmans has reached a figure slightly in excess of the average proportion for children of all races and creeds in India. But gratifying as all this is, we must not forget that the Moslem community does not include in its ranks as large a population as its own of Untouchables whose educational progress does not, and, for a long time to come, cannot keep pace with the progress of the rest of India. Moreover, Moslem population is urban to a greater extent than the population of other communities, and, considering the backwardness of rural areas, it is not so very satisfactory after all that the proportion of such a community in primary education is "slightly in excess" of the average of all India. If the proportion of the Moslem community is compared with that of the Parsis who are mostly urban, it will be found to be exceedingly unsatisfactory. Even if the comparison is instituted between the Mussalmans and the three regenerate castes of the Hindus, we have no doubt that the Moslem figures would appear to very little advantage. We say all this to make it clear that even a narrow-minded Mussalman who wishes to judge every measure and policy according to the individual gain of his own community, and not that of the country as a whole, may not find in the statement of Government a reason to oppose the compulsory education movement on the ground that on a voluntary basis his community has a better average than India as a whole, and that on a compulsory basis a general levelling up may take place. Such a person must, in the first place, remember that the comparison with the figures of the whole of India, rural as well as urban, is not likely to do much good to a community which is chiefly urban. Separate

comparisons should be made for the urban and the rural areas in order to judge the comparative progress of the different communities. In the second place, the Depressed Classes are like No-Man's-Land, and if Islam is to remain a missionary religion, the Mussalmans must regard the Depressed Classes as much a responsibility of their own as of any other community in India. We certainly hold that no community can count the Depressed Classes as a part of itself when it refuses even to touch them. In the third place, so long as a single Moslem lad remains illiterate, and thereby deprived to a great extent even of the knowledge that can retain him, and, in fact, that makes him a Moslem, so long will it be the duty of every educated Moslem to do everything in his power to remove his illiteracy. The sin of keeping a single Moslem lad illiterate would far transcend in magnitude the merit which even such a narrow-minded bigot hopes to find in the eyes of God and man for the sin of keeping other human beings in utter darkness.

As the Resolution of the Government says, "for financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight the Government of India has refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education," and whether we admit the "decisive weight" of these reasons or not, we must judge the letter addressed to Local Governments merely as so many suggestions made by the Government of India for "the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis." In their letter, the Government of India mention three main difficulties that keep down the number of Moslem pupils in primary schools,—the general desire of Mussalmans to impart to their children a knowledge of Urdu, and some knowledge of Arabic and Persian, their insistence in frequent cases on a study of the Qur'an before secular education is commenced, and the use of text-books in vernacular schools which are sometimes distasteful to Muhammadan feelings.

Now as regards the last difficulty it may be pointed out that Urdu is the mother-tongue of a large number of Mussalmans not only in those tracts where Urdu is the spoken or at least written language, of practically the entire population irrespective of religious beliefs, but also where the rest of the population has a different mother-tongue. These classes of Mussalmans generally include the descendants of those who conquered and ruled the area wherein they and their children have lived ever after, and others whose ancestors became converts to Islam several centuries ago and who have since been entirely absorbed by those who were at one time really foreigners in this country. There is hardly any part of India where these classes of Mussalmans do not exist, and the only effective method of imparting instruction to the children of such Mussalmans is to make Urdu the medium of instruction, where the number of such pupils is sufficiently large to establish for them at least a school with a single teacher teaching about twenty pupils. Where such a number cannot be collected together, but there is a sufficiently large Moslem population of all fauces to warrant the establishment of at least a small school with a single teacher teaching about twenty Moslem pupils, Urdu should be taught as a second language, because even those Mussalmans whose mother-tongue is not Urdu desire that Urdu should be taught to their children in addition to their mother-tongue.

The letter of Government under review mentions "considerable tracts in which Muhammadans have entirely dropped the use of Urdu." This is a statement which needs further details to make it possible for the Mussalmans to accept it for although we recognise considerable tracts in which Urdu is not the language of daily intercourse even for the bulk of Mussalmans, we do not know of any where it is not the mother-tongue of some Moslem settlers and of the families of old converts to Islam, and where the more recent converts to Islam do not generally desire that their children should learn it. It must be remembered that in some tracts there is not the same desire as elsewhere for the study of Persian or Arabic, and, apart from any sentimental reasons, the people of such tracts are compelled to resort to Urdu for imparting religious instruction to their children. In any case, it is certain that the study of Urdu is becoming more rather than less general, and we cannot conceive of any tract, considerable or otherwise, in which Muhammadans have "dropped" the use of Urdu. On the contrary, there are many instances of people who have adopted Urdu only recently as a language of daily intercourse in their families, and we trust nobody will accuse the late Mr. Justice Tyebji and his family of political narrow-mindedness because they adopted Urdu as the only language of daily intercourse in their own family circle in preference to Gujarati, which was their mother-tongue.

Under these circumstances it will not be sufficient to provide facilities for the teaching of Urdu only where Urdu is "still a vernacular for practical purposes," as the Government of India suggest. We, therefore, commend our own suggestions to the

attention of the Imperial and Local Governments, and we trust the line of least resistance would not be followed as has so often been done, particularly in Bombay and Bengal. It is easy enough to say that Urdu is not a vernacular of the Province and thereafter to do nothing to provide teachers and a training school for teaching Urdu, and when schools remain empty to ask, like ladies of a certain age, "Why don't the young men come?" We have no reason to believe that the Government of India are opposed to the extension of primary education among the Mussalmans in particular. But unless the linguistic requirements of the Mussalmans are carefully considered no very great success is likely to be achieved in the efforts to increase the number of Moslem pupils in primary schools even on a voluntary basis. When some Mussalmans for whom we have the greatest respect were inclined to oppose Mr. Gokhale's Bill for fear that, if carried, that great measure of reform might adversely affect the extension of Urdu, we said clearly enough even at the time that the question of Urdu was a large enough and a difficult enough problem in itself, and even on a voluntary basis of primary education inquiry could be done to the *limna franca* not only of Indian Mussalmans, as the Government of India call it, but practically of the whole of India. Now that despite of overwhelming Moslem support of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, Government have for the time being rejected it, we invite the attention of such Moslem friends of Urdu to the danger of the situation if facilities are to be provided for teaching it only where it is "vernacular for practical purposes."

As regards the second difficulty, namely, the insistence of Mussalmans parents in many cases that their children should study the Qur'an for some time before secular education is commenced, I must suggest that if adopted and separate schools for Moslem boys wherein Urdu would either be the medium of instruction or taught as a second language, are established, it would be easy to arrange for the study of the Qur'an and other religious books by Moslem pupils. Government held a local conference at Bombay, and an Imperial conference was subsequently held in Allahabad in February, 1911, for discussing the question of religious and moral instruction, and the Resolution of the Government of India states that "grave differences of opinion emerged as to the possibility or advantage of introducing direct religious instruction into schools generally." It is an account of these "grave differences of opinion" an Indian child is to be deprived of direct religious instruction in the schools, where, we may ask, is he to learn at least the rudiments of his faith? India is evidently enough more religious than the countries of Europe and yet apparently it is determined that nowhere in Europe is a child to learn less about his religion than here in India. From time to time we hear the lament that the intellectual faculty is being developed at the expense of the moral and religious faculties of the student, but the usual formula of the religious neutrality of Government, which is part of the administrative outfit of every recent official bureaucracy is made to do duty for creative statesmanship, and the settlement of this question does not advance a single pace. If education imparted in schools is not to be severed from religion or, in other words, if the people who, for the most part, have only one source of knowledge, namely, a public school, are not to be kept in absolute ignorance of all religion while studying in public schools, the Government must cease to ride its hobby-horse of religious neutrality and arrange for courses of religious instruction for all the pupils in its schools and devote part of State revenues to expenditure on religious instruction. This can be done in two ways—by aiding from public funds the private *madtibs* where religious instruction is to be imparted, and by placing public funds at the disposal of Moslem educational committees formed from among the members of the self-governing local bodies with which to establish Moslem primary schools. In this connection we may mention that in India "Urdu Schools" for Moslem pupils with Moslem teachers and inspected by Moslem Deputy Inspectors have existed for a long time, and the study of the Qur'an has been provided for. His Highness the Galwa is no less neutral in religious matters than the British Government, but his neutrality is not required; the Moslem children in his State of all opportunities for the study of their faith at public expense. Private *madtibs* could no doubt be encouraged to adopt, as the Government of India suggest, "a secular course which will appeal to Muhammadans and will not prevent the teaching of simple Urdu, where necessary, and of the Qur'an." But the secular schools maintained by Government should also adopt a religious course, for they are likely, for a long time to come, to be more efficient and better equipped, and, being on that account likely to be more attractive, their reform is all the more necessary. Primary education must remain almost in its entirety a charge on the public revenues, and adequate provision cannot be made for the primary education of Moslem children merely through the agency of aided *madtibs*. But State schools need not be directly managed by the State. Educational Committees should be formed for governing these institutions. However, as we are opposed to the formation of too many committees when a

large number of public-spirited citizens are not there to work on them, we suggest that the schools for different communities should be governed respectively by the representatives of those communities on local bodies.

The third difficulty mentioned in the letter of Government which confronts the Mussalmans are text-books distasteful to Moslem pupils. Bengal is one of the few Provinces where Mussalmans form a majority of the population, and no other Province of India has such a large Moslem population. And yet it is this Province, with its Moslem majority, and having a population of more than a third of the total Moslem population of British India, which is the greatest sinner in this respect. Its Department of Public Instruction has been entirely Hindu-ridden, and the vernacular text-books authorised by it for its schools reflect not the language or ideas commonly employed in the familiar intercourse of the Moslem society of Bengal, but the language, the manners and customs, the passions and prejudices, the moral conceptions, mythology and imagery of the Hindu society and Hindu religion of Bengal. The Committee appointed by H. E. the Governor of Bengal to frame a scheme for the establishment of the Dacca University had to consider the question of language in connection with the Moslem students of Eastern Bengal. The Committee was not bold enough to deal adequately with realities, but it could not altogether ignore them. Its recommendations were exceedingly timid and modest, but such as they were they were sufficient to rouse the wrath of Hindu Bengal, and its Literary Conference this year brought out its field guns and siege guns and mountain batteries to crush the poor little gnats of the Dacca University Committee. At the present moment two opposite principles are being followed. While the majority is Hindu, but the established order of things favours the Mussalmans, the language of the majority is to be the vernacular for all purposes and if it does not exist, it is to be created by main force. Where, however, the majority is Moslem, but the established order of things favours the Hindus, the vernacular must be the language of the intellectuals and the *status quo* is to be preserved—in the interests of national unity. It is, therefore, at least partly satisfactory that the Government of India suggest "the inclusion in the text-books for ordinary schools in areas where Muhammadans are numerous of stories which are not distasteful to Muhammadans and of a certain number of stories of particular interest to them." We are by no means anxious for the exclusion of Hindu stories, for in a country where Hindus and Mussalmans live together in such close relationship it is necessary to teach the children of each community something of the traditions of the other. But if separate schools for the communities are, as we think, unavoidable, their text-books should also be different, and should be adapted to the requirements of each.

These suggestions of the Government of India are a great advance on anything that has yet been done in any Province, but we cannot pretend to believe that they are a adequate. Be that as it may, they would most assuredly remain ineffective without the adoption of the last two suggestions, namely, the provision of Muhammadan teachers and of a separate inspecting agency for Muhammadans. The basis of the Department of Public Instruction throughout India is the overwhelming preponderance of a few castes in the grades of teachers and inspectors to the practical exclusion of other castes and communities, and the Departmental prejudices and predilections of the Directors of Public Instruction are the necessary outcome of such preponderance of some and exclusion of others. We can conceive even the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal being next to Moslem educational claims if he had a number of Moslem teachers and Moslem inspecting officers to explain to him the needs of the situation. We suggested sometime ago the appointment of an officer with direct access to the Government for the advancement of Moslem Education in Bengal, and we believe the Government of Bengal carefully considered our suggestion. But we know not what came of all that discussion and deliberation, for we find the Hon. Mr. Faal Haq still facing an all but hostile Director of Public Instruction in the Council Chamber recently. Bombay also needs for a time such an officer as we suggested for Bengal, but in every Province there is need of an Assistant Director in special charge of Moslem education whose prospects should be made to depend on the success of the Mussalmans during his tenure of office. As it is, there are very few Moslem teachers and fewer Moslem Inspectors or Deputy Inspectors, and if some kind Providence arranged the retirement of half the Directors of Public Instruction with Imperial Service Orders to reward their services to Moslem education, Moslem education would have a far better chance than it has to-day. We trust Lower Governments, when replying to the letter of the Government of India, would keep their Directors of Public Instruction at a safe distance, and, as the Resolution of 21st February says, they would not "confuse the position of administrative and secretarial officers."

Europe in Africa.

Almost all the independent African States have now been destroyed, and of the two that have been lost to Islam before our very eyes, Morocco is one. The Times' correspondent from Tangier sent a despatch to his paper recently stating that the French forces, by the simultaneous advance of several mobile columns, are actively pushing into the important district of Zaira, which lies almost in the centre of Morocco and till now has formed a refuge for the dissident tribesmen. Troops moving from north, south, and west have recently fought several successful engagements with little loss. The occupation and subsequent "pacification" of this region will facilitate military communication between Rabat, Fez, and Mekinez, and leave a larger number of troops available for the further occupation of dissident districts. According to this correspondent, the whole movement is being conducted in the ablest manner with a rapidity that renders the tribesmen incapable of offering united resistance, and the greater part are accepting the new régime. The system of mobile columns causes little loss of life and damage to property, and is a most satisfactory means of "restoring law and order." The "pacification" of the country continues unabated, and news of fresh submissions and of the consequent "restoration of order" arrives daily. A Paris telegram of the same date says that the Minister of War received a telegram that morning from Taurit conveying news of an engagement with the tribes near the French encampment of Zag. The Moors were repulsed after several hours' fighting. The French losses were a captain, two corporals, and four men killed, and a lieutenant, a sergeant, and eight men wounded. More recent information shows that a French force, under the command of a Colonel, lost 18 killed and 41 wounded in a battle with the partisans of El Hiba, the "Pretender," near Ain Jerga.

It is clear that the conquest or "pacification" of Morocco is not as easy a task as France at first imagined. But capitalists that always keep an eye on the main chance, and know that Moroccan mines have yet to be exploited, can dictate peace and war, and go on fooling the masses in the name of patriotism and all that passes for civic virtue in these days. One more year will the youth of the nation have to give to preparation for war, fearing that the existence of France is in danger, whereas in reality there is no such danger, and all that is aimed at is the exploitation of less advanced countries in Asia and Africa in the interest of capitalists who suck the life-blood of foreign nations and are in return willing that the blood of the proletariat of their own should be spilt in the process. We wonder how long the masses of European countries would permit such self-deception to go on. A book, entitled *Germany in Arms*, has been published in Berlin. It contains an introduction written by the Crown Prince, in which he says it is the holy duty of Germany, above all peoples, to maintain the army and the fleet in the highest degree of readiness. "Only then, supported by our own good sword, can we preserve that place in the sun which is our due, but which was not willingly granted us." The Crown Prince utters a warning against the growing love of luxury and wealth, but can he say that the race for armaments is not being run by the nations of Europe at the bidding of just those people who love luxury and wealth while the poor of the nation starve and starve?

As for Tripoli, Rome will not now send out highly exaggerated news about Italian "progress." A recent despatch from Rome stated that "an expeditionary force under the command of General Pasconi was on Friday embarked at Bengasi and conveyed to Tobruk, where a landing was made. No opposition was offered from the shore beyond the firing of a few stray shots. The troops are now advancing to Merg. The Italian action has been answered by a general movement of Arabs throughout Cyrenaica, and attacks are reported on Bengasi, Tobruk, and Derna, all of them being repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. At Bengasi some cannon, which had been left behind by the Turks, were brought into action, but were captured, and the enemy was driven back beyond their camp at the Benina Oasis, which remains in the hands of the Italian troops." If after nearly two years the Italians are still being attacked throughout Cyrenaica, and Arabs have still to be "repulsed with heavy loss" at Bengasi, Tobruk and Derna, then we can well understand the sort of "progress" that the Italians have made. One big European war would be enough to rid the coast towns of Tripoli of the Italian intruder who has not yet occupied anything beyond them. Then Moslem States would have yet one more chance given to them of coming into their own while Europe is involved in the great war which has long been feared. But they could avail themselves of that one remaining chance only if in the meantime they are able to create within their territories some organisation wherewith to deal with the enemy of them all. There is a great danger just now of Moslem States giving up all hope because the enemy is within their doors. But all is not lost because not all remains, and hope and courage and perseverance are sure to be rewarded.



The Interview.

No assembly is perfect without its bores, said a Chinese philosopher of an unpronounceable name centuries ago. And this dictum is as true to-day as it was in any period of Chinese, Greek or Roman history. The Moslem League session of this year was not a brilliant success. The gathering, says the critic, was poor, and the speeches and discussions were not of a high order. I admit all this and much more, but will the critic deny that the League attracted quite a goodly number of Local, Provincial, silent and loquacious, old and young? I am prepared to concede, though I am a staunch Moslem Leaguer, that the record of the Indian National Congress as the nursery of bores is brilliant and unsurpassed. But that it is no reason for discouragement to the Moslem League which has hardly completed the eighth year of its existence yet.

I wish to impress it on the mind of the Moslem League that the Congress's proud plethora of inveterate bores is not tortuous in origin, but has been evolved through an unyielding and unstinted encouragement held out to the aspirants to the imperishable honour and glory of the entire boredom. I noticed with great regret that the audience at Lucknow treated the efforts of both veterans and neophytes with a niggardly patience which had the effect of creating a very undesirable impression that the days of bores are numbered among the Muhammadians. Let the Moslem community remember that the dictum of the Chinese philosopher, confirmed by human experience of centuries, is not going to be falsified; and that attempts to kill indigenous boredom will either ignominiously fail or succeed at the expense of the poetry of communal existence.

This year's League will be particularly remembered by your correspondent for the unique opportunity it gave him of forming the acquaintance of a gentleman who owns dubious brains but refreshingly original views. Needless to say how immense a relief it was to us to turn to the gentleman for political inspiration and guidance after the boredom of speeches which expressed second-hand opinions with the proud assurance of a divine afflatus. Sir, an apprehension prevails in certain quarters that Leagues and Conferences, the Press and the Platform—so many irresistible temptations to owners of opinions, inherited and self-acquired, personal and borrowed—are hastening an individual and communal bankruptcy in the matter of opinions. To me the apprehension seems to be ill-founded. If the Moslem community can boast of even a couple of geniuses like the gentleman we had the good fortune to interview, it is as far from insolvency as it ever was. The cordiality with which the gentleman received us (in the memorable interview your paper was also represented by your Sub-Editor) and the profusion with which he lavished his whole wealth of opinions on a couple of press-mendicants cannot be over-praised. The gentleman seemed so terribly over-weighted with

a sense of responsibility for the sins of his community, that but for the outlet which our presence provided for his over-flow of opinions, he would surely have proclaimed them from the house-tops for the benefit of passers-by.

He gave us the interview in English. Opinions are conflicting as to the reasons for the choice of the language. There are some who say that he meant to compliment the race which Providence has entrusted with the governance of India. Others say that the choice of language was dictated by motives of reticence—by a desire to demonstrate that the Indian, whose vernacular is so remorselessly mutilated by the stiff-necked Civilian of the touch-me-not type, is not half so impotent and helpless as the latter in his unapproachable isolation thinks him to be. Whatever the motive which inspired this amazing outburst of eloquence in a foreign language, it will go down to history, in all its unsophisticated innocence of sense and meaning, as a protest of originality against the enervating restraints of sanity, and of expression against the tyranny of man-made grammar and idiom.

The following is a faithful report of the highly edifying talk with which the gentleman interviewed favoured us. I may add that though the interview led off him about an hour of inquisitive questions and snappy replies, pregnant with staggering revelations, he seemed to be by no means tired of it, and when we departed, he was still insisting on our taking a few more notes for the salvation of a doomed humanity.

Question.—Do you believe in the necessity of having a Moslem League at all?

Answer.—Yes, I do, though I am aware there was none in the time of old Akbar who was the eldest son of the luxuriant Shah Jehan. (This answer—particularly the last portion of it—evoked a chorus of applause from the interviewers and the crowd which had assembled to witness the memorable interview. Your correspondent was particularly profuse in his congratulations to the gentleman on the astounding knowledge which he possessed of Indian History and his choice of an epithet like 'luxuriant' applied to Shah Jehan.)

Question.—Do you approve of the lines on which the Moslem League is conducted?

Answer.—No. My suggestion is that it should take interest in those affairs which concern the Muhammadians personally. It should not have adopted the principle of Local Self-Government. (Here the speaker paused, recommenced the operation and then stopped again. He was violently struggling with certain words which defied his persistent orders for a speedy exit) for the reason that the Indian National Congress is running on those principles and the Muhammadians should join the Indian National Congress so far as that principle goes. The Moslem League ought to safeguard the interest of the Moslems if they clash into the interest of other communities. Besides that it is the duty of the Moslem League that it should have broader field. (Here the

speaker insisted that the word 'scope' should be instantly substituted for 'aid' to which the interviewers had to yield) for its working, that is, it should keep an eye on the treatment which the non-Muslims accord them outside of India. I would go so far as to say that every Muhammadan should take a sword against his own kith and kin if they go against the Muhammadans at large or general interests.

Question.—What do you think of inter-dining and inter-marriage between Hindus and Muslims as factors in the evolution of an Indian Nationality?

Answer.—There must be inter-dining and inter-marriage together.

Question.—Which of the two is to begin—the Hindu or the Muhammadan?

Answer.—The Hindus being in the majority must begin.

Question.—Do you advocate the abolition of cow-killing on the part of Mussalmans?

Answer.—Muhammadans should do no cow-killing and the Hindus should not object to it.

Question.—Do you believe in a Moslem University without powers of affiliation?

Answer.—I am very much against it (Here the speaker stopped short; but the curiosity aroused by the announcement impelled the interviewers to request him to give his reason—a request with which he complied after another successful grapple with certain refractory words which seemed to be determined not to quit his lips in spite of the persistent notices of ejection conveyed to them through the ineffective agency of helpless hands). Muhammadans should establish any number of Universities. Small sums are quite sufficient for the formation of small universities as in the case with England and Japan.

Question.—Do you approve of the Aga Khan's letter published in the *Times of India*?

Answer.—Myself and my community believes it inappropriate and inspired letter, and in my opinion has hurt the feelings of Muslims because they believe that if Turks go out of Europe the next step which the Christian world will do will be come down to revenge old religious wounds and demolish K'aba.

Question.—Do you agree with the advocates of a competitive simultaneous examination to be held in India for the recruitment of the I. C. S.?

Answer.—There must be a competitive examination in England alone. If the examination will be held in India also, the Muhammadans will feel more desire to become slaves. They should rather learn poultry-farming than Simultaneous Examination. (The last portion of the answer floored the interviewers whose speechless admiration was divided between the intellect which had conceived such a revolutionary notion and the tongue which had so manfully borne the travails of a painful but victorious delivery.)

Question.—Do you approve of the foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey particularly in reference to independent Moslem States?

Answer.—In my opinion he acts unpolitically and scandalously with the Muhammadans.

Question.—How would you solve the Hindu-Muhammadan problem?

Answer.—The Hindus and Mahomedans should be segregated—Northern India to be assigned to the Muslims and the rest to the Hindus. (When it was pointed out to the gentleman that unenlightened opinion, deriving support from the vulgarity of Census records, did not consider his classification of the Indian population to be exhaustive, he added readily but without apparent compunction "The Sikhs and Jains and other castes and creeds will go with the Hindus").

Question.—What is your notion of Indian Self-Government?

Answer.—As demanded by the Indian National Congress I agree with Mr. Gokhale on this point.

Question.—Do you approve of the treatment of Indians by the Civilian?

Answer.—Horrible! They care nothing for middle class. They are fond of rich men. They show a desire to help the poor and it is taken for a show by educated Indians. I would certainly drop my blood for the stability of British rule because the Muhammadans are in minority, and the Hindus being in majority would be worst rulers. (After this assurance, sincere and passionate, will not the Government reconsider the question of the retrenchment of military expenditure—a reform unanimously demanded by the educated Indians? The case for it was always clear, but it is clearer now. Instead of maintaining a high army at an enormous cost to an impoverished country like India, the Government may now with perfect safety only maintain the gentleman we have interviewed.)

Question.—What do you say to the boycott of European goods as suggested in certain quarters?

Answer.—In my opinion European goods should be boycotted. (Here somebody suggested the addition of the words "on colonial lines" which was very gladly accepted by the gentleman. But when the acceptance of the suggestion was greeted with laughter by the crowd, he turned towards the interviewers and peremptorily demanded the immediate deletion of the obnoxious words. The interviewers apprehending an abrupt end of the interview and the consequent loss of an immortality which the completion of the interview was likely to bestow on them complied with the order and thus saved the English language from a wholly unprovoked and unwarrantable outrage. The gentleman added, "It will bring about a better understanding between Christians and Mussalmans.")

Question.—Do you believe in the necessity of maintaining separate electorates for Mussalmans?

Answer.—I believe that there should be a fixation of seats for Mussalmans on the Imperial, Local and District Boards by mixed electorates. I repeat poultry-farming is better than separate representation. (This insistence on the unsuspected virtues of poultry-farming as a panacea for all the political ills of the Indian Muslims completely paralyzed the interviewers who could not decide which to admire more—the ruthlessness of the diagnosis or the staggering simplicity of the prescription.)

BANBODDUR.

"Baccy," the Second Bacchus.

It is time the venerable youth, Bacchus, had worked some new magic, for, alas! the ancient flagon has found a rival in the modern cigar-box and other things of that ilk. The connoisseur has his Havana, the philosopher his meditative pull, Tommy his stick, and the mechanic his shag or anything in fact from "fake" to cane-seating. The valet becomes a practical apostle of Socialism by smoking his master's stock, and the idler solves the labour problem by finding a pleasant occupation.

The Red Indian's calumet was the peace-pipe of his religion; and in the old literature we find such references to tobacco as "herba santa," "herba panacea," "divine tobacco," and "our holy herb nicotian." So much for what might with modesty be called historical research. It is, however, the moderns who are responsible for the irreverence of installing a rival to Bacchus. Lessing of the *Laocoon* fame confesses that his tobacco-pipe was the conduit-pipe of inspiration. Ruskin had a horror of smoking, but people called him a crank. Had Teunisson not consumed an infinite amount of tobacco, we should have had to go without his *Idylls*. Kipling makes no secret of his belief in smoking; it was nothing less than an article of faith with Mark Twain, and Barrie has sentiments on the subject. Bernard Shaw does not smoke, but that may be one of the paradoxes which it is his business to perpetrate so religiously. Stevenson never read an author with an unlit pipe. Who has the heart to resist his pathetic appeals? Here is one for instance.

"We sail in leaky bottoms and on great and perilous waters; we have heard the mermaids singing, and know that we shall never see dry land any more. Old and young, we are all on our last cruise. If there is a fill of tobacco among the crew, for God's sake pass it round, and let us have a pipe before we go!"

Romco, we are told, wished to be a glove so that he might touch Juliet's cheek. He ought to have wished to be a cigarette. The similarity between a cigarette and a lover is easy to establish. Both are pastimes—both are lit up by a match—both fume and irritate—one is reduced to ashes and the other is treated as dirt. And all ends in smoke.

M. K. D.

Petty Larceny.

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC.)

[What is your birth-right: therefore steal it wheresoever you find it.—*Rigmarole Veda*]

Much may be forgiven to a woman—everything if she is beautiful.

A woman always expects you to remember her birthday, but she also expects you to forget her age.

A clergyman has invented an appliance for the cure of snoring. Better sermons, presumably.

The good die young—or else outgrow it.

If you can't make a man think as you do, try and make him do as you think.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, May 2.

Rome is now awaiting the decision of Vienna, where to-day it is officially intimated that the decisions of Europe must be carried out as quickly as possible.

A Vienna wire says: The Emperor has convened an Extraordinary Meeting of the Imperial Council for to-day. The Austrian and Hungarian Premiers will attend, in addition to the joint Austro-Hungarian Ministers. The Emperor gave a three hours' audience to Count von Berchtold and the Minister of War yesterday.

The foregoing is regarded as indicating that Austria is preparing military measures which she will probably undertake in common with Italy, but the papers are relieved at the adjournment of the Conference. There are evidences of a more conciliatory attitude on the part of Montenegro.

A Vienna wire says Count von Berchtold presided over the Cabinet Council of the Common Ministers to-day. The Austrian and Hungarian Premiers and Ministers of Finance were also present.

An Athens wire says the Bulgarians have finally evacuated Salonica, only one company of infantry remaining.

A telegram from Corfu says that Essad Pasha has formed a Government at Tirana. He has proclaimed the autonomy of Albania under the suzerainty of Turkey, and has hoisted the Turkish flag.

A message from Corfu says that Essad Pasha has asked the Servians to hand over Durazzo to him. Servia has refused to comply with the request till the town has been completely evacuated.

London, May 3.

The holding of a Cabinet Council at Vienna, immediately following the Conference of Ambassadors, has somewhat disquieted diplomats in London. An official statement published in Vienna says that Count von Berchtold presented an exhaustive explanation of the position, the discussion on which showed all Ministers to be unanimous on the course to be pursued, but the Austrian papers state that the Council merely approved the military dispositions. Austrian papers point out that the Ambassadors in London were not acquainted with the reply of King Nicholas to the Powers' or the action of Essad Pasha at Tirana. Montenegro's reply was delivered unexpectedly yesterday morning, namely, after the Russian *demarche* with regard to the evacuation of Scutari. The reply explains, at length the reasons for insisting that the question of Scutari should be discussed between the Allies and the Powers with the question of the demarcation of Albania. It declares that the Powers have violated their neutrality in demanding the evacuation of occupied territories. Montenegro says she does not wish to defy the Powers, but she demands justice.

Austria has proclaimed martial law in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Greece has done likewise in the Aegean Islands which she is occupying.

The political situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that Montenegro replied officially, as described this morning, and unofficially, through M. Popovitch, as given on the 1st instant. The latter communication, in which Montenegro spoke of compensation evidently failed to satisfy Austria who, according to to-day's semi-official *Freidenblatt*, regards territorial compensation as outside the region of discussion.

A Vienna message says that the proclamation of martial law in Bosnia and Herzegovina was due to the necessity of maintaining order, the population being actively sympathetic towards the Montenegrins. Similar action is expected in Dalmatia, after a proclamation.

A Rome message says that the semi-official *Tribuna* says that if Austria acts in Albania, Italy, if asked, must take part. The Minister of War has therefore ordered the necessary troops to undertake the expedition. One division is considered enough.

A Berlin wire says: The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* mentions, the Montenegrin proclamation of Scutari as the future capital and the Montenegrin occupation of Albanian coast towns as facts unknown to the Ambassadors at the last Conference, hence, the journal adds, it is impossible to anticipate the success of the influence of the Powers at Cetinje, and the joint military action of Austria and Italy may be regarded as imminent.

A Vienna message says: The newspapers agree that to-morrow's Conference in London cannot possibly lead to Austria's

departure from the decision already taken. The selection of the moment for eventual active operations, and the nature and manner of their execution, must be reserved for the decision of the Powers most interested. The details of combined Austro-Italian action in Albania are already agreed upon in principle. A complete agreement is considered certain.

A Cetinje message states that a Council of War, presided over by the King, decided to yield to the Powers' demands with regard to the evacuation of Scutari.

A Salonica wire states that Greek transports left to-day taking six thousand refugees to Scala Nova, in Asia Minor.

A Corfu message states that the Servians have completely evacuated Albania. The last transports left Durazzo yesterday morning, prior to Essad Pasha's entry.

London, May 4.

A Constantinople telegram states that the Turkish reply to the Powers accepts the invitation to cease hostilities. The reply further says that Turkey has appointed Plenipotentiaries (of peace) and suggests that a Conference be held in London. It is expected that the first meeting of the Peace Conference will be held on the 12th instant.

A Constantinople wire says: Many Moslem refugees are returning to their homes in territory occupied by the Bulgarians. Several Turkish deputies have resolved to return to their native towns, where they hope to be elected to the Sobranje.

A Paris wire says: A despatch from Cetinje says that according to the latest news from Alessio, a sanguinary battle, lasting several hours, was fought on Friday near Durazzo between Djavid Pasha's army and troops under Essad Pasha, defender of Scutari. Djavid Pasha was routed and his troops fled in all directions. The Servians opened the road to Durazzo to Essad Pasha's troops, part of whom entered in triumph. Essad Pasha is reported to be master of the situation in Central Albania.

A Sofia message says: The semi-official journal *Mir* announces that Russia is prepared to arbitrate regarding the differences between Serbia and Bulgaria.

King Nicholas, in an interview with a representative of the Paris *Temps*, is represented as saying that he will not submit to Austrian violence. "If we are attacked, we shall be beaten, but the defeat will cost Austria dearer than Algeria did France, than Caucasus did Russia, than the Transvaal did Great Britain."

Lord Morley speaking at the Royal Academy banquet on Saturday evening said that the persistence and firmness of the British policy had been the most perfect instrument for unravelling the most tangled coil of European diplomacy that had been known for a generation. He had reason to believe that next Monday they would be in sight of a solution which might be unanimous.

London, May 5.

A Cetinje wire says The Crown Council having declared against the Government standpoint on the Scutari question, the Cabinet is believed to indicate that counsels in favour of evacuation have prevailed.

A Cetinje message says The whole question of the evacuation of Scutari will be submitted to Parliament, an extraordinary session of which has been summoned for the 8th instant. This is regarded in Vienna as a manoeuvre to gain time and lessen the ignominy of surrender.

A telegram to the *Daily Telegraph* from Cetinje says that the blockade is beginning to be felt. The electric light has failed owing to the exhaustion of naphtha fuel, and butter, fruit and beer are giving out.

King Nicholas has formally notified the Powers that he places Scutari in their hands. This will be announced at the Conference of Ambassadors this afternoon.

It is considered that the Montenegrin surrender will not avert military measures by Austria and Italy, both the Vienna and Rome papers anticipating that military intervention will be necessary in Albania, apart altogether from the question of Scutari, with a view to restoring order out of chaos, which is getting worse daily. It is assumed in both capitals that Austria will operate in the North, from San Giovanni de Medua, and Italy in the South, from Valona. A portion of the Austrian Press is alarmed at the possible results of such action, and fears that Austria may find her forces divided at the moment when she wants to use all her strength in Central Europe. These papers declare that Austria will have all the hardest work in dealing with the warlike tribes

in the North, and that it is impossible that the two countries will be willing to leave Albania, when they are once there. Italy will then retain the South, giving her the command of the Adriatic, while Austria will only have the North, the poorest and most uncivilized territory in Europe.

A Paris wire says the *Temps* emphatically declares that Austria and Italy must not be allowed to claim a European mandate to violate Europe's decision that Albania must be autonomous.

The *Journal Des Debats* urges the despatch of French and British bluejackets to Scutari, to prevent isolated intervention.

Reuter learns that the Ambassadors were busy exchanging visits prior to to-day's Conference. It is understood that Sir Edward Grey, at the Conference, announced Montenegro's submission which has created greatest satisfaction.

At to-day's meeting of the Ambassadors, Sir Edward Grey reminded the Conference that the status of Albania was already settled by the Ambassadors in December. He added that Austria and Italy had been entrusted to prepare a draft project, which would be submitted at the next meeting. He also read the draft of the peace terms, which will be submitted to the various Governments for approval. The rumours of action by Austria and Italy in Albania were not discussed.

A Foreign Office *communiqué* has been issued which, after expressing great satisfaction at the decision of Montenegro, says the Powers will consider what arrangements shall be made in future regarding Scutari. The Ambassadors will re-assemble on Thursday.

The rumours of the partition of Albania by Austria and Italy are characterized in diplomatic circles as all nonsense. Both Austria and Italy are interested in seeing Albania autonomous.

In the House of Commons this afternoon Mr Asquith announced the submission of Montenegro. He said "King Nicholas is to be congratulated, both in the interests of his own country and of international peace."

A Constantinople wire says: Osman Nizami Pasha and Bazaris Effendi have been appointed Peace Delegates in London, with Rashid Bey as legal adviser. They start to-morrow. Hakkı Pasha and Hussein Hilmi declined to take part. A Belgrade message says: The Serbian Peace Delegates leave for London to-morrow. They take a memorandum from Government regarding the division of conquered territories.

An Athens wire states that the engagements of the British naval and the French military missions have been renewed for a further term of three years.

A Port Said wire says the Greek destroyer *Dera* captured the British collier *Southfield* fifteen miles from Haifa, and escorted the vessel to Ortel.

It is reported that the *Southfield* carried 2,640 tons of coal for the Turkish Government railways.

Reuter learns that in pursuance of the proposals of the Ambassadors, an International naval detachment will occupy Scutari until the Albanian Administration is established.

A Cettinje wire says: After a two days' heated discussion in the Council, King Nicholas drafted a telegram to Sir Edward Grey saying: "My Government set forth its reasons for its attitude on the Scutari question in the Note of April 30th. Its standpoint was inspired by the eternal principles of justice. I repeat that my right is sanctified by history, and my dignity and that of my people does not permit us to submit to isolated orders. I therefore place the destiny of Scutari in the hands of the Powers." It was after the drafting of this telegram that the majority of the Cabinet resigned.

A Cettinje message says: An affecting scene took place in the Council when, on the second day of fervid discussion, King Nicholas said, "Never before in all the fifty years of my reign have I suffered such torment, but I am resolved to drink the bitter cup to the dregs. I must give up Scutari, Montenegro's lawful heritage, to pledge her a better future. I cannot allow the curse of future generations for plunging into hopeless war with Europe to rest on my name." King Nicholas then seized the pen and drafted his telegram of surrender to Sir Edward Grey. Tears filled his eyes as he finished. All present were deeply moved.

M. Barthou, the French Premier, in an important speech at Caen, referring to the Balkan crisis, emphasized that France associated herself with the proposals for a demonstration against Montenegro, because such action alone was calculated to avert a dangerous rupture, while remaining faithful to the policy of enforcing respect for the decisions of Europe. M. Barthou emphasized the French love of peace, but that peace must be conformable to her pride and dignity. He appealed to the patriotism of the nation, which, he said, would not grudge the money nor the men necessary for the security and existence of the country. Government would stand or fall by the Three Years' Service Bill,

and would retain with the colours for another year conscripts whose two-yearly service would expire in October, pointing out that the German army was already 180,000 stronger than French, without taking into consideration the increases provided by the recent German Army Bill.

London, May 6.

A Rome wire states that a message to the *Tribuna* says that Essad Pasha intends to embark his troops, and that Djavid Pasha will be obliged to do the same. In such an event, the journal says, the importance of an Austro-Italian expedition to restore order in Albania would be diminished, and the expedition might even be cancelled. Italy does not desire conquest, and none would be happier to leave to the Provisional Government of Albania the honour of constituting the new administration.

London, May 7.

Reuter learns that the diplomatists believe the worst is over; The Ambassadors in London have telegraphed to their Governments a draft of the terms of peace, and expect to receive their approval by Thursday. No time will then be lost in communicating with the belligerents.

The decision of Montenegro regarding Scutari has been received with satisfaction in Sofia.

It is hoped in Vienna that Austria will not be involved in a perilous adventure in Albania with the risk of friction with Italy. The Austrian Press declares that Essad Pasha, despite reports to the contrary, is observing a correct attitude. Austria will possibly endeavour to secure the co-operation of the new Albanian Government.

The Austrian newspapers are showing a remarkable change of front regarding Montenegro. A few days ago they were clamouring for the instant invasion of Montenegro, for which every disposition had been made. They are now laboriously and elaborately pointing out the dangers and difficulties of any such expedition and the necessity for avoiding particularly friction with Italy, which would probably be the outcome of joint operations. Moreover, Essad Pasha, who was lately denounced as the arch-plotter, is now being rehabilitated. It is declared that he enjoys great esteem among his countrymen, and has a considerable Albanian force at his command. It would be advantageous, the papers think, if the Provisional Government could be assured of the support of so important a factor as Essad Pasha.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 10.

News from the provinces is scanty. Mazhar Bey, who was Vali of Kossovo before the Albanian rising in 1910, has been appointed Vali of Bitlis in place of Ali Pasha. The record of the new Vali is not such as to inspire much confidence of success. An expedition has left Mosul for the north to suppress the Kurdish movement, the importance of which is officially minimized.

Arrests and expulsions continue in the capital. Of the large number of persons arrested for a variety of reasons many have been liberated, others have been sent to the provinces for longer or shorter periods. Press criticism is silenced and delation is becoming rife, in fact, the conditions are approaching those which prevailed under the old régime, though the sentences inflicted are much milder. The Greek Patriarch has appealed against the infliction of the death sentence by the Court-martial upon certain Anatolian Greeks who were accused of having committed atrocities upon Moslems in Chios and Mytilene during the occupation by the Hellenic forces. The Patriarchate declares that the Court, instead of insisting on the presence of witnesses to testify orally, accepted written evidence against the accused, and that in one case the family of a man accused of the murder of a Moslem produced the "murdered" man alive, and well, but were told by the Court-martial to go about their business. Patriarchate adds that Greeks who committed atrocities in the islands would not be so foolish as to return to Anatolia. As far as information received from non-partisan sources is available, it would appear that there was convincing circumstantial evidence of murder and rape against one of the persons condemned, but the case for some of the others was very strong.

Constantinople, April 12.

According to information received from well-informed sources one of the Bedr Khan chiefs has appeared with an armed following at Duhkan, north of Bitlis, and has expelled the Government officials. Two battalions of infantry have been sent to restore order.

The Government has ordered the Arab Club at Beirut to be closed on account of recent demonstrations in favour of Arab nationalism by some of its Moslem and Christian members. The step has been taken, by all accounts, against the advice of the Vali of Beirut. Some 80 roughs, who were thrown into prison for attempted riot and pillage of a Government arms depot on the occasion of the Italian

attack on the Turkish coast defence ironclad *Awni-illah*, in February, 1912, have been released by order of the Minister of the Interior.

Sofia, April 13.

The Powers delivered their reply to the last Note of the Allies this afternoon.

The reply of the Powers to the last Note of the Allies says:—

"The Powers note with satisfaction the disposition of the Allies in favour of peace and reply in the following manner to the four points raised in the Allies' Note.—

"To the first point (Bulgaria's demand regarding the Turco-Bulgarian frontier) no objections are raised.

"On the second point the Powers point out that the fate of the *Ægean Islands* having been reserved for the consideration of the Powers, this point can only be admitted subject to the decisions to be arrived at regarding certain of the islands.

"On the third point the Powers inform the Allies that they are ready to communicate to them at once the north and north-west frontier of Albania, and that the south-east and south will be communicated to them as soon as it has been determined.

"On the fourth point the Powers state that the solution of all questions of a financial character having been reserved for the Technical Commission in Paris, in which delegates of the belligerents will take part, they do not see any reason for giving their views at present on the question of an indemnity."

M. Gueshoff, the Bulgarian Premier, has replied that he will confer with the Allies on the reply.

Constantinople, April 13.

The following official account of recent fighting is published here:—

"Yesterday, apart from an artillery duel on our left wing, no event of importance was reported from the *Tchataldja* lines. While we were carrying out reconnaissances on the sea coast between *Bogados* and *Silivri* we descried on the road a transport column belonging to the enemy. We opened fire on it and destroyed three wagons, whereupon the column took to flight, abandoning the remaining wagons.

"On the evening of the 11th a suspicious looking sailing vessel was seen approaching *Kumburun* on the *Mudros* coast. We fired on her and put her to flight.

"Yesterday afternoon, to the south of *Sedulbahr*, two of our torpedo-boats encountered two of the enemy's torpedo-boats. Shots were exchanged for a quarter of an hour, when two other hostile torpedo-boats arrived to reinforce the enemy. Our cruiser *Medjidyek* then went to the assistance of our torpedo-boats, and after firing a few shells put to flight the Greek torpedo-boats, which we pursued for some distance.

"There is no change in the situation at *Bolair*."

Constantinople, April 14.

The Ottoman delegates who have been appointed to represent the Porte at the financial conference in Paris are the ex-Ministers of Finance, *Djavid* and *Nail* Beys, *Halachjan* Effendi, ex-Minister of Public Works, *Muafik* Bey, Inspector of Finance, *M. Mery*, representative of the Public Debt Administration, *Sir Richard Crawford*, Financial Adviser to the Porte, and *Mukhtar* Bey, Director of Railways in the Department of the Ministry of Public Works. *M. Mery* leaves Constantinople on Thursday; *Djavid* Bey is already in Western Europe; *Nail* Bey left on Saturday.

There is reason to believe that the Government has agreed to the prolongation of the lighthouse concession for 20 years in return for an advance of £1500,000. The agreement, however, has not been signed at the moment of telegraphing.

I am informed on high authority that the Government will be represented at the impending peace negotiations by *Hakki* and *Rashid* Pashas, *Nabi* Bey, and two officers of the General Staff.

Although the Government has not received official confirmation of the occupation of *Avlona* by *Djavid* Pasha, the Committee again the *Tanin* also remarks that *Djavid* Pasha will represent the Porte in dealing with the Albanian question. Whether this view is taken by the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Governments is doubtful. The Porte declares that *Djavid* Pasha is outside its range, and that any action he may have taken has been without its knowledge or consent. It does not, however, conceal its opinion that the Albanians deserve anything they get.

Sofia, April 15.

In an interview given to-day to a few representatives of the European Press *Shukri* Pasha made the explicit statement that he was captured by the Bulgarians, not by the Serbians. In

view of the official declaration of the Serbian cavalry, the veracity of the Turkish General himself is not without interest.

Constantinople, April 15.

According to the local newspapers *Mehalib* Bey, a leading military supporter of the Committee, who was for a time Chief of Police in Constantinople, has been appointed Governor of *Avlona*, where he has declared martial law and ordered the execution of five persons including an Albanian officer, *Zia* Bey, son of *Naim* Pasha of *Berat*, on the charge of having deserted his post at *Yannina*. In addition, *Mehmed* Pasha of *Kalkandelen*, Minister of War in the Albanian Provisional Government, and a number of other Albanian Nationalists are stated to have been arrested.

Athens, April 16.

Proposals have been introduced into the Chamber to increase the force of *Gendarmes* from 5,500 to 7,000 men, and to lay telegraphic and telephonic lines giving direct communication between *Athens* and *Salonica* and *Yannina*, and the furthest points of the *Peloponnesus*.

Constantinople, April 16.

An official *communiqué* announces that on April 13 an Armenian house at *Erzingjan* was blown up by a dynamite explosion which injured several neighbouring houses. The Police search in the ruins resulted in the discovery of the bodies of three Armenians, 11 bombs, of various patterns, 60 tubes suitable for bombs, a few cartridges, and a rifle, together with some unexploded dynamite. A perquisition carried out at the houses of the victims and of their relatives resulted in the discovery of other explosives and firearms. The necessary measures were taken for the maintenance of order.

The vicar and other notables of the Armenian community of the town have expressed regret at the occurrence.

Vienna.

Some importance is ascribed here to the Turkish *communiqué* upon disorders at *Bitlis* in connexion with the alleged murder of a Turk by nine Armenians. It is assumed that neither the Turkish *communiqué* nor the Armenian reports, against which it is directed, tell the precise truth. They indicate, nevertheless, the outbreak of disorders which may acquire political significance in present circumstances.

British Foreign Policy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—With all respect to the superior knowledge and ability of our excellent Foreign Secretary, who probably deserves the principal credit of having averted a European conflict over the question of the Balkan settlement, I venture to suggest that there has been an unaccountable change of front in British foreign policy within the last week or two. Up till then we were told, on the authority of the Prime Minister himself, that the Allies were not to be robbed of the fruits of their dearly-bought victories. But now it appears that, to a very great extent, they are. Why should they be prevented from taking Constantinople? What should it matter to us? Would not the Bulgarians do as well there as the Turks? For my part I should like to see the latter driven out of Europe, as Mr. Gladstone said, "bag and baggage." Why should the Powers insist on the drawing of the new frontier line from sea to sea? Indeed, one fails to understand why the Powers are imposing restrictions on behalf of Turkey at all. England appears to have gone right over to the Austrian policy, notwithstanding the fact that public sentiment in this country is unmistakably on the side of the plucky little Balkan States. Montenegro is being coerced because she persisted in the effort to capture *Scutari*, which used to belong to her and where the ashes of the ancestors of her present Sovereign lie. People seldom realize, in speaking of an autonomous Albania, that the religious cleavage in that country goes much deeper than the racial, and that what the Christian Albanians want is to be sheltered from their Moslem oppressors by association with a Christian State. Is it too late to suggest that something might be done in this direction? One would like to see England standing forth as the champion of small nationalities rather than meekly obeying the behest of the Teutonic alliance.

There is another quarter of the world where British action on behalf of the oppressed is even more urgently called for just now. I refer to Portugal, our ancient ally. The Duchess of Bedford and others have brought to our knowledge by first-hand testimony a state of things unspeakably dreadful for barbarity and wickedness. It may be questioned if Turkish misrule was ever worse than that of the new Portuguese Republican Government in regard to persons suspected of Royalist sympathies. It is to be

hoped that this information will not pass unheeded. Here is a case in which pressure could be effectually exerted immediately by France and England or either of them without the slightest danger of European complications. We are morally bound to do it, and I trust that public opinion will speedily make itself felt on the point.

Yours very truly,

R. J. CAMPBELL.

The City Temple, E. C., April 14.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—In the letter on British foreign policy addressed to you by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, there appears to me to be a vital self-contradiction in the part relating to Albania and Montenegro. Mr. Campbell rejoices, as we all do, in the fact that Sir E. Grey "probably deserves the principal credit of having averted a European conflict over the question of the Balkan settlement," but he then goes on to arraign as unjust the means by which Sir E. Grey has preserved peace, and the only means by which it could have been preserved—that is to say, a compromise between the views of Austria and Russia. It is useless to demand peace and at the same time to claim all the results of a victorious war. And only a victorious war of Russia against Austria could have brought about the entirely anti-Austrian settlement desired by Mr. Campbell. He says, "England appears to have gone right over to the Austrian policy." This is, I think, an overstatement of a serious kind. If, as may well be, English policy is represented by the compromise arrived at, then England is in a middle position, neither anti-Austrian nor pro-Austrian. Austria, Mr. Campbell forgets, has laid aside all her ambitions in the Sanjak of Novibazar, and has allowed Serbia to lay claim to the important towns of Northern Albania, Scutari alone excepted. The idea that this European compromise is an Austrian victory is just as untrue as the idea that it is a Russian victory. If Mr. Campbell wishes us to throw our diplomatic weight wholly against Austria, he must face the consequences of renewed ill-relations with Austria's ally, Germany. You cannot have better relations with the Teutonic Powers while opposing them everywhere in everything.

Mr. Campbell says that Scutari used to belong to Montenegro. Half France used to belong to England. But the modern French do not want to belong to England, and the modern inhabitants of Scutari most emphatically do not want to belong to Montenegro. It is not the case that the Albanian Christians wish to be annexed to Montenegro. They dread it above all things. The doctrine of nationality and liberty in this case of Scutari leads to the same conclusion as the doctrine of preserving European peace.

In the second half of his letter Mr. Campbell says things which will be warmly welcomed by every one who has read the facts about the Portuguese Royalist prisoners. If the Portuguese Terrorists, whose conduct is on all fours with that of King "Bomba" of Naples as regards the treatment of their enemies, think that they can escape the indignation of any section of British opinion, Liberal or Conservative, by parading the name of "Republic" they will very shortly find themselves mistaken. It is greatly to be hoped that the better elements in Portugal can succeed in making the Republic once more as civilized as it was when it began its career.

Chelsea, April 15

(H. M. TREVELYAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Will you permit me to express my regret that the Rev. R. J. Campbell should have seen fit to write the vindictive letter about the Turks which appeared in your issue of April 15? There are, I am convinced, very many people in this country who like myself, know the Turks and appreciate their many fine qualities, who have not forgotten the ancient friendship which existed between us and them, and who deeply sympathize with their recent misfortunes which they support with that silent dignity characteristic of Islam. We too have kept silence, since no useful end was to be gained by speech, and we have refrained from expressing the doubts we feel as to the gain likely to accrue to humanity from the victory of the Balkan States. Is it too much to expect that those whom political or religious prejudices renders blind alike to the virtues of the Turks and the shortcomings of the Allies should at least refrain—if only out of consideration for our Mahomedan fellow-subjects—from such manifestations of *Schadenfreude* (if Mr. Campbell will forgive the Teutonism) as that which I venture to deplore? Are there not enough Turkish widows and orphans to satisfy Mr. Campbell that he should no eagerly desire to see repeated at Scutari horrors of which the record is already too long? On the questionable character of several of his assertions concerning Albania, Austria, and British policy, not to mention Portugal, I think it unnecessary to dwell.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

EDWARD G. BROWN.

Cambridge, April 16.

The Siege of Adrianople.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN THRACE.)

Adrianople, April 8.

AFTER five months of investment and bombardment, after having resisted two major and many minor assaults, after several sorties and counter-attacks, Adrianople, reputed to be a first-class fortress, fell to the Bulgarian and Servian Allies by assault in 25 hours on March 26. The garrison that made this spirited defence under the command of Ghazi Shukri Pasha consisted at the time of the first investment of the 10th Nizam Division (12,000 men), 11th Nizam Division (7,500 men), Adrianople Redif Division (7,000 men), Baba Esaki Redif Division (10,000 men), Gumuljina Redif Division (8,000 men), five squadrons of cavalry (500 men), two battalions of Mustafa (2,000 men), and 11,000 fortress gunners. The total was therefore 58,000 men, including the 4th Nistanji Regiment and a Drussan Redif regiment attached to the 10th Division.

During the early phases of the war a moiety of the garrison was organized as a mobile field army for the purpose of co-operating with the Grand Turkish Army that was to concentrate in the vicinity of the fortress. The clumsy and ill-devised manner in which this co-operation was attempted has already been described in the *Times*, though the fact that it was only saved from disaster by the quick-witted action of Rifaa Pasha, the general officer commanding the artillery, is here set down for the first time. Shukri Pasha, in his cumbrous effort at co-operation during the period of the operations before Kirk Kilisse (Lozengrad), having no semblance of an intelligence department on his staff, failed to find the enemy where he supposed them to be. In the meantime they marched in upon his flank, and were within an ace of marching into the fortress behind him, when Rifaa Pasha, feeling that Regular troops were better than the Redifs remaining in the fortress, concentrated his carbine-armed fortress gunners and marched them out to counter-attack. This counter-attack so deceived the Bulgarians that they failed to push their advantage already won, and Shukri Pasha was able to retire again upon his fortress.

After these early events, which were correlated to the fortunes of the two main field armies battling in Thrace, the Allies invaded Adrianople in the manner which is now history, and settled down to the protracted operations which terminated ten days ago.

THE FORTRESS OF ADRIANOPLE.

So many maps and plans of the fortress have been published that it is unnecessary for the purpose of this narrative to give a detailed description of the whole perimeter. The strength of Adrianople lay in the natural grouping of the topographical features which surround it. These are mainly the confluence of three considerable rivers, which form a junction in the valley where the town and its chief suburb lie, and a double ring of those extraordinary smooth-sided knolls and ridges which are the feature of Northern Thrace. These topographical advantages are such that, given a well-staffed field army of the size of Shukri Pasha's, it could have constructed in four hours field works that should have enabled it to give pause to any immediate hostile approach until it was able to complete suitable defence works. Above these natural advantages the Turks had to hand what was presumed to be a ready-made modern fortress, with a wonderful weight of up-to-date position fortress artillery, communications, and supplies. The world therefore had the right to believe that as far as any fortress may be considered impregnable Adrianople was to be reckoned in that category. The Bulgarians, with their special facilities for information on the subject, should have known better. Perhaps they did. Adrianople, however, no matter upon whose advice its works were traced and constructed, no matter its armament, was never a first-class fortress. It had, nevertheless, a perimeter of between 20 and 25 miles which was defended by a continuous chain of well-placed and strongly-armed redoubts. These in turn on the east and southern sectors were protected by a semi-circle of advance works which, as events were to prove, were utilized by the Turks as their main line of resistance. It would seem to the writer that the defenders of Adrianople both in the design of their works and in the conduct of their defence forgot that infantry is the "queen of battles," and set their trust in the power of the house of Krupp.

For the purposes of its defence the fortress was divided into three sections. These were an eastern, western, and southern section. A glance at the map will show how the course of the river Tundja made the northern half of the perimeter fall naturally into an eastern and western section, and obliterated the necessity for a northern section. The eastern section, the one we shall be chiefly concerned with in this narrative, was held by the Baba Esaki Redif Division, the western section by the Adrianople Redif Division, the southern section by the Gumuljina Redif Division. To the 11th Nizam Division was entrusted the Mareah salient between the rivers Arda and Maritsa, while the 10th Nizam Division was kept in barracks in Adrianople as a general reserve. It will be seen, there-

fore, that the defence considered the Papas Tepé ridge on the west and the eastern section as the two salients likely to affect the safety of the fortress. This was mainly due to the fact that on all other fronts the approaches were rendered difficult by morasses and other topographical difficulties.

The rigours of the winter campaign fell far more lightly on the defence than upon the investing army, as, owing to the strength of the garrison, Shukri Pasha during the bad weather was able to establish a system of relief every 24 hours. This not only allowed the large majority of his men to have a period of two days in barracks for one in the trenches, but enabled them to have exercise in moving to and from the positions.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE ALLIES.

Although the Allies did not affect the same division of their forces as the Turks, yet to avoid confusion it will be better to show the disposition of the Allies as they fronted the Turkish sections. In front of the eastern section General Ivanoff had the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Brigades of the 11th Division and the 3rd Brigade of the 8th Division. In front of the southern section he had the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Division and the 1st and 2nd Brigades of the 8th Division, with the 2nd and 3rd Brigades of the 3rd Division in reserve. In front of the western section were the Servian Timok Division, while filling the gap between the Servians and the 11th Bulgarian Divisions was a Bulgarian force that the writer was unable to place. The total numbers of the army of investment on the day that the final operations began was 120,000 Bulgarians and 35,000 Servians of all arms.

Time and the advent of cholera, with probability of quarantine, prevented the writer from visiting the lines which the Bulgarians held during the investment. He, however, passed through those of the Timok Division, and if the former are as well conceived and constructed as the latter, they can leave little to be desired in the matter of excellence in design and construction.

As is now public knowledge, there had been much heart-burning about the conduct of the operations round Adrianople. General Ivanoff, who is a modest soldier of simple and direct character, came at one period under a flood of obloquy because events appeared to move so slowly in front of the invested city. The situation was not helped by the attitude of the Servian people, who, having accomplished all they could expect in Macedonia, were impatient at the apparently inactive detention of their soldiers in Thrace. What was really happening in front of Adrianople was this. An impression was on the way to establish itself that, as it was known that the Turkish garrison had both food and ammunition in plenty, it would be courting a grave risk of disaster to attempt to carry the town by a *coup de main*. It was said, with what truth the writer cannot say, that General Savoff was inclined to this view, which was very prevalent after the first week following the resumption of hostilities. General Vasoff, the most expert engineer officer in the Bulgarian Army, then asked permission to make an extended reconnaissance of the enemy's positions with a view of discovering the key to the fortress, which he maintained every fortress possessed. General Ivanoff had implicit confidence in his judgment, and counselled the patience which the nation at the moment was so grudgingly prepared to give. General Vasoff required a clear month to carry out his reconnaissance. At the end of that period he came to General Ivanoff with a plan, which the latter was only too eager to accept. The boldness of its conception was its chief merit. It proposed to strike at the enemy in the very heart of their greatest stronghold—a direct assault upon the centre of the eastern section of their defences. The plan showed that by a skilful use of the shelving banks of the Pravodia stream it was conceivable that the Turkish advance position at Mal Tépe might be rushed, and that once secured, the reverse of the Mal Tépe ridge could be immediately utilized as cover to launch a desperate effort against the inner and main defences of the Arnautken ridge. A closer reconnaissance confirmed General Vasoff's view, and it was decided that the operation should be attempted.

Thirty batteries and three Bulgarian divisions, about 75,000 men, were concentrated upon the front of the Turkish eastern section. Orders were issued that a tentative attack was to be made upon the whole perimeter, which in the case of the Servians in front of Papas Tépe, as they had not been drawn upon for the eastern salient, might be developed as circumstances allowed into an assault. The bulk of the Bulgarian artillery was massed at Duluk, in an area about five kilometres east of the Aivas Baba fort, which placed it at about 3,000 yards from the Turkish advanced position.

THE SELECTED SALIENT.

From the Turkish standpoint the salient that the Bulgarian had selected for their assault presents the following picture:—The

ridge of Arnautkeni rises more less abruptly from the Adrianople valley three kilometres from the town; it runs in a north easterly direction. Exactly north-east of the town are the three works, Tash Tabia, Aivas Baba, and Ayi Yorlu. Aivas Baba in the centre makes the north-east angle of the perimeter. The works are monuments of ancient fortification, and were relegated to the service of the rifle and machine gun. The gun positions lay between them cut into the reverse of the ridge, which from the Adrianople side is curtain-like in its sheerness. Linking up the batteries were a certain number of infantry trenches. As you stand in any of these batteries the following view unfolds. Behind you down in the valley lies Adrianople in all the glory of its mosques and Oriental architecture. Further beyond you have as it were a bird's-eye view of all the billowy hillocks that are the defences of the southern and western sections. It is the view in front, however, that will interest the military student. Although the reverse is almost sheer, the approach to the three positions is one of those gentle grassy slopes that the writer has already described as being peculiar to Thrace in his descriptions of Lule Burgas and Tchataldja. The valley sweeps gently downwards for perhaps a couple of hundred feet, and then rises again to the less defined ridge of the Mal Tépe. Mal Tépe itself is 2,300 yards from Ayi Yorlu. The military eye will observe that in the drop of 200ft there are certain folds by which well trained and well-led infantry could profit. The Arnautkeni ridge, be it remembered, is the Turkish main and last position. It is protected by a continuous barbed-wire *chevaux-de-frise* about 150 yards down the approach slope. This entanglement is 5ft. high and 20ft. broad. The vicious wires are interlaced upon four parallels of iron stakes.

The approaches to the Mal Tépe works are not as cleanly defined as those to the main position. The devices for their protection are not so sealed-pattern as those behind. The writer, sorely puzzled, has not been able to make up his mind whether on this front the Turks intended Mal Tépe to be the real line of their resistance or Arnautkeni. They had field guns in position in their forward works. The ultimate collapse of all defence on the main works leads him to think that they were prepared to stand or fall by the fate of Mal Tépe. Possibly they did not know themselves. Thus, however, is what ultimately happened.

THE BULGARIAN ACCOUNT.

By the evening of March 23 all the Bulgarian preparations had been made. The 30 batteries were massed in the Duluk area. At 1 a.m. on March 24 they opened on the Turkish advanced positions and the heavier guns on Arnautkeni. The Turkish gunners responded merrily to this fire. To all intents and purposes it was only an artillery duel. There was no movement on any of the Bulgarian front of the Turkish observation posts. All the time the Bulgarian infantry, profiting by General Vasoff's reconnaissance, was stealing along under cover of a rivulet's shelving banks and massing within striking distance of Mal Tépe. Nothing of their sinister movements was observed, and at 7 p.m. the bombardment died out. Like so many previous bombardments, it had all the appearance of an ordinary day in the tedious history of the siege. At 3.30 on the following morning Mal Tépe was Bulgarian by a *coup de main*. The story of this success is obscure. That the Turks were completely surprised is certain, as it is also certain that there was bloody work in the trenches before the victors could be brought into control. An officer who was present relates that his men were so elated, and so intoxicated by the ease with which the works had been taken, that they were eager to march to the assault of the main position. Over 3,000 Turkish prisoners and Providence alone knows how many Turkish dead were the result of this great effort. There were still, however, 2,300 yards between Mal Tépe and Arnautkeni. It was a passage that should have been desperate.

There was no intention that the attack should rest on its laurels. The general attack of the Adrianople perimeter was ordered as from midnight March 24-25. Mal Tépe won, the assault had to progress. The two salients selected for the Bulgarian assault were Aivas Baba on the right and Ayi Yorlu on the left. These works jut out bastion like from the Turkish position. They are 1,200 yards apart. Between them the works and their protecting entanglements are like the inside lines of an M, with the angles pointing towards the Bulgarians. The morning of the 25th broke with a heavy spring mist. Nothing could have been more favourable for the attack. The mists hung low in the valleys, and the 10th Haskovo Regiment directed upon Ayi Yorlu and the 23rd Regiment directed upon Aivas Baba under cover of the mists gained ground in the folds of dead ground that have already been described. In the meantime all possible mobile artillery was brought up from Duluk and put into position behind the newly-captured ridge.

THE TAKING OF ADRIANOPLE.

From daylight on the 25th the bombardment all round the fortress was general. Every section was engaged, and the Turks replied.

briskly from every quarter of the perimeter. The main preparation of course was against the two salients which the Bulgarians had selected, and against Papan Tépé, which was the objective of the Serbians. Shukri Pasha, who appears with his staff to have been unnerved by the loss of Mal Tépé, reinforced his eastern section with five battalions from his general reserve. By 8 in the morning the mists were so heavy that all artillery fire had perforce to cease. This mist, however, was a great factor in the success of the Bulgarian infantry, and by 5 o'clock in the evening dead ground had been stolen to within 500 yards of Ayi Yoru. In the opinion of the writer the Turkish staff at this period, either paralysed into ineffective ordering of the defence or despairing of success, or, what is worse, sacrificing their men by wilful inertia, had given up all hope as saving the fortress. Shukri Pasha instructed the Ottoman Bank Agency to telegraph its balance to Constantinople that night, and gave orders for destruction of stores and demolitions to take place on the following morning. Staff officers on the works sent instructions to friends and relatives in the town to dispose of various properties. There was also a general paralysis of administration. It was ordered by telephone that white flags were to be in readiness for instant use. Yet one of the outer line of works only was in the hands of the enemy.

The bombardment of Ayi Yoru and Aivas Baba was terrible towards evening. It prefigured the climax that was at hand.

THE ASSAULT

At 2 on the morning of March 26 the Haskovo Regiment penetrated the entanglements and stood with their naked bayonets upon Ayi Yoru and the crest of Arnaikem. Here is the Bulgarian story. The infantry dashed forward like lions. In spite of a fire from all arms that made the summit of the works almost as light as day the infantry would not wait for the wire cutters, but, throwing their coats on to the barbed wires, threw themselves over with shouts of "At them with the bayonet!" The Turks resisted in their trenches, and were bayoneted by the thousand. This, of course, is but the enthusiasm of success. The main works of Adrianople were barely defended. What is more wonderful in the saying, they were almost indefensible. The infantry trenches on the Arnaikem ridge were nothing more than field works that a brigade of Indian infantry would have been ashamed of if they had been the result of their labour before going into an exposed camp on a frontier campaign. The writer could scarcely believe his eyes when he saw the defences of this reputed fortress. When he remembers what Sir W. G. Knox did in a week with British infantry on the Helipnakar section of the Laydsmithe defences, when he calls to mind the Russian works which the Japanese had to force at Yano-yang, and then compares them with the parodies on military engineering which defended Adrianople for five months, it is his opinion that Adrianople ought and would have been taken by the Bulgarian any time during the past five months.

As it was, the wire entanglements along the 1,200 yards separating Ayi Yoru and Aivas Baba were cut in a single place. The cutting was capable of passing perhaps eight men abreast. Along the whole line of barbed obstacles there were none of those signs of a desperate passage which those who were in Mauchina will remember in their dreams to their dying days.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE TOWN.

Bulgarian official accounts say that Aivas Baba was occupied at 3 a.m., and that the entire eastern face was Bulgarian by 8 a.m. There are discrepancies here, as a British officer who was present throughout the siege saw the south-eastern defences, more ably defended by Colonel Ali Chiflik, putting up opposition until much later in the morning. These discrepancies are natural, as in the subjection of a great fortress there must be much that escapes the time-keeper's notice.

One can participate, however, in the feelings of the Bulgarian victors as they stood at sunrise on the summit of Arnaikem and saw the first gold of dawn light up the tall minarets of the mosques and slowly unfold in the mists of night the goal for which they laboured and suffered for five long months. With daylight the fighting on the other fronts broke out again, and still intoxicated with the enthusiasm of success, the victorious infantry swept down from the heights and plunged into the vortex of the city. Resistance here was sporadic, for the disintegrated fugitives from the works were bolting about the narrow streets.

There has been controversy over the surrender of the Ghazi, Shukri Pasha. The Serbians claim that he offered to surrender to them after Papan Tépé had been evacuated on telephonic orders from the Turkish headquarters. The Bulgarian statement, for which General Ivanoff himself is the authority, is that he was taken in his headquarters at Hadirlik by two squadrons of Bulgarian Guard Cavalry. Be this as it may, he went from Hadirlik and surrendered himself to the Bulgarian Generalissimo, who was now directing the occupation of the town from Fort

Kern Cheamé on the eastern front. This was before mid-day, and already white flags were fluttering from all the principal public buildings and unoccupied works within the perimeter. These surrenders were, however, subsequent to the taking of the eastern works, and Adrianople must go down to history as one of the fortresses that was carried by assault.

There is a tendency in Bulgarian quarters to belittle the services of the Timok Division in its simultaneous assault upon Papan Tépé and the western fortresses. This is only natural when the feeling between the Allies is considered. The Serbians carried out their portion of the combined attack with great spirit and *elan*. General Ivanoff is the first to admit this. It was their rôle to engage the western section of the Turkish defence and absorb some of the reserves otherwise available to support the defence of the eastern section. As their casualties show, they devotedly carried out this rôle, though it is doubtful if, had it not been for the Bulgarian success on the east, they would have occupied the Turkish main positions opposed to them.

THE PRISONERS.

The Bulgarians found themselves with close upon 40,000 Turkish prisoners on their hands. The majority had either destroyed or thrown away their arms. The men were herded into the island formed by the river just north of the town. There are many stories current of the ill-treatment of these prisoners. One of these is told by the mother superior of a sisterhood who avows that many prisoners were being bayoneted in cold blood by Serbian Guards and that she saved some by shielding them with her crucifix. The writer does not doubt that in the first heat of the capture of Adrianople there were many brutal and heartless excesses. Such things unfortunately are inseparable from the horrid business of war, especially when racial passions are so inflamed as they have been in this struggle. This much the writer can testify, nothing of the kind happened after the military control was firmly established. He saw thousands of these prisoners on the march to Bulgaria, and there was no sign of brutal treatment then. It is true that the guards were armed with whips. Forty thousand unarmed men, however, represent a force, and whips are a kinder form of control than bayonets. It must be remembered that the state of these prisoners was deplorable. They were mad to get bread, and it was only with whips and bayonets that their guards could keep them from rushing the bread-carts that came down with food. As it was the men devoured all they could seize with the avidity of starved animals. The result on their attenuated organs was awful, and they died from bread-gorging on famished stomachs in large numbers.

TURKISH CONDUCT OF THE DEFENCE

So much has been written about the strength of the fortified positions round Adrianople that it will come as a shock to students of the war to learn that the fortifications were not only miserable in design but totally devoid of military nous in execution. In discussing this question it is necessary to differentiate between the positions designed for batteries and those intended for infantry. As far as a hurried study of the battery positions would allow, there was little that even an artillery officer would find fault with. As gun positions, both those selected for the permanent batteries and those chosen for the supplementary works seemed admirable, but the construction of the works was in the main execrable, and in most cases the splinter proofs afforded little shelter except from the weather. The marvel is that the Bulgarian artillery did not pound these batteries to pieces. The reason that they did not do so is doubtless found in the fact that the general armament of the works being of such heavy calibre the Bulgarians, kept at arm's length by the advance works, did not engage at effective range. Bulgarian gunners have all through this war shown themselves optimistic of the effect of long-ranged artillery fire. Where the Adrianople defences were really lacking was in an intelligent appreciation of the value of the spade to enable infantry to be the real factor in the defence of the fortress. The batteries on the main trace were connected up with a single line of shallow trenches, which would represent four hours' work on the frontage of a British battalion, and which as a protection from artillery fire were simple death traps. Of the cunning devices such as covered ways, traverses, and *trenches blindées* the works were entirely innocent. It seemed that the Turkish system had only considered infantry trenches necessary for night work, and that it was sufficient for the infantry to spend their time in caves dug into the reverse of the positions. In some cases there were communicating trenches to the rear, but they were so shallow that a man even when crouching was exposed. The Turks evidently put their trust in their artillery and in the contract-built entanglements that surrounded their main works. The entanglements also bore the stamp of contract erection. They followed the trace of the works at a uniform distance of about 150 yards, and had been erected irrespectively of any special features or the immediate glaciés and approaches. The impression left upon the writer is that such supplementary spade work and obstacle-

raising that had been done showed no more imagination or appreciation of the requirements of the approaches than was to be found in a slavish endeavour to follow the contour of the various crest lines.

Reference has already been made to the want of administration in dealing with the resources of the town. The official computation was that it required 500 sacks of flour daily to ration the garrison and town. There were ample stocks in Adrianople, but no endeavour was made to commandeer the entire food supply and to issue a general ration. As a consequence the soldiers were reduced to a starvation ration during the last days of the investment, while the townspeople never felt the want of anything except salt, petroleum, and cigarette papers. The town showed but small effects from the casual bombardment to which it had been subjected. There was no sickness in epidemic form and no interference with the Christian population.

The scenes in narrow streets after the entry of the Allies were of special interest. The wealth of Bulgarian flag beggared description. Greek and Jewish burghers vied with each other in proclaiming their ecstasy in their new love. What impressed the writer most was the bearing of the Bulgarian soldiery. They were bronzed, bearded stalwarts. Their gaunt, hard features and dour faces were eloquent of the bitter months they had spent in the trenches, and one could not but feel drawn to them as they swaggered down the bazaars of the town they had taken by their own splendid efforts. Turks there were many amongst them. Those that were Christians had a cross marked large on chest or *kalpak*, those that were non-combatants wore a brassard of the Bulgarian colours. There was no mean suttler who hid not the Cross writ large upon his shutters, while the Greek cabdrivers had plastered the panels of their *arabas* with it. Bathos was introduced into the fantastic picture by the abrogation of the *fez*. Every Turkish subject procured unto himself a hat, and the sight of countless Ottoman Christian soldiers who four days before had been in the trenches wearing straw hats above their chocolate uniforms was ludicrous in the extreme.

THE PRICE OF VICTORY

And now we come to the casualties. The official estimate is that the taking of Adrianople cost the Allies 7,000 casualties, and that the Turks lost 10,000 killed in their stubborn defence. There is always a desire, after a protracted investment that ends in a somewhat tame military curtain, to exaggerate the losses. It would be kinder not to examine these pretended losses too closely. If there were 10,000 Turkish corpses, then there was some unjustifiable butchery somewhere. But there were not, and any one who, like the writer, has been unfortunate enough to see battles in which there have been many thousands of dead, knows the labour of dealing with the corpses. They cannot be spirited away, any more than the evidences of an assault that threw itself over stubborn wire entanglements can be despatched by the good offices of burial parties and bearer companies. One can forgive the Bulgarian assumption that the events of the painful 25 hours that gave them Adrianople impart with what we know of Port Arthur and Liao yang. It is sufficient that Bulgaria's military effort has been sufficient to gain the ends he had in view. Adrianople is a great achievement. The historian in the future will decide the true proportions of the struggle. It would, however, be well that Bulgaria should bear in mind that the house that won its race by galloping through light fences may perhaps fall at the first jump on a new course where the obstacles are built up.

Territorial Claims of Bulgaria and Serbia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, April 17.

The tension between Serbia and Bulgaria appears to be increasing. Circumstantial reports have been received here of the concentration of Serbian and Bulgarian troops at Guevgeli and Duran, on the right and left banks of the Vardar respectively. The claim on the Serbian official organ *Samooprava* that the Bulgarian-Serbian Treaty of Alliance should be interpreted as having been concluded on the principle *tabula rasa* is taken as a sign that the Serbian Government intends to press for a revision of the Treaty in accordance with the extraordinary services rendered by Serbia to Bulgaria during the war. Bulgaria is inclined on the contrary to insist on a strict interpretation of the written pact, and to claim, by implication, that if Serbia did more than she bargained to do, the consciousness of having rendered valuable services should be a sufficient reward.

Despite the threatening outlook, it is not yet credible that the two countries will come to blows over their territorial claims. A sense of the perils to which an armed conflict would expose both States ought to give pause to the two Governments. Recognition of those perils caused Bulgaria to turn a deaf ear some years back to suggestions of territorial aggrandizement at Serbian expense that might well have tempted a ruler less circumspect than King Ferdinand. Recent military successes may have turned the heads of Serbian and Bulgarian officers alike, but it seems inconceivable that either Government will so betray the Balkan cause, and so jeopardize the political independence of their countries, as to fly at each other's throats over the division of the Turkish spoils. If they cannot, or will not, hear reason it is surely time for the Powers of the Triple Entente to urge upon them the extreme rashness of their conduct.

It is semi-officially suggested here that the international blockade of San Giovanni di Medua will be suspended in order to allow the Serbian forces before Scutari to embark for Salonica. A request to this effect is stated to have been addressed on behalf of Serbia to the commanding officers of the blockading fleet.

THE SERBO-BULGARIAN TREATY

The Treaty of Alliance which was concluded between Serbia and Bulgaria in March, 1912, besides specifying the nature of the military assistance mutually to be rendered by the two States, also proscribed the future division of any territorial conquests which the Allies might make in a successful war jointly to be undertaken against Turkey. At the time the Treaty was signed it is probable that autonomy for Macedonia was contemplated, while the formation of an Albanian State was not foreseen. It was also expected that Austria-Hungary's interests in the Sanjak of Novibazar would preclude any chance of its becoming spoil of war. By the terms of this Treaty two spheres of Ottoman territory were proscribed, one for each Ally, within which the future sovereignty of each was mutually recognized. As the destiny of certain districts could not then be determined, a certain area between the two spheres was defined, and it was agreed that the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia should be accepted as deciding the exact division of this debatable area between Bulgaria and Serbia.

The two "spheres" are shown on the above map, and also the area left for arbitration. This consists of the *Axaca* of Kumanovo, Uskub, Kritchovo, and Dibra, and also the *Nahia* of Struga in the *Kaza* of Ohrida. Owing to the decision of the Powers a large part of the *Kaza* of Dibra has been included in Albania. In consequence of the formation of this State the Serbians, who are in military occupation of Monastir and the country to the north and east of it, desire to modify the territorial agreement of March, 1912, and have manifested a desire to retain not only the whole of the area left for arbitration, but also a considerable extent of the territory which in that instrument is recognized as being within the Bulgarian sphere.

The Truce in the Balkans.

The fog of diplomacy, like the "fog of war," usually precedes important events, and there is reason to hope that the mist which hangs heavily over the Balkans at present may be the prelude to definite decisions in favour of peace. Nobody can pretend to see clearly what is going on behind the veil, but from such scattered glimpses as can be obtained where it is least dense the conclusion is being widely drawn that the long struggle between Turkey and the Allies is at last nearing its close. None of the known facts proves the justice of this inference, but, on the other hand, all of them tend to support it. The Prime Minister, in the absence of Sir Edward Grey, presided at the meeting of the Ambassadors yesterday, and Lord Morley also attended it. The circumstance admits of several interpretations, but many persons we imagine may surmise that Mr. Asquith would not have taken the place which the Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs has filled before, when his chief was away, unless large questions had been coming up for discussion. The supposition may be quite erroneous, but it is not devoid of a certain plausibility. The main ground on which the general expectation of a settlement in the near future is founded is, of course, the cessation of hostilities before Terhatalja in virtue of a verbal agreement between the opposing commanders. The terms are set out in our Constantinople message, and it will be seen that all of them, and more particularly the clause admitting Bulgarian provision ships within the Straits, strongly support the presumption that the *de facto* truce is intended to lead up to a regular armistice, to be followed by the resumption of diplomatic activities and finally by the conclusion of a definitive peace. The peace party in Sofia now seem to have gained the upper hand. The soldiers may still have to be reckoned with, but at present it would appear that they have renounced their ambition of making a triumphal entry into Constantinople or that they have been overborne by the statesmen and by the

sober judgment of the masses. If this view is correct and Bulgaria has made up her mind that an attack upon the Turkish lines cannot be to her advantage, the most formidable of the perils with which the war has been threatening Europe has disappeared. We have pointed them out so often that it is needless to recapitulate them. All of us have before our minds what a scramble for the remaining provinces of the Ottoman Empire must mean.

Time is necessary for the conversion of the truce into an armistice because Bulgaria cannot enter into a formal armistice with the common enemy of the Allies until she has consulted all her partners. But the time required for consultation need not be long, if the most powerful member of the Alliance is resolved to terminate the war. It is only when advantages are to be gained by procrastination that the process of referring to all the partners becomes protracted. We have not at the moment any very positive signs as to what the desires of the Serbians and the Greeks on this subject may be. The Montenegrins still proclaim that they mean to keep fighting until they take Scutari, but it is thought nevertheless that their minds are not irrevocably closed to a good offer. The Serbians have, it is understood, now actually withdrawn their forces from before that town and the not unreasonable suggestion is sometimes put forward in Vienna that the blockade should be suspended in order to allow them to re-embark their troops. They have been somewhat tardy in their compliance with the admonition of the Powers since the fact that they have acceded to the wishes of European Great Powers encourages the hope that they may prove equally amenable to advice in regard to peace with Turkey. There are many indications that the relations between them and the Bulgarians are becoming strained. Though the hostilities are not yet actually killed, the hunters are beginning to quarrel over his skin. The map and statement which we print elsewhere show in what manner they originally proposed to share the spoils. But when they made this agreement they did not foresee that these spoils would be so ample, nor did they contemplate the establishment of an independent State of Albania. Albania as already delimited by the Powers "comes cranking in" to the territory which the treaty of March, 1912, allots to the Serbians. The Serbians, it appears, protest that this arrangement was only intended to hold good "rebus sic stantibus," and that, in the way in which events have worked out, they ought to be allowed to have not only the whole of the area left for arbitration by the treaty, but also a considerable tract which that instrument expressly assigned to Bulgaria. The Bulgarians, on the other hand, seem disposed to insist upon the letter of their bargain, and to hold, as to the services which the Serbians may have done the common cause beyond their treaty obligations, that virtue should be her own reward.

The two Allies, it is said, are concentrating troops on opposite banks of the Vardar but we must refuse for the present to believe that they intend to sully their hands and to risk their gains by engaging in a fratricidal contest. Such reports, however, confirm the view which we have so often expressed that a definitive settlement in the Balkans is still in all likelihood a very long way off. Even if the last shot has been exchanged between the Turks and the Allies, there will be abundant occupation for the diplomatists during many months. The Greeks as well as the Serbians have their own views as to the just appropriation of the conquered territories. They have no such clear-cut engagements with the Bulgarians and it is known that for some reason or other they have thought it expedient to increase their forces at Salonica. Then the future of the Aegean Islands has to be determined and the southern boundaries of Albania have to be delimited so as to satisfy the conflicting desires of the Greeks and of the Italians, who unquestionably have a deep interest in the ownership of a portion of the Albanian shores which is close over against their own coast. Finally there are the numerous and complicated controversies upon financial subjects which are likely to engage the energies of the Commission in Paris for a great many weeks. We have not of account for the moment contingencies in Constantinople and in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. Even without reckoning them, it is manifest that while we may perhaps indulge in a mild optimism as to the present outlook, it must be of a restrained and chastened to a very appreciable degree.—The Times.

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—Morris.

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The Week.

Persia.

It is understood that the dispute over the Turco-Persian frontier in the vicinity of Mohammerah has been settled to the advantage of Persia. The dispute in Urmiah is now being settled by a Conference at Constantinople.

A Teheran message says: The Government is preparing to send an expedition against Sahar-ed-Daulah who is again active.

The Baghdad Railway.

Reuter states that an agreement between Great Britain and Turkey, disposing of all questions connected with the Baghdad Railway, Koweit and the Turco-Persian frontier is likely to be concluded in the near future, negotiations being far advanced.

A forecast of the Turco-British agreement re the Koweit-Baghdad Railway is given by a correspondent of the *Telegraph*. He says it will be found that Turkish sovereignty over Koweit is admitted, with a formula recognising Britain's special rights. It is not anticipated that Koweit will be chosen as the terminal port of the Baghdad Railway. The section of the line from Baghdad to the Gulf has been entrusted to the Ottoman Company for construction. The working will not be internationalised.

A telegram from Basra says: The Arabs are discontented with the terms of the new law of administration in the Basra Vilayet. The situation is not reassuring. There is some excitement, and anxiety prevails among the authorities. H. M. S. sloop "Alert" arrived on the 4th instant. The new Vali arrived on the 2nd instant.

China.

In his speech in the House of Commons on the opium-growing in China, Mr. Asquith said there was no desire to delay recognition

of the Government of China on our part. Great Britain's one desire was to get formal authoritative confirmation of the treaty and customary rights enjoyed by British and our other nationals in China. When that was received, recognition would follow immediately. It had surely been known that we were well-wishers of China. With regard to the Loan, we had acted as much in China's interests as we had in the Opium question. It was the same with the recognition of the Government.

Colonel Yate asked for some assurance that the Tibet questions would first be satisfactorily settled.

Mr. Asquith replied that that introduced exactly the opposite point of view, namely, that we should make the recognition dependent on other things, which would take weeks and months satisfactorily to settle. He was afraid that was not the best way to get the settlement of such a question.

The Chinese Foreign Minister yesterday morning presented the despatch to the British Minister in Peking requesting the revision of the Opium Agreement by the mutual consent of Great Britain and China.

A St. Petersburg message says: A telegram from Mukden states that the provincial authorities in Manchuria are protesting against the conclusion of the Five-Power Loan. The governors of Kirin and Mukden have resigned.

A Peking wire says: Saijuro Hirai, the Executive Head of the Japanese Railways, has accepted the post of Adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Communications.

A Peking wire says: The Senate and House of Representatives are unable to agree on the Loan question. There was an uproar in the House of Representatives on 8th May. The supporters of Government withdrew, in the face of the Opposition tumult.

The "Zamindar" T. R. F.

The Orient Bank of India, Ltd., Lahore, has received a telegram from Essad Pasha, Constantinople, acknowledging the receipt of Rs. 36,000 (thirty-six thousand) remitted to him on behalf of the Zamindar Turkish Relief Fund, Lahore.

The All-India Medical Mission.

DR. ANSARI sends us the following very informing letter this week:—
Omeri, 29th April, 1913.

I have mentioned to you briefly the reason of my sudden return from Chanak Kila owing to the first meeting of the Committee formed to consider the scheme proposed by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan for the formation of the Moslem Bank.

« اسلاميه تشويق صنایع بنده مي »

(Islamic Bank to encourage Industry and Commerce).

The Committee consisted of the following eleven members:—

1. Khaloosce Dey, ex-Minister of Public Works and Vice-President of the National Defence Association.
2. Mohammad Sarim Kibar Bey, General Merchant, Stamboul.
3. Mohammad Majid Qaraskash Bey, Hosiery Merchant, Stamboul.
4. Azah Bey, ex-Member, National Armament Department.
5. Jellal Arif Bey, Advocate, Professor of Law, Chief of the Association of Advocates.

6. Sheikh Abdul Aziz Chawish
7. Ahmed Jevdet Bey, Advocate.
8. Ali Bey, a Tunisian merchant.
9. Mustafa Hilmi Bey, ex-Prefect of the Porte, retired Captain of the Turkish Navy
10. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor, *Zamindar*.
11. Myself.

In the Committee it was discussed whether a limited Company should be formed for the promotion of Moslem commerce and industry or a Moslem Bank should be opened as well as a Company for the above-mentioned purpose. The two schemes were thoroughly discussed, and it was decided that the latter scheme would be much more advantageous. Khawass Bey was deputed to draft the regulations and the scheme which, after consideration and full discussion in the next meeting, should be submitted to the Turkish Government for the issuing of the "Irade Sanies" sanctioning the formation of the Bank and the Company according to the law of the country. It was also provisionally decided that the capital of the Company should consist of one million Turkish pounds to be sold in shares of one pound each. These shares were to be distributed in different Moslem countries according to their demand. It was also decided that the Proprietor of the Orient Bank, Lahore, should be invited to open a branch in Constantinople as soon as the "Irade Sanies" was issued.

I have received a lithographed copy of rules and regulations for the discussion at the meeting to be held this afternoon. I have had it translated into English and would send it to you next week. No one can doubt that it is a very practical and useful scheme, and should it be carried into effect it would help to regenerate the agriculture, the industries and the commerce of Turkey and other Moslem countries; but it requires a tremendous amount of work and a great deal of care and industry, unfortunately rarely found in Mussalmans, to bring it to a successful end. Although I am an ardent supporter of the scheme I have grave doubts of its success.

You would have received the cable sent by the National Defence Association about the despatch of the provisional receipts by the last mail to India. I hope that these receipts, printed in Turkey and given provisionally to the buyers of the Bonds, would satisfy the Mussalmans of India and induce them to purchase the Bonds in much larger number than they have done hitherto. Your letter in connection with the Bonds, although written in a pessimistic vein has not made me yet despair of the ultimate success of your whole-hearted and genuine efforts. I am quite sure the action of H. E. the Viceroy would remove any doubts lurking in the minds of the Indian Princes. I hope His Highness the Nizam would give the lead by investing 80 to 40 lacs in the Turkish Treasury Bonds. The Begum Sahiba of Bhopal and the Nawab Sahab of Rampore and other princes would also give adequate support to the scheme. But the bulk of these Bonds must be bought by the poor and the middle classes. With a view to popularise the sale of Bonds amongst the latter it is my intention to make a tour in India on my return. I would deal in my lectures with Turkey, its people, its institutions, its Government, the war and its results, the help given by the Indian Mussalmans in money and by sending Medical Missions, the work of the Missions during the war, the future of Turkey and the way in which the Mussalmans of India can best help the Turks and themselves. These lectures will be illustrated by means of some six to eight hundred pictures thrown on screen by means of a projection lantern. I have had a complete set of these slides made here—more than half the number are already finished and the others would be ready by the time I return to India. I wish to start in Bombay, go to Hyderabad, Bhopal, Lucknow, Rampore, Agra, Aligarh and Delhi. And then later on I will go to Lahore, Meerut, Allahabad, Benares, Bankipore and Calcutta. I should be glad if you would let me know what you think of the scheme before my departure.

I have sent you two cables in conjunction with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, as he is perfectly willing to co-operate with us in the scheme of the colonisation of the Muhajireen. As cabled to you he is willing to collect 15 thousand pounds from the readers of his paper in order to colonise, like us, some hundred to hundred and fifty families in Anatolia. It would be advantageous for the further expansion of these two Colonies if they were situated in two different vilayets, one, for example, in Konia and the other in Adana. In selecting the site for these Colonies, the soil and its fertility as regards agricultural and mineral resources would be taken into consideration. Sufficient regard would be had to irrigation facilities by means of a river or a fresh water lake, its proximity to the railway line and to the seashore.

I went with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan to see the Grand Vizier, who heartily approved of this scheme and promised every assistance to our undertaking. He asked us to render the scheme in all its details and promised that every facility would be given to it by the Government.

But before forwarding the definite scheme Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and I thought it expedient to form an influential Indo-Turkish

Committee to help us in our work. I must say that in this work a great deal of time and labour was saved owing to my close association and friendship with a good many of the gentlemen connected with the Croissant Rouge Ottomane and the Party of Union and Progress.

Talaat Bey, who is the brain of the present Government and the party which it represents, accepted the membership of our Committee in spite of his innumerable occupations. It was when I had paid a visit to him for this purpose that he introduced me to the Sheikh-ul-Islam. His Holiness gave us his blessings and wished to thank the Mussalmans of India through us for the Islamic love and brotherhood which they have shown towards Turkey. He assured us that our scheme of colonisation of the homeless and oppressed sufferers of the war was in the very essence supported by the precepts of Islam and of our Prophet and expressed his fervent hope that it would be successful.

Dr. Essad Pasha, who is the head of the Sanitary Department and is a member of the Council for the Settlement of the Emigrants started by the Home Secretary, was good enough to be the President of our Committee.

Dr. Bessim Omer Pasha also accepted to become a member of our Committee.

The following is the list of the officials of the Colonization Committee:—

Those marked with a query are doubtful.

President.—Dr. Essad Pasha.

COMMITTEE.

1. Talaat Bey.
2. Dr. Bessim Omer Pasha.
3. Dr. Aqil Mukhtar Bey.
4. Sheikh Abdul Aziz Chawish
5. Kamal Omer Bey
6. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Proprietor of the *Zamindar*.
7. Mr. Mohamed Ali, Proprietor of the *Comrade*.

Secretary.—Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari.

Bank.—The Imperial Ottoman Bank.

Legal Adviser.—Dr. Jelaal Noori Bey, Editor and Proprietor of *Jeun Tucc*.

Engineer and Agricultural Experts.—Mohammed Bakhshi Bey (?)

"COMRADE" COLONY.

Sanitary Officers.—1. Dr. Ahmad Fud Bey
2. Dr. Mirza Riza Khan.

Director.—Mr. Abdul Rahman Siddiqi

SUPERVISORS

1. Mr. Shuaib Bin Mustafa Quraishi.
2. Mr. Khaliquezaman
3. Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan.
4. Mr. Abdul Aziz Ansari (?)

"ZAMINDAR" COLONY.

Sanitary Officers.—1. Dr. Mahmudullah.
2. Dr. Abdur Rahman (?)

Director.—Maulana Mohammad Sharif (?)

SUPERVISORS

1. Mr. Mirza Abdul Qayyum.
2. Hamid Rasul
3. Vacant.
4. Vacant.

Those members of the All-India Medical Mission who are willing to stay and do the work of colonisation have only accepted the posts on the strict understanding that they shall not be asked to stay after the 15th September, 1918. It is necessary, therefore, to find out suitable men for these posts who would reach Turkey early in August and begin the work, so that when the members of the Mission leave their posts in September the new men may not feel stranded for want of experience.

I am only waiting for peace negotiations to commence, when I would close the hospitals, first at Omerli, and then at Chanak Kila, and proceed for a tour to Anatolia and Adana. I will take an Agricultural Expert and Engineer with me and Dr. Fud so that I may find out everything about the land and the labour in the different parts, and on my return submit a written scheme to the Government for sanction. I hope after putting by a couple of thousand pounds for the expenses of the Mission until its return to India, you would be able to raise fifteen thousand pounds for this great scheme which is in no way inferior to the sending out of the All-India Medical Mission. There are all sorts of rumours current about the changes in the present Cabinet.

The news of the Sadr-i-Azam retiring from his post is so persistent, and some of the highest authorities show so much reticence in this respect, that it is most probable Marshal Mahmoud Sherkat Pasha would soon retire. The most likely successors are Husain Hilmi Pasha and Prince Said Halim.

As there is no war and the weather conditions are most excellent we are naturally left with very few patients.

Both the Missions are working excellently.

MUKHTAR AHMAD ANSARI.

TETE À TETE



WE HAVE received a letter, dated 11th April, from H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Salonica:—"I beg to hand you herewith a statement of the expenditure incurred on your account in connection with the Refugee Camp Hospital during the month of March ultimo. The general health of the Camp during this period was relatively satisfactory and the death-rate showed a considerable decline, though I have not yet been able to get the complete Returns. On the other hand there was a rather serious outbreak of typhoid fever of a severe type amongst various groups of Refugees in town, as a result of which some 500 "suspects" have been sent out to our Camp by the Sanitary Authorities to be isolated under observation. The population of the Camp, however, has now been reduced by nearly one half, over 2,000 persons having been shipped within the last few days to Smyrna, whence it is understood that the Ottoman Government has made arrangements for their transport to Konia. Another batch of about 300 are about to be shipped from the town to the same destination. The Adana colonization scheme, to which I think I alluded in one of my previous letters, has been abandoned at the request of the Turkish authorities, who seem to have considered that the season was too far advanced to allow of the immigrants getting properly acclimatized before the hot weather, the more elevated plain of Konia being substituted as the principal point of settlement. I have remitted £770 to Strumitza, as indicated in my letter of the 27th ultimo, of which £700 is to be distributed on your behalf in the town itself and the remaining £70 in the village of Veljoussa."

Statement of Expenditure on Camp Hospital, etc., on account of the "Comrade" Fund during the month of March.

		Piastres at 104.
Salaries.	Dr. Israel, ...	1248
	Dr. Medonca, ..	1248.
	Chemist Angal, ...	416
	Hospital Attendants, ..	236
Soap for Hospital,	...	80
Carts for transport of sick, etc.,	...	60.
Sundry small items,	...	20

Total for March- 8308
Sumo previously reported: 20846.75

Total ... 24254.75

242541 silver piastres or £212: 17. 10.

The following letter has been addressed by Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, to Members of the League and others:—"I have the honour to address you in connection with a matter of supreme importance and trust that you will be pleased to give to it your earnest and earliest attention. As you are aware, the All-India Moslem League in its last Sessions has adopted the following resolution:—

That the All-India Moslem League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action in questions of public good.

It is now my duty, as the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, to take steps towards the furtherance of their

solution just mentioned. The need for such a *modus operandi* as is suggested in the resolution cannot be exaggerated. It is a matter of great satisfaction that signs leading to real and cordial co-operation in the noble work before us are visible and feelings of sympathy towards the desired object pervade all the communities. It is obvious that we are bound to each other by ties of common nativity and progress of India must necessarily mean the progress of all. It is a truism, therefore, that united we shall be able to overcome all difficulties that lie in the path of reforms in the administration of India tending towards the realisation of our common goal for a system of self-government in this country under the aegis of the British Crown. In this connection I may draw your attention to a circular letter issued by the Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi, President of the last Sessions of the All-India Moslem League. I may be pardoned for considering it a matter of pride that the All-India Moslem League should have taken the first step towards this necessary and urgent question. I have, therefore, no doubt that my appeal to all of you will be met with a ready response and suggestions of practical utility will be offered. At present my idea is that four prominent members of each community from every Province should meet together this year sometime early in September at Lucknow to discuss and settle the preliminaries to future organised action in this behalf." We welcome this action and hope for a ready response from all sides.

In a recent issue we drew the attention of both the Government and the Moslem community to the serious character that the question of the pilgrim traffic to the Hedjaz had come to assume.

The Hedjaz Pilgrims. We pointed out that the two main problems in connection with the traffic were the increasing congestion in Bombay and the sudden and enormous rise in the rates of passage money. We also noted that the Government of Bombay was understood to be maturing proposals with a view to deal effectively with the problems. We now learn that Lord Sydenham on the eve of his retirement submitted certain proposals for approval to the Government of India recommending the grant of a monopoly of the entire pilgrim traffic on certain very extravagant conditions to the shipping company of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. Lord Sydenham never failed to remind the Mussalmans during his term of office that he was a great friend of the community. His latest act in regard to the question of the pilgrim traffic gives us a correct measure of such friendships. As a matter of fact his proposal, if carried into effect, will aggravate the existing evils and will subject the pilgrims, specially those that are poor, to fresh hardships. We are glad to know that the Government of India have returned Lord Sydenham's proposals to the Bombay Government intimating that it is necessary to invite the opinion of the Mussalmans in regard to them before final decision can be taken. We also learn that the Moslem leaders and Anjumans in the Presidency of Bombay have been asked to submit their opinions on the subject by the 19th May. We do not, however, know if any steps of the kind have been taken in any other part of the country. As it is a matter of serious concern to every Moslem in India to know exactly the manner in which the question of pilgrim traffic is to be dealt with, we trust the opinions of Moslem leaders and public bodies like the Moslem Leagues and Anjumans will be invited from every other province besides Bombay. The chief aim of the Government should be to render the conditions of pilgrimage to Mecca as easy as possible and not to increase its difficulties by unsympathetic or stringent regulations. The plight of the pilgrim at present is not very enviable, but he would rather bear cheerfully his present ills than be driven to others he knows not of by the police functionary and the monopolist. What is wanted is the creation of facilities. Any solution of the problem that would tend, however slightly, to diminish the opportunity of a poor Moslem to discharge one of his great religious obligations is bound to create discontent.

The solution proposed by Lord Sydenham is, as we have said, bound to aggravate the existing evils. We learn that the monopoly which the Bombay Government is willing to grant to Messrs.

The Monopoly. Turner, Morrison & Co. carries with it some very peculiar conditions. In the first place the Company requires the monopoly to run for five years. Now it is manifest that the pilgrim's advantage lies in competition among the shipping companies. It has often happened that through open competition the pilgrims have secured passages for Rs. 15. or Rs. 20 to Jeddah. But if it was considered desirable to give a monopoly of the traffic, then the best course would have been to invite tenders from all the shipping firms and to give the monopoly to the one that offered the lowest rates. Then, Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company insist on the issue of return tickets, which is in the highest degree undesirable. Apart

from the fact that about one-fifth of the pilgrims never return to India annually, as is borne out by the experience of past years, there is every chance that many of the simple and ignorant pilgrims would have to undergo additional hardships if they happen to lose their coupon for return passage—a contingency that is likely to be frequent when we consider the conditions of travelling from Jeddah to Mecca and back again. The rates of passage money fixed by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 160 according to the months of the pilgrim season from July to the beginning of October. Now it is obvious that only rich men can afford to go early to the Hedjaz and live there for two or three months. The poor have rarely enough to sustain them in Arabia for a longer period than is absolutely necessary, and they consequently take the last steamers carrying pilgrims to Jeddah. Under the circumstances the rate fixed by the Company would weigh with peculiar harshness and rigour on the poorest of the Hedjaz pilgrims. In view of these facts we trust the Government of India will not accept the conditions offered by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. We wonder why the Bombay Government seems to be so enamoured of this Company and its offer. One is tempted to ask if the Company is not subsidised by the British Foreign Office.

What is really needed to ease the situation is, as we suggested before, to leave the traffic entirely to unrestricted competition and to enforce some regulation to the effect that all shipping companies dealing with the traffic shall fix and announce the rates of fares at least a month before the Haj season begins or the particular ship sails. We trust no effort will be made to "regulate" the traffic as it were a department of the State. An official organisation is the last thing desired by the Mussalmans, and we are sure the Government of India is fully alive to the undesirability of creating an impression amongst them that the pilgrimage to Mecca has become a mere question of administrative or political convenience and is being manipulated to that end. We know the Government is sincerely desirous of alleviating the sad lot of many a pilgrim that seems content and sometimes proud with his last worldly possession in order to satisfy the cravings of his faith. The efforts of the Government in this direction will best succeed by consulting Moslem opinion and helping the pilgrims in the way in which they most need help. The repatriation question has of late been heard of more, and one cannot help wondering if there is not more in it than meets the eye. The spectacle of a few helpless Hajj pilgrims stranded at Jeddah for want of money is not a new one, though the British Consulate discovered it only a few days ago. All such pilgrims were invariably brought back by shipping companies free of charge in previous years. Last year it was reported that about 500 Hajj pilgrims were awaiting repatriation at Jeddah and the Government of India very liberally decided to meet the cost. We do not, however, know why the British Consul elected to send them in batches of 20 and 30 every week. The noise about this affair has not evidently been without its consequences. Dr. Abdul Rahman, British Vice-Consul at Jeddah, is said to have sent a long report to the Indian authorities on the question in which he recommends the adoption of a system of issuing return tickets. He is further said to have suggested that the poor should not be allowed to proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca. He says that the great Ulama in India have been consulted in the matter and agree with him in regard to this suggestion. We do not know who the great Ulama are, nor do we know if Dr. Abdul Rahman is in every sense a success to Dr. Mohamad Hasan who, after retirement from a post carrying not a huge salary, has settled in great wealth in Egypt. But we know perfectly well that it is mainly the poor amongst the Moslems of India who bore their religious most and are eager in the performance of their religious duties.

زندہ ہی ملتِ پیغامبر کی دم سی

(The lustrous community is alive only through the breath of the poor.) We trust the problem will be solved expeditiously and in a simple way, and the Government will give no reason for mistrust and suspicion through the mistaken and officious zeal of its Consular officials.

This class for preparing students for English University Examinations and the Professions, which we have noticed in these columns before, was to have been opened at Aligarh on the 15th instant under the auspices of Major Sved Hasan Bilgrami. Temporary accommodation

has been secured for the present, but it is hoped very soon to move to new and commodious premises, as the number of applicants is apparently going to be large. We wish it all success, and feel that it will remove a greatly felt want.

The Comrade.

The "Times" on the Indian Mussalmans.

I.

THERE is one virtue which all of us can command, and that is the virtue of patience—in the misfortunes of others.

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes;
The butterfly upon the road
Presses contentment to that toad.

As if the sufferings of the Mussalmans were not enough, their "friends" are shaking their heads dubiously and rolling their eyes with all the seriousness of a sermon and lecturing to them on the enormity of showing signs of their inward distress. Like the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, the *London Times* has always desired the Mussalmans of India to believe that it is their friend, but every sign of friendship has been evident only when the Moslem dog lamely followed at the heel of the London and the Allahabad Thunderers. Whenever the British Government has done anything to which the Moslems took an objection, lecture upon lecture has been heaped on their devoted heads. In fact, the only object for which a subservient Providence seems to have created the Mussalman is to say "Amen!" to the orders of "the benign Government." The community has always acknowledged the essential beneficence of British rule in India, and, if any proof was needed of its sanity of judgment, it is the pacific character of all demonstrations that took place in India during the Tripolitan and the Balkan wars. But this is not what the *Times* desires, and the result is that on more than one occasion Printing House Square has fulminated against the Mussalmans of India for being human enough to feel the loss to Islam of large territories in Europe and Africa. It has been said that the *Times* is not a newspaper, but an institution, and wherever this is asserted we find our prejudices getting confirmed in favour of newspapers and against institutions. As if the role of an institution was not great enough for it, the tremendous *Times* has taken to flitting about in the role of the gaudy butterfly that preaches from the road-side to the miserable Moslem toad under the harrow.

The Bombay correspondent of the *Times*, in whom we recognise the well-known features of a kind friend who never fails to praise His Highness the Aga Khan—whenever His Highness has the sagacity and statesman-like to agree with the journal which he conducts—has once found His Highness ranged in the opposite camp, and immediately discovered in "the extreme men among the Moslems" and the Moslem League excellent Whipping Boys for its aristocratic and plutocratic paragon. In a letter, which we reproduce elsewhere, the Bombay correspondent of the *Times* deals with Muhammadan feeling in India, but devotes the greater part of his contribution to a discussion of the ideal of autonomy which seems to have startled the writer as if the tame Moslem dog which does not bite was presumed to have lost the power of barking as well. These are the men who presume to know the heart of India, and yet when the tame dog, after having had its tail constantly twisted, is kicked on the ribs as a reward for its tame submission, and makes a sound between a moan and a snarl, these interpreters of the mind of Moslem India are shocked and begin to revise radically their formulae about Moslem opinions and Moslem character.

When last December the Moslem League amplified its creed we wrote at some length on the new programme of the Mussalmans in our issue of 14th January, and even the *London Times* will not make us go over the same ground again. We shall, however, take leave to re-state that the wars in Tripoli and the Balkans are not the direct, nor the chief, cause of the amplification of the political creed of the Mussalmans, but that the chief factor of the situation has been the Despatch of the Government of India which moved the Home Government to authorise the changes they recommended, and the announcement made thereafter on the 12th of December, 1911, by His Majesty himself. We, therefore, wrote at the time that "howsoever hard and subtly Lord Crewe may now try to explain away paragraph 8 of that Despatch, it is certain that self-government loomed large before the vision of the Government of India, and he it said to their credit that they welcomed it like statesmen and indicated their desire to hasten its approach. In view of the momentous change foreshadowed in that Despatch, it has once more become necessary for the Mussalmans to examine their political chart, and while avoiding the submerged rocks in the perilous seas around them, they must turn the head of their ship towards the new haven." This was the second time when a change in Moslem political ideas was necessitated clearly enough by the action of the Government itself. For when, after the stormy régime

of Lord Curzon, Lord Minto took up the question of a reform of the Legislative Council, the Mussalmans, believing that the system of representation in legislation and, to some extent, in the general administration, would be extended, judged from a weakening of the bureaucracy—into whose hands they had left their communal interest till then—that they must now rely on their own efforts, and recovering from their political coma founded the Moslem League. History once more repeated itself when six years later the Moslem League adopted self-government, so clearly indicated in paragraph 3 of the Despatch of the Government of India, as their ideal. It is no use telling the Mussalmans that thirty years ago Sir Syed Ahmed Khan thought differently, or that five years ago a prominent Moslem man of affairs declared the ideal of self-government to be impracticable. The fact is that even thirty years ago Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had not "deliberately rejected the ideal of self-government in India," although he knew that self-government was impracticable so long as one community warred against another and had an overwhelming majority. It may not be remiss to remind the *Times* and its Bombay correspondent, who probably regard Western political ideals as incompatible with the "genious of the East," that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan whom they have hitherto delighted in honouring as a thinker and a leader of men, who was not the immature product of our modern education, with which he had no contact, but was familiar with both orders of things, the new and the old, who had cut himself adrift from the old world moorings in order to move with the new life-giving current, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, loyalist of loyalists, had laid the blame of the Mutiny on those who had denied India direct representation in the Councils of the Empire, and although he proposed certain modifications then considered adequate for safeguarding the interests of minorities, he said on the occasion of the introduction of the Central Provinces Self-Government Bill in the Viceroy's Council that "I rejoice to have lived long enough to see India learning at the hands of her rulers the lesson of self-government which had made Great Britain so great among the nations of the world." As regards the Hon. Mr. Ali Jinnah, we need say no more about it than remind our Bombay friend that the Law Member's signature is there for all the world to see at the foot of the Despatch of 25th August, 1911, which includes the observations contained in paragraph 3. We have no means of knowing what part any Member of Council took in formulating the scheme of the Government of India announced at the Durban, and no one could have better illustrated the emptiness of Indians for the highest office under the Crown than our esteemed fellow-countryman whom alone of all the Members of the Council it is impossible to "pump." But although we differed from him, as from the rest of the Government of India, and made up our opinion on the subject of the announcement we shall rejoice greatly if we could learn that it was the Hon. Mr. Ali Jinnah that took the most prominent part in the framing of the policy indicated in paragraph 3 of the Despatch. India is in a state of flux and the task of a prophet is not an easy one, but living memory can expose the fallacy of many a prophecy in these days of rapid political change. If the opinions of Members of the Government of India have changed within the last few years, are or so very well in keeping, as we wrote in the issue of the 11th January, that "we have no hesitation in saying that we have assisted in the matter in a way that would have met with the approval of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his cordial and active encouragement and confidence spared him to guide to-day the policy of his community and his country."

In fairness to our Hindu fellow-countrymen it must be stated clearly enough that they had no hand whatever in persuading the Mussalmans to amplify their political creed, and whether the ideal which the League has placed before itself is welcomed or not by "the more extreme sections of Hindu opinion in Bengal," it is certain that there have been no "interested movements of prominent organs of Hindu Press" to which the Mussalmans are alleged by the *Times* to have proved "uncommonly responsive." The incidents have all been those of Government and of the prominent organs of the British and the Anglo-Indian Press that have exhibited in Indian politics an unbecoming readiness to take the line of least resistance and in international politics a desire to run down Moslem patriotism and humiliate and upbraid Moslem States.

Muhammadan Education and Government.

II.

LAST week we dealt with the subject of the primary education of the Mussalmans of India, and to-day turn to the subject of secondary and collegiate education. According to Government, "the reasons which have retarded the spread of secondary education among the Muhammadans are, (1) the poverty of the

community, (2) the linguistic difficulty, (3) the demand for religious instruction, and (4) want of Muhammadan representation on the governing bodies of educational institutions."

As regards the first, the Government of India believe that the situation "has been, to a large extent, met by special Government scholarships and by endowments." We agree with the Government of India that "this is essentially a matter for the Local Government and the community themselves," but so far as Local Governments are concerned, unless the Government of India keep a sharp look-out, there is every chance of their following the lines of least resistance.

To give only one instance, very little provision had been made in the way of Government scholarships in the Province of Bengal in the days before the Partition, and one of the benefits conferred by the Partition on the Mussalmans of the Eastern Bengal was the grant of twelve scholarships—six at Rs. 15 and six at Rs. 10 a month. This was all the assistance rendered by the Government of Eastern Bengal to Mussalmans who had passed the Intermediate Examination and desired to study for the Degree of Bachelor. We have no doubt that even this modest support of a notoriously poor and backward community was grudged by its neighbours in Eastern Bengal, and the Government of Sir Bunfyldo Fuller was condemned for its so-called favoritism. When the Dacca University was proposed by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal formed a Committee to transact the matter, it was hoped that some slight compensation would be awarded to the Mussalmans in the shape of a large number of State scholarships and Free Studentships for the loss of a clear majority in the new Province for all practical purposes. However, all that the Dacca University Committee agreed to do was to allot Rs. 300 per annum for poor Moslem students in the B. A. classes, whereas Mr. Archibald could not have forgotten that he himself had announced in 1906, in the Dacca Convention, 26 scholarships of Rs. 10 per annum payable for four years in each case for the Moslem Māntolates of Eastern Bengal (excluding Assam) on behalf of the Aligarh College. If Aligarh could pay Rs. 1,010 a year to the ten Bengal students, surely the Dacca University itself could have been more generous. As regards Free Studentships, eight were allotted to the Dacca College in accordance with the general Government system. With great liberality the Government raised this number to 26, and of these allotted eighteen each to the Jagannath and Muhammadan Colleges which are specially intended for poor students.

We have no doubt that the Committee fully satisfied its conscience by doing all this. But we hope we shall be buying no confidence in suggesting that this increase was given most grudgingly, and it is almost obvious that the one reason which seemed to make the Committee hesitate in dealing boldly with the question was the fear that it would be abused by the Bengali Press for showing favoritism towards the Mussalmans. This is the only conclusion to which we can arrive after reading the following observations in the report of the Committee: "Our Muhammadan colleagues," says the Committee, "consider that the special facilities afforded to Muhammadan students in the shape of scholarships are sufficient for the requirements of the Muhammadan community. But any proposal to extend the educational system beyond the limits we have suggested would raise a general question of great importance common to the whole Province, and as such would appear to be beyond the scope of our functions."

Now if the Hindu community deserves for its poor eighteen Free studentships in the Jagannath College, surely the Moslem community of Dacca, which is far more numerous and far poorer, deserves three times as many Free Studentships. In this connection all the Moslem members of the Committee wrote as follows: "We wish to point out that it would be a mistake to fix the grant on the basis of the number of students studying entirely at their own cost. Those who attend our schools and colleges without receiving assistance from Government represent that small section of Muhammadans who have been able to surmount the obstacle of poverty in their attempts to avail themselves of English education. It is not so much for them, but for those who have been debarred from reaping the benefits of education by their indigent circumstances or from continuing their studies that scholarships and stipends are most urgently needed. If poverty is admitted, as it has no doubt been universally admitted, to be the main obstacle in the path of Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal seeking higher education, the paucity in the number of those Mussalmans who pay the entire cost of their higher education can only indicate the abundance of those who cannot afford to do so, and instead of basing the measure of Government assistance on the numbers already in the colleges, such assistance should vary in inverse ratio to the numbers. We, therefore, submit that the need of the really deserving portion of the whole

population, and not the numbers attending colleges, should afford the basis for organising an extended grant of stipends for Muhammadan students. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam granted a number of special senior scholarships specially for Muhammadans. But although a great improvement on the entire absence of such special facilities for Mussalmans before the new Province came into being—and apparently none too few in number at a time when Mussalman undergraduates in the colleges of Eastern Bengal were far from numerous—they were even at the time wholly inadequate for the needs of the community, and are now quite out of proportion to the growing numbers of Mussalmans attending colleges in Eastern Bengal. To take one instance only, there were on the 31st March, 1907, only 18 Muhammadan students in the Dacca College, but in August, 1912, they numbered no less than 171."

The conclusion at which one is forced to arrive is that the basis of calculation for educational relief, unlike the medical relief provided by the Government, is not the number of the sick in a locality, but the number of those who are hale and hearty. Local Governments and, to some extent, the Government of India also, find one community in the best of health and another gasping for very life, and yet they provide the same medicine for both and in the same quantities, and when the sick man dies they complacently give it a Christian burial and smother themselves with opium, not to mention cake and champagne, and call it justice and holding the balance even.

Although secondary and higher education cannot claim, like primary education, to be the first charge on the revenues of the State, they take precedence in every civilized State over many another item of public expenditure. At any rate, so long as the Government of India spend a portion of public revenues on secondary and higher education, and so long as poverty keeps back from our colleges and schools a large number of the members of a community that cherishes traditions of great learning and refinement, reaching far back into history, merely because it no longer enjoys the prosperity it did before, and does not possess the wherewithal required in these days for school and college education, it is the duty of the Government to assist such a community with a large number of stipends for its poor but promising students. Things being as they are, it is impossible to ensure to every man the same position and wealth, but it is the duty of all civilized States to provide an equality of opportunity for all large classes of people and all communities. Handicapped as the Muhammadans are, can the Government say that it has provided an equality of opportunity for all classes and communities if assistance rendered to an admittedly poor community from State revenues is no more than opening colleges and schools to which the rich and poor are admitted on the same terms, and where merit tested in an open competition is all that is rewarded, except for a few hundred rupees a month in each Province, if even that, by way of stipends? We strongly recommend that Government should call for a return from every Local Government of the number of Free-Studentships and the number and amounts of stipends granted at present to Moslems and non-Moslems in Government schools and colleges. Unless the Government of India call for such returns of their own motion, some Muhammadan member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council or Moslem representatives in different Provincial Legislative Councils will have to ask for them, so as to make it clear what assistance is being rendered by Government to counteract the handicap of poverty which affects so adversely the chances of Moslem youths in competition with the youths of the other communities.

Before the problem of Moslem poverty in connection with education can be adequately solved, it is necessary to combat one distressing prejudice which lies at the back of the ideas of such a large number of Englishmen in this country. So long as such a prejudice is not frankly admitted and argued out it is impossible to be sure that much would be done to assist a comparatively poor community. That prejudice is directed against the poor for whom education is supposed to be a luxury rather than a necessity, and an injurious luxury at that. But it is forgotten that whatever the social economy of other communities, all Moslem history proves that no distinction was ever made between the rich and the poor where education was concerned, and, in fact, like the Europe of the Dark and the Middle Ages, the Islamic world has throughout found its recruits of learning in the ranks of the poor rather than in those of the rich. Recently a growing interest is being evinced in the education of the well-to-do classes; but we emphatically believe that no monetary assistance could legitimately be rendered to this class in providing for the education of its children, and all that is necessary is a little persuasion that some of the money which is now being invested in garden parties and sumptuous dinners that procure titles or other favours should be utilized for the education of their children. The fact that although the bureaucracy in India is drawn from the middle classes of Great Britain, and it is education alone that has placed the sons of the British middle classes in such exalted positions in India, and yet its prejudices favour the richer classes, shows that power divorced from responsibility is apt to deaden the natu-

ral sympathies of those that enjoy it for any length of time. The antipathy towards the poor is one of the legacies of the Orientalist régime, and unless that is removed the educational policy of the Government of India as well as that of Local Governments would remain unsuited to the requirements of India in general and of the Mussalmans in particular.

If the letter of the Government of India induces the Local Governments to assist the Mussalmans more liberally, as we believe it will, we trust their extended generosity would not blunder as was the case in Eastern Bengal when the Mussalmans were granted not stipends for the deserving poor but scholarships for the most meritorious among Moslem students irrespective of their needs. When the Dacca University Committee came to deal with the subject of granting special facilities to Mussalmans, it was a Moslem member that suggested that the holders of the stipends awarded to the Mussalmans should not be designated scholars, since to give them this title would detract from the academic honour attaching to the general university scholarships, but that while making Muhammadan students eligible equally with all other students to compete for the open scholarships, a separate fund should be allotted for distribution in the form of stipends among the deserving poor of the Muhammadan community studying in the University. This suggestion has been accepted, and in future the general scholarships would retain the honour and distinction which is of more importance than their monetary value, while the special facilities granted by the Government to the Mussalmans on account of their poverty will not be given away to such Moslem students as have no need of them to the exclusion of some others that may need them badly. We hope this general policy will be laid down by the Government of India so that the system hitherto followed in many provinces, and particularly in Bengal, of failing to discriminate between those who need State assistance and those who do not, may be abolished for ever. These are matters which must attract the attention of all representative bodies and individuals among Mussalmans and of the Moslem Press throughout India, and we trust our suggestions will be supported by the Moslem Press, Moslem public bodies and Moslem public men.

The Government of India appear to have noted the fact that very few Muhammadans have been selected for the State technical scholarships, and it is stated that "in parts of the country where Muhammadans are slow to enter institutions for technical training . . . it may be found desirable to offer some special facilities by way of stipends or scholarships." We hope Mussalmans are getting cured of the foolish notion that all education is meant to provide Government with clerks and subordinate executive officers, and that all that is necessary to obtain even such posts is to pass a University examination or at least go up for it and fail. India is in need of technically and industrially trained young men, and these alone can exploit her practically virgin soil in the field of industry. Late in everything, if Muhammadans are late in this also, they will find the cornucopia of others overflowing with the rich produce of India's virgin soil, while their own mouths will remain unfed, and all the power that comes with great wealth would become the monopoly of others.

As regards the second difficulty, Government are aware that Muhammadans suffer when they have to study English through the medium of a Prakrit vernacular with which they are little acquainted, and it is hoped that, as Government suggest, special schools or classes would be established to meet this difficulty.

As regards the third difficulty, namely, the absence of religious instruction, we are glad that it is proposed to arrange for religious instruction in privately managed hostels attached to Government institutions. We should, therefore, wait for the result of providing such instruction; but we do not think it would be possible to do so without assistance from State revenues. Taking the linguistic difficulty along with that is the way of providing religious instruction, as we did in the case of primary schools, we think the best course possible would be, as the Government of India themselves suggest, viz., (1) "the improvement of existing institutions for Muhammadan, such as the Calcutta Madrasah, the Islamia College, Lahore, and Islamic schools," and (2) "the establishment of separate Muhammadan institutions in places where this can be done without detriment to efficiency and without unreasonable expenditure." We cannot, however, agree that "it will seldom be possible," as the Government apprehend, for we do not know of many places where Government schools exist at present where a separate Muhammadan school could not with advantage be established. As regards colleges, every Province can easily find enough scholars for first class colleges primarily meant for Moslem students, and where such colleges exist the cry is not that they remain unfilled, but that there is an overflow for which more accommodation and a larger staff are needed. But apart from this damaging clause in parenthesis, we agree that when the improvement of existing, and the establishment of new

Muhammadan institutions is not possible, Local Governments should provide for "the addition to the staff of a school of a teacher or teachers who would be able either to teach classes in English through the medium of Urdu, or to give special help to Muhammadan boys where a knowledge of some other vernacular is desirable either for the study of English or for general reasons." We also feel that "the maintenance of hostels for Muhammadans under private management with religious teaching" is also necessary; and, as we said in the last issue in connection with primary schools, "the provision of Muhammadan teachers and inspectors" is a very essential step, and success is not likely to be achieved unless this is carried out adequately and effectively.

As regards the want of Muhammadan representation on the governing bodies of educational institutions, we are glad to note that at least the Government of India have realized that even after making Indian Universities practically so many departments of State, Government has not made serious efforts to provide sufficient representation for Mussalmans in the Senates of the Provincial Universities, and that even the Government of India were so much under the local and communal influence of the Hindus of Calcutta that they could not realize before the Capital was transferred to Delhi the simple fact that among "the one hundred ordinary members of the Calcutta Senate only six were Muhammadans." Even in the Dacca University the representation to be given to the Mussalmans has been calculated on the proportion of Moslem graduates of Dacca and the neighbouring districts, rather than on the proportion of Moslem population, and the proposal would thus perpetuate the very conditions which the Dacca University was to be designed to remove. We entirely agree with the Government of India "that the establishment of special Muhammadan schools and colleges would simplify these matters, and although we hope that this expedient would not be discarded "for financial reasons," we believe with Government that "where it is not feasible, a good deal may be done by reserving a certain number of vacancies for Muhammadan pupils in institutions which by reason of their reputation draw many applicants for admission, and by safeguarding the interests of the community in other ways."

We, however, hope that the reservation of a certain number of vacancies would only mean that the minimum and not the maximum number of Moslems to be admitted into such an institution is to be fixed. We had to deal on more than one occasion with the injustice and even cruelty of the Director of the Public Instruction in Bengal who reserved 35 vacancies every year for the first year class in the Presidency College, Calcutta, for the Mussalmans, and refused to admit a larger number than this in spite of far more numerous applications, and, in fact, one year attempted to reduce the number from 36 to 26—because in the previous year 9 more than the regulation 35 had been admitted! Such a reservation is not a benefit but a disability; and where any number is fixed we trust it will be treated as the minimum and not the maximum. The standard for determining the average figure should be the Moslem proportion of population after deducting the figures of such classes as the Untouchables, which are not likely, for some time to come, to attend our colleges and schools in anything like their proportion to the total population of India. We trust Local Governments will fully carry out the recommendations of the Government of India and insure "the appointment of a reasonable number of Muhammadans to the Committees (where such exist) of Government institutions, and to the governing bodies of aided institutions."

We cannot, however, disguise from Government the fact that to our mind the ideal scheme for Muhammadan education is not one of Government colleges and schools directly managed by the State, but of aided institutions managed by the community and receiving a *per capita* grant given on a basis of expenditure incurred by the State in State-managed institutions although granted on the condition that the standard of efficiency should not be lowered. For this a communal university with powers of affiliation and recognition is required, and if the Secretary of State persists unreasonably in his refusal to sanction the recognition of such a university, we have no doubt that the educational bark of the Government would continue to drift aimlessly on perilous seas. State assistance rather than State management of secondary and higher education is necessary, and the sooner the Secretary of State realizes it the better for all concerned. We have no doubt that if Government wish to assist the Islamia College at Lahore, or the new Islamia College at Peshawar which received the blessings of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler most deservedly, or to improve the Calcutta Madrasah, which is entirely maintained out of State revenues and woefully mismanaged, it can do so; but it will not be the same thing as Moslem institutions guided entirely by a Moslem organization composed of representative Mussalmans interested in the education of Mussalmans on Moslem lines and selected from the widest possible area. Machines are many, but what education wants is a soul, and the soul of Moslem education can never be tempted to any corporeal habitation other than a Moslem University.

Muhammadan Movements in India.

WE REPRINT below the letter contributed by its Bombay correspondent to the *Times* on Muhammadan feeling and movements and the leading article of the *Times* on the subject:—

The Bombay Correspondent's Views.

The Lucknow session of the Moslem League had been anticipated with more than usual interest owing to the excited state of Moslem feeling in India at the present time. It is very difficult to convey to English readers the spirit in which the Muhammadans of Northern India have watched the progress of the war. They are naturally an excitable and emotional people. They have not studied history. They have regarded the war waged on Turkey by the Balkan League as a combined attack of Christendom on Islam. Let there be no misunderstanding of the real attitude of Indian Muhammadan opinion towards Turkey. There is much discussion in Europe of the position of the Sultan as Khalif. The Indian Moslem does not recognize the Sultan as Khalif, and offers him no allegiance in that capacity. But he does look upon Turkey as the embodiment of the temporal power of Islam, and he has no desire to see Islam reduced to the position of Israel, a religion without temporal status. This feeling affects all classes, except the merchants, who have too shrewd an appreciation of the benefits of peace to advocate a policy which might lead to a war in which the British Empire would be engaged. It affects all other classes alike. An old Muhammadan friend of mine, a graduate of an English University, assured me that when the news of the battle of Lule Burgas arrived, he felt that the only course for him was to commit suicide. The feeling of excitement and tension has been intensified by several causes. The war in the Balkans followed the campaign in Tripoli and the occupation of part of Persia by Russian troops. Indian Moslems see in that measure the first step in the gradual absorption of another Islamic State by Russia, with the connivance of Great Britain. The excitement has been fanned by an atrociously agitation on an unprecedented scale. The outrages committed by Sandarsky and his fellow ruffians have been diffused all over India, with exaggeration and without explanation. The indiscreet expressions of sympathy with the victors by certain English statesmen have added fuel to the fire.

POLICY OF THE EXTREMISTS.

These conditions gave the extreme men among the Moslems an opportunity of which they made full use at Lucknow. Last December the council of the League, at a small meeting at Lucknow, decided to recommend altering the definition of the objects of the League so as to include among them the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India. This marks a distinct breach with the past. Hitherto the Moslems of India have deliberately concentrated their attention on the practical politics of the day, without reference to remote ideals. The late Sir Syed Ahmad, to whom is due such renaissance as the Indian Moslems have accomplished, deliberately rejected the ideal of self-government in India as destructive of the true interests of minorities. One of the ablest Moslems in the country recently defined self-government to me as "Muhammadan subjection upheld by British bayonets." This view has been endorsed until the present moment by every trusted leader of Indian Muhammadans, including the Aga Khan. It received its most vigorous and expressive definition by Syed Ali Imam at the Amritsar Conference, when he said:—

"Our ideal should be united India—united in a patriotism that leaves distant and visionary ideal to moulder in the vagueness and impracticability of their conception and that addresses itself to working on non-controversial lines. Has not this ideal of self-government, however elevated caused impatience on account of its impracticability, and has not the impatience carried the idealist off his feet, and has not this loss of equilibrium created extremism, and has not extremism given birth to anarchism, bomb, secret societies, and assassination, and is not all this the greatest misfortune to the country? The responsibility lies with those who, infatuated with the seductions of an idealistic but impracticable autonomy, have caused widespread intellectual distemper among the educated Indians—a distemper utterly regardless of surroundings, of expediency, and of the best interests of the country."

All this counsel, all these declarations, were swept to the winds at Lucknow. After a heated discussion, in which an individual who is not, I believe, even a member of the League took a prominent part, the Conference resolved that self-government suitable to India be embodied among the ideals of the League. One may search the presidential address of the Hon. Mr. Shafi in vain for any explanation of this radical break with tradition and recent policy. It is unfortunate that his Highness the Aga Khan, who has lent the weight of his name to this proposal, was not present to explain that in his opinion it is an ideal which is unattainable for generations. One heard too little of the qualification that a hundred years hence is the period when this ideal may be practicable, which was used last December. The Conference was hurried into a declaration of policy which is viewed with dismay by all the conservative influences among its members, and which is chiefly welcomed, I under-

stand, by the more extreme sections of Hindu opinion in Bengal. It is very instructive to note that the adoption of this ideal was not accompanied by any tendency to relax the special position which Indian Moslems hold at present. So far from being prepared to jettison the communal representation secured under the reformed councils, the League is anxious to see the principle extended to the district boards and municipalities. How they can reconcile communal representation with self-government I must leave wiser heads to determine.

UNPRACTICAL RESOLUTIONS.

These proceedings are noteworthy, not in themselves, but as symptoms. So far as the attendance of genuine delegates went, interest in the session was lukewarm. It is a significant commentary on the proceedings that at the last session one of the delegates declaimed against the apathy shown by failure to pay subscriptions, or to attend the session, yet the Conference proceeded to pass a series of resolutions dictating the foreign policy of the British Empire. No one supposes that the policy of the Government of India will be influenced because the Moslem League hopes to attain self-government a hundred years hence. If any attempt were made to act on this declaration it would lead to an irrevocable split in the Moslem ranks. But it is an unpleasant symptom of instability among the young Muhammadans of India. Dangling the idea of self-government before them must divert their attention from the immense amount of spadework which has to be done. The general attitude of the Indian Muhammadans towards the war also needs to be carefully studied. If after peace is declared, and Turkey settles down to her new rôle in Asia, she is further disturbed, and if as the consequence thereof the custody of Mecca and Medina were endangered, the Indian Muhammadans would become uncontrollable.

The Views of the "Times."

Two noteworthy movements have recently become manifest among Muhammadans in India, and are noticed by our Bombay correspondent in the article which we publish to-day. The first is a tendency in their political leaders to identify themselves very closely with the programme of the Indian National Congress. The second is a disposition, still somewhat partial in its scope, to foment angry excitement about the fate of Turkey, and to attack British policy in the Near East because it is neutral. It would easily be possible to attach too much importance to both these movements, but they cannot be passed over in silence. The agitation about the Balkan War is probably evanescent. The virtual adoption of the Congress programme may have a more durable significance. The Congress has been always, in the main, a Hindu organization, and though Parsees as well as Englishmen played a large part in its foundation, the Muhammadans as a community long held aloof from its deliberations. They did not entirely ignore it, and a distinguished Muhammadan, the late Mr. Justice Tyabji, was in his time one of the ablest of its Presidents. But the Muhammadan inclination always lay in the direction of a separate political organization, which eventually came into being under the name of the All-India Moslem League. The original purpose of the Moslem League was unquestionably something very different from unity of effort with the Congress. The new spirit, which has been chiefly fostered among the younger Muhammadan politicians, first found direct expression at a meeting of the Council of the League at the end of December, and was endorsed at the recent annual gathering of the League at Lucknow. The League has not officially, in so many words, announced its intention to pursue more closely the objects avowed by the Congress. It has, however, decided to advocate "the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India by bringing about through constitutional means a steady reform of the existing system of administration." The meaning of this very definite ambition was sufficiently emphasized when prominent Muhammadans appeared on the Congress platform at Bankipur at Christmas and declared that the time was coming when both Hindus and Muhammadans would "stand side by side on this our national platform and work shoulder to shoulder for the regeneration of our common motherland." We do not condemn these aspirations, though we regard them as premature. We do not question the propriety of Hindus and Muhammadans working together for a common political cause, though we find no confirmation of the new sense of brotherhood in the present state of religious antagonisms in Upper India. The chief interest of the situation is that the new line of activity, not necessarily unwholesome, adopted by Muhammadan politicians is bound to have some effect upon current Indian politics.

The coincident Muhammadan agitation about the Balkan War comes into a very different category. In this country, though strong and ardent sympathies have sometimes been expressed in various quarters both with the Allies and with the Turks, the Government counsels of neutrality have on the whole been well preserved. A large and demonstrative section of Indian Muhammadans has thought fit to adopt an attitude of quite another

kind marked by much indiscretion and foolish violence of speech. We are reluctant to believe that these spokesmen are typical of the bulk of sane and informed Muhammadan opinion in India, but have proved uncommonly responsive to the intemperate incitements of prominent organs of the Hindustan Press. They have attacked British statesmen, and have clamoured for British intervention on behalf of the Turks. They have telegraphed to the Sultan and his Ministers urging the continuance of the war. They have made vague offers of financial help which they are quite incapable of fulfilling. They have spoken of themselves as though they were the guardians of the honour of Islam, and have issued frothy appeals which were really an unconscious insult to the Turkish race they were so anxious to befriend. In short, they have behaved exactly as very thoughtless and ignorant people might be expected to behave under the influence of strong and somewhat artificial excitement. His Highness the Aga Khan, the political leader of the Indian Muhammadans, recently took a wise and courageous step in the hope of checking these excesses. He published a letter in which he urged the leaders of the agitation to cease harassing Turkish statesmen with "irresponsible advice from Indian Mussulmans who know nothing about the grim realities of the position." It would be a good thing, he said, "if all these hundreds of thousands who are, from here, giving their advice, were forced to make all the sacrifices that the war entails on the people of Turkey themselves." His counsel appears to have fallen upon deaf ears. The Calcutta Moslems, who seem to be infected with the excitability which pervades the atmosphere of Bengal, held a mass meeting at which they repudiated the views of the Aga Khan as "misleading and inopportune."

We trust that the attitude which thus found expression is not widely reflected among the Muhammadans of Upper India, who have hitherto enjoyed a reputation for good sense and balance of mind. The Aga Khan is to-day the most disinterested and experienced leader that the Muhammadans of India possess. He enjoys a confidence and respect which extend far beyond the confines of the Indian Empire, and in this country his views deservedly receive an attention which no aspiring substitute could hope to win. If his present unquestioned position is in any way weakened the political prospects of Islam in India will be very much the poorer. When he told his fellow Moslems in India to refrain from bidding others to fight when they were enjoying "the serene comforts of peace and prosperity" he spoke words of shrewd common sense. He might have added that in telegraphing incitement to the Turks to go on fighting they were doing violence to the reasoned convictions of the most experienced Turkish statesmen and to the bulk of informed Turkish opinion to-day. The Muhammadans of India are the most powerful and prosperous Moslem community in the world. They owe their advantages very largely to the benefits they have derived from British rule. If they have in the past failed to make greater progress, the fault, as their leaders well know, lies principally upon their own shoulders. They have been treated with the very greatest consideration in recent years, and their special claims have been and are being amply recognized. Their duty is, in return, to abstain from acts which will weaken the increasing confidence of Great Britain in the loyalty and restraint of their community. In the past few months the demeanour of the wilder spirits among them has perceptibly diminished that confidence, so slow in its growth, so certain in its good intentions, until the recent unguarded outburst. We are not disturbed by the new craving on the younger Muhammadans for self-government, though we hold, with the Aga Khan, that in any case it is "an ideal which can be reached only by generations of effort, by generations of self-sacrifice." We fully appreciate their not unnatural concern for the future welfare of Islam in other Muhammadan countries. But the reckless agitation about the Balkan War which has been conducted of late in India makes it necessary to remind them that the foreign policy of the British Empire cannot be dictated by a section of the people of one portion of the Empire. We are ready to respect and consider their susceptibilities, but it will be difficult to do so unless some of their prominent men show a stronger sense of responsibility.

"Kanoon-i-Mas'udi."

WE HAVE received the following letter and note for publication from the Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College, and have great pleasure in commending his appeal to the generosity and love of learning of the Moslem and other communities:—

To the Honorary Secretary,
M. A.-O. COLLEGE, ALIGARH.

My Dear Nawab Sahib,

We take liberty in drawing your attention to the publication of the book called "Kanoon-i-Mas'udi" by El Buruni. We should

like to mention somewhat in detail the various facts connected with the book.

Abu Rehan Muhammad Ibne Ahmad El-Beruni lived in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, with whom he came to India on several occasions. He studied Sanskrit and he acquired the reputation of a chronologist and an astronomer. Two of his important books—"History of India" and "Chronology of Ancient Nations"—have been edited and published by Sachau, the Director of the Oriental Seminar, Berlin. Mallino who has made special study of Arabic says of him: "He is the most original, the deepest thinker that Islam has produced in the field of physical and mathematical research." The most important work of his life, on which his reputation chiefly rests, i.e., "Kanoon-i-Mas'udi," has not yet been published. It is the most complete and the most authentic work of the Arab astronomers, and it contains certain theories which are commonly supposed to have been discovered in Europe in the seventeenth century.

Both the Oriental scholars and the astronomers have been demanding its complete publication since 1868, when Sir Henry Elliot published the tenth chapter of the fifth book of "Kanoon-i-Mas'udi."

He had this chapter copied from various manuscripts, which he subsequently compared and edited with full notes. They are all safely kept now in the British Museum. The Royal Asiatic Society of England and the Academy of Science of Paris and Berlin have passed resolution expressing very great desirability of the publication of Kanoon-i-Mas'udi.

As far as it is known to us the following copies of the manuscript are in existence:—

- (a) An incomplete, but very nicely written manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford
- (b) A well written and complete book illustrated with fine diagrams in the British Museum
- (c) A badly written and often incorrect manuscript in ordinary Persian handwriting in the Berlin Library
- (d) A manuscript of the type (c) in Mullah Firoz Library, Bombay.

(e) A beautifully illuminated manuscript with excellent calligraphy in the State Library, Rampore

(f) A manuscript of the type (c) and (d) in the M.A.-O. College Library. The manuscript was bought by the library about five years ago.

(g) The most important of all the manuscripts is the one given by Dr. Rosen to Dr. Horowitz, being the oldest complete manuscript, dated 556 A.H. The manuscript was written about hundred years after the death of the writer. Sir Theodore Morrison has promised to send us the photographs of (a) and (b). We shall have an exceptional opportunity of having at our disposal three beautifully written and authentic manuscripts written in a period within 150 years after the death of the writer. It is very exceptional for an editor of an ancient Arabic work to have at his disposal manuscripts separated only by a little more than a century from the death of the author.

WHAT WE PROPOSE TO DO

We now propose to have the manuscript (g) copied by an Arabic scholar, which will be compared with the manuscript (a), (b) and (f) and with any other manuscript that may hereafter be found. We shall at the same time get the whole book translated into English. We propose to divide the work between ourselves in this way that one of us will be responsible for publishing a correct text and for the correctness of the translation, while the other will be responsible for the mathematical and astronomical correctness of the translation and mathematical and astronomical commentary. The Arabic text will be preceded by the introduction dealing mostly with the life of the author and an exposition of the principles that were followed in editing the text. The translation of an introduction, discussing the position of the world in mathematical development of Astronomy and Trigonometry and a glossary of the Arabic astronomical persons may also be appended. We shall publish the book in the same way as Sachau published the History of India or Chronology by El-Beruni and Mallino published El-Bathani.

We further suggest that the book should not be printed in Europe, but it should be printed in Aligarh. It will be a little expensive in the beginning but we believe that the advantages are many.

I. The printing and the reading of proofs will be easy and will take less time.

II. The type which we get will be used in publishing other books. We shall be able to publish an Aligarh Series of Texts and Studies, in which both ancient Arabic and Persian texts of important and modern research work done by our professors would be published. A thing of this kind in our opinion is absolutely essential for Aligarh and will be counted among the literary institutions of the world.

In this connection it may also be mentioned that an admirable manuscript which is a commentary by Kamaluddin El-Fird on the

famous Ibdul Hathema optics, has just been presented by Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur to our Library and would form a most suitable second volume in the proposed series. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk is ready to contribute a sum for the purpose of the publication of this text, and he also added that he may be able to induce others to do the same. It seems necessary to mention that three years ago His Highness Aga Khan introduced the same topic on the occasion of his visit to Aligarh. He further said and subsequently wrote to the Honorary Secretary that the Nawab of Junagadh was willing to contribute Rs. 8,000 for this purpose. On the occasion of the Educational Conference in Rangoon, a gentleman promised a donation to the Press.

The following, we believe, will be the cost of the publication:—

- (1) Five studentships of the value of Rs. 50 each for three years with the following qualifications:—
 - (i) M. Sc. in Mathematics who will check all the mathematical tables
 - (ii) M.A. in Arabic to compare manuscripts and write out the translation in conjunction with the other two
 - (iii) M. Sc. in Astronomy to check astronomical calculations
 - (iv) An Astronomer of the old school
- (v) An Arabic scholar who may copy the manuscript.

Rs.

9,000

NOTE—We may have to increase the value of the Studentships from Rs. 50 to Rs. 75 and to Rs. 100 later on.

- (2) Cost of books of reference out of which Rs. 750 are required immediately ... 1,000
- (3) Travelling for comparison of manuscripts ... 1,000
- (4) Cost of Press and Types ... 10,000
- (5) Printing charges and the pay of an Oriental scholar and an Astronomer who will read the first proofs. ... 4,000

Total ... 25,000

We are likely to realise about Rs. 5,000 by the sale of the book, but we should not count upon it at present. This money will be utilised later on in publishing other books of the series, and the Press and Types would of course be used also for future publications.

Yours Sincerely,

ALIGARH

(Sd.) DR. ZIAUDDIN AHMAD.

The 30th April, 1913.

(Sd.) DR. HOROVITZ.

Note by the Honorary Secretary.

At the suggestion of Doctors Horowitz and Ziauddin, Professors of the M.A.-O. College, I held a meeting composed of these two gentlemen, and Major Saifad Hasan and Moulvi Habibur Rahman Sahin, Trustees of the College, and myself to consider this important question in all its aspects. The Committee unanimously decided to take up the work of translating and publishing this very useful and important book, which will be calculated to raise the reputation of this College as a centre of Muhammadan education and culture and pave the way for developing this important line of its educational activities. The question of funds for starting the work is of the stereotyped description and need not deter us from undertaking the work which will prove exclusively useful in every way. It is, therefore, proposed in the first instance to invite the attention of the Junagadh State through its Administrator to the promise which His Highness the Nawab of that State made to the former Hon. Secretary of the College to contribute Rs. 8,000 for this purpose in honour of H.H. the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., and to request the State to favour the College with the promised donation, and also to request Mulla Daood of Rangoon who had also promised to give a special donation for this purpose on the occasion of the Educational Conference which was held at Rangoon. It is further proposed to invite pecuniary assistance from the noblemen and gentlemen of our community to whom copies of these proceedings, together with the note prepared by Drs. Ziauddin and Horowitz, will be sent. It is also proposed that the matter be placed before the Syndicate of the M.A.-O. College Trustees with the recommendation (a) that this scheme be adopted in the interest of education and the good reputation of the College, (b) and also that initial expenses for the printing and circulation of these papers be sanctioned, and (c) that the Hon. Secretary be authorised to address the Government of India and the Local Governments on the subject on behalf of the Trustees with a view to obtaining grants for that purpose from these Governments.

ALIGARH:

(Sd.) MOHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN,

30th April, 1913.

HON. SECRETARY.

CORRESPONDENCE



Social Intercourse.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

Sir,—As you were kind enough to express a hope that I would enlarge upon the theme of my letter in the *Comrade* of April 19th I herewith submit a few additional remarks on the subject of social intercourse between Indians and Europeans.

In your comments on my letter you speak of the "sacrifices" and "concessions" Indians have made in order to meet Englishmen socially, and among these you number the adoption by Indians of European clothes and the provision of European dishes at entertainments given by Indians to English people, and you call attention to the fact that Englishmen show no reciprocity in these respects, i. e., they never assume an Oriental dress nor do they ever think of seeing that Indians whom they invite to a dinner get the food that they enjoy or to which they are accustomed.

Let us first examine the subject of clothes. Personally I am not inclined to regard the adoption of European clothes by Indians in the light of a "concession" at all. As far as I can see Indians adopt European clothes because, for some utterly obscure reason, they like to do so.

I know of no instance where an Indian has ever been required to wear a garment of European cut or texture save perhaps at meetings of Legislative Councils etc., where the "frock-coat" is considered *de rigueur*. Judging from my own experience most Europeans infinitely prefer to meet Indians, or any other Asiatics for that matter, wearing the costume of their race or caste.

No European outside a lunatic Asylum can hold the opinion that his own clothes, from his hat to his boots, are aught but frightfully ugly and singularly ill-adapted to a hot climate like that of India.

The same madness to dress like Europeans seems to have affected the Japanese, and in Japan there can be no question that it has anything to do with the conciliation of Western opinion.

If Indians do imagine that by wearing European clothes they conciliate European prejudices or flatter European pride they are hugely mistaken. I have heard Indians say that they feel "more at home" in the society of Europeans if they wear European clothes. If by saying that they feel "more at home" in European clothes Indians mean that they feel more like Europeans in regard to their manners and customs they probably speak truly, for we all recognise the influence of clothes on the mind of the wearer. We may assume therefore, that the manners and thoughts of Indians change to a certain extent when they assume European dress.

But surely Indians will not maintain that they cannot assimilate what is good and desirable from their English friends unless they put on an English costume?

My own opinion is that the adoption of European clothes by Indians is an expression of the general tendency of all Asiatics to be "copyists." This "copying" is, moreover, not confined to clothes but appears to be going to permeate almost every aspect of their lives.

Already one finds Indians building for themselves houses on the pattern affected by Europeans, namely, houses made up of a lot of little rooms with no court-yard or any airy open space in their midst.

Into these collections of horrid boxes we find stored the most revolting English "ornaments" and furniture repellent in design and shoddy in execution.

In this connection one cannot help recalling the fact that the mania for copying English dress and English things generally is not confined to Asia, but is to be found to a varying degree throughout the whole world.

It is truly astonishing to observe how so singularly unsympathetic a race as the English has been so slavishly copied by other

nations. To wear English clothes, to ride English horses on English saddles, to have English servants, to eat English food and to drink English drinks make up most of the ambitions of the "smart" and wealthy people the whole world over.

One can only suppose that that extraordinary trait in the English character, namely, that air of complete self-sufficiency (so provoking to the rest of mankind), exercises a kind of hypnotic effect on other races and peoples, forcing them to believe that the English standard is the only one and to disregard it is to invite some social or moral disaster.

I have often wondered how many Indians who affect English clothes ever reflect on the amount of *scour* they incur at the hands of their more conservative or more artistically-minded friends.

Quite lately I was discussing a prominent Mussalman gentleman with a very old friend of mine, a very conservative and devout Maulvi. In the course of conversation I asked my friend if Mr. So-and-So did much for the Mussalman community under his jurisdiction. "No, nothing," replied the old Maulvi, "but what can you expect from a Mussalman who wears a solar topee?" Another very great friend of mine who is a Brahmin, was recently relating to me how the "fashionable" Brahmin ladies in Madras, wives of leading vakils and so forth, had taken to wearing stockings and high-heeled shoes in their homes.

My friend is quite a young man so that his horror of this innovation is not the grumbling of an old "laudator temporis acti"!

Now let us turn to the subject of food.

There is no doubt that eating and drinking in company has been, with few exceptions, an universal custom among mankind throughout all ages, therefore for a man to refuse to eat with another is to evoke a feeling of hostility between them, because he runs counter to the "herd instinct," and that is still a very potent instinct even among the most sophisticated of us.

If A will not eat with B he must reckon this as a factor which will militate against the full development of their mutual friendship. Therefore there is not the slightest doubt that the Englishman is more drawn towards the Indian who will eat with him than towards one who will not.

But even supposing that there were no "casu" objections to an Indian eating with an Englishman, there is the matter of the food itself. It is not, I think a *physical impossibility* for an Indian to eat English dishes, though I admit they must be very insipid to him, but it is a physical impossibility for many Englishmen to eat Indian dishes owing to the intense pungency of many of them.

"Sitting afar off" I once dined with a party of Maharatta Brahmins and as their curries passed down my throat I felt as if I was swallowing molten lead!

In regard to the provision of Indian dishes to Indian guests by their European hosts I have never personally experienced any difficulty myself, even when entertaining Brahmins.

It only needs a little trouble to get a qualified cook for the occasion and this is not, as a rule, very difficult.

I admit that Europeans will not generally take this trouble so that they have either to forego the entertainment of Hindu friends altogether and confine themselves to those who will eat the food they themselves eat and, at the same time, experience the unpleasant feeling that their guests are not getting what they like.

Hospitality, even between Europeans themselves, is on the wane, at least if one can believe what one hears and reads of 50 years ago, so that the few who still like to keep up the traditions of olden times are not encouraged to put their impulses to the test in case perhaps the practise might become generalised and inroads might have to be made on the rupees hoarded for "home-going" purposes!

There is yet one other point. The idea of eating with the dngers is extremely repellent to most English people who cherish the superstition that it is disgusting to put one's fingers in one's mouth. This fact, small as it is, must have led to many an European declining to partake of food with an Indian who was not able to supply the indispensable knife, fork and spoon!

If I may say so, I think Indians should not be grieved over the difficulties of meeting the Englishman socially. On the contrary, when one comes to reflect on the leading characteristics of the English, their frigidity of temperament even in the presence of their own kin, their snobbishness, their mock-morality, their national pride, their matter-of-factness, it is really wonderful how intimate the two races can be on occasions! The leopard will not change his spots, and it is asking too much of the most strongly individualised people the world has ever seen to expect them to make any very bulky surrender of their most cherished traditions in a moment of time. No doubt in time the English oyster will open and then the rest of the world, which has been imitating its manners and customs all the while, will say, "we were right after all; he is not such a brute as we sometimes used to think!"

OWEN BARKER-HILL.

Lahore, May 9th, 1913.

Captain, R. M. S.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week

London, May 8.

A TELEGRAM from Cetinje states The Government of Scutari is conferring with Admiral Burney as to the date and mode of evacuation.

On the motion for the adjournment in the House of Commons, Mr F. D. Acland, speaking to Sir Edward Grey, who was attending the Conference of Ambassadors, made a statement on the Balkan situation. He said that the boundary questions which had seemed most difficult were now in course of friendly settlement. Albania she would lose certain towns to which she had a claim, but, on the contrary, would retain towns to which others had a claim. The main thing was to establish an Albania capable of development. Montenegro would gain territory which was likely to be considerable.

With regard to the situation in Armenia, we had made repeated representations to Turkey, and had received assurances in connexion with the return of troops and the settlement of refugees from Europe in Armenian districts. There would be no risk of the terrible massacres of the past. We had already received evidence that these assurances were being carried out. Matters must come up between Turkey and the Powers after peace had been signed. Every possible opportunity would then be taken to see that the question of orderly government in Armenia was fully considered. Mr Acland emphasised the desire of all the Powers that Turkey should have a good chance of developing in her remaining possessions. Therefore, in raising any matter, Great Britain would see, as we hoped other Powers would see, that the matter would be raised by the Powers jointly, and that no isolated action would be taken.

London, May 9.

The Conference of Ambassadors has adjourned until the 20th instant. It is hoped, meanwhile, that varying schemes for the creation of a new Albania will have been threshed out. The vehement opposition of the Greeks to the plans hitherto formulated is certain. A semi-official Greek statement says that Greece will not accept any frontier for Epirus other than that now occupied by her troops. It is notorious that Italy and Austria are equally determined not to acquiesce in the Greek demands, Italy especially desiring to prevent the establishment of an important naval base sheltered by Corfu. The feeling of the Italians and Greeks in the islands occupied by the former is becoming extremely bitter and is reflected in the Greek Press.

An Athens wire says: Thymanakis Neanbow, of the Ecumenic Patriarchate, and the Arch-Priest of Kyriakidis have arrived here, having been expelled from Rhodes. They allege that the Italian authorities are most exacting, and that hatred exists between the Italians and the Islanders.

The Conference of Ambassadors yesterday considered the scheme proposed by Austria and Italy for the government of Albania recommending that a Foreign Prince be selected as Ruler. It is believed that Austria desires a Catholic Prince, whilst Italy would prefer a Protestant. A Russian memorandum shows Russia to be inclined to a Turkish Governor, nominated by the Powers.

King Nicholas, addressing Parliament, justified his action regarding Scutari. Russia, Serbia and Greece had counselled submission, and Russia would continue to protect Montenegro, which would go forward, increased and strengthened. (Cheers)

Vienna private telegrams received here state that a great fire has broken out at Scutari which, owing to a gale, and lack of water, is assuming huge proportions.

London, May 10.

According to a Vienna telegram, Vice-Admiral Burney and the Civil Governor of Scutari have already signed the Protocol thereon. The removal of war material will take several days.

A Cetinje wire says. Government has notified its representative at San Giovanni di Medua to demand of Vice-Admiral Burney, commanding the International naval detachments, information regarding the date of the handing-over of Scutari, and the way it shall be carried out.

A Cetinje message says that Montenegrin troops have got the fire at Scutari under control. Twenty shops in the Turkish bazaar were burnt.

A Constantinople wire says: The Allies demand an indemnity of sixty millions sterling. It is believed that all the Powers now

agree with the Russian view in favour of some indemnity, which, however, will be a small one.

London, May 11.

A Salonica message says. Numerous complaints are being made by the Greeks about the conduct of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. They are accused of expelling Orthodox priests from villages, searching and looting of houses by troops, and maltreatment and imprisonment of inhabitants. It is alleged that after the signing of the agreement terminating conflicts between Greek and Bulgarian troops in the district of Mantopageon, the Bulgarian suddenly attacked Greek troops at Leftera. Details are lacking.

A Belgrade wire says. It is semi-officially stated that an understanding has been reached between Serbia and Bulgaria whereby the latter agrees to revise the Convention dividing the conquered territories.

A St. Petersburg telegram says. The protocol of the Conference, of March 12th embodying the Bulgar-Rumanian Agreement has been signed.

London, May 12.

A Salonica wire says: The fighting between Greeks and Bulgarians on the line between Anghera and Leftera ceased on Saturday, by mutual consent. The Greeks lost sixty soldiers killed and wounded. It is believed that Bulgarian losses were greater, they losing, in addition, many prisoners.

Later.

The Bulgarians lost 300 killed and wounded in the fighting at Leftera.

A message to the Times from Salonica states that two Bulgarian troop trains collided on Saturday night between Drama and Buk. It is estimated that a hundred were killed and three hundred others injured.

Later.

A Salonica wire says: In the collision between the two Bulgarian troop trains near Drama 150 were killed and 200 injured. The couplings broke and twenty-five wagons rushed down a steep incline and collided with twenty-six full wagons standing in the station.

An Athens wire says. The Allies' reply to the Powers latest Note will be presented to-morrow. The Allies agree to cease hostilities and to send peace delegates to London. They regret, however, that the Powers have not taken into consideration the reservations of the Allies which touch on questions of vital interest to them.

London, May 13.

A Rome wire states. A telegram from Scutari says that the International force disembarked at Sar Giovanni Di Medua on Sunday, and expected to reach Scutari last night. The formal transfer of the town is fixed for Thursday.

A Salonica wire says there were 300 Bulgarian casualties at Leftera. Both sides have expressed their regret at the incident.

Later.

An Athens wire says. The Greeks accuse the Bulgarians of invading Greek territory. They say they informed Bulgaria that they would, if necessary, defend the Greek positions. Bulgaria, it is alleged, replied that a movement of Bulgarians had been stopped, but did not withdraw any troops. The Greeks thereupon strengthened their occupation. The Bulgarians, seeing this, attacked with artillery. The Greeks say the fight was serious and exclusively due to the Bulgarians. The Greek Government throws the whole responsibility on them. The Bulgarian diplomat, M. Sarafoff, has gone to Athens with instructions to settle the outstanding differences.

A Constantinople message says. The Armenian Deputation, headed by the Patriarch, yesterday handed to the Grand Vizier a memorandum urging the introduction of reforms in Armenia, pointing out the increase of murders, robberies and forcible conversions. The memorandum expressed fear of massacres, and complained of the settlement of Mussalman refugees in Armenian districts.

The Grand Vizier made a sympathetic reply, in which he paid tribute to the loyalty of the Armenians and the bravery displayed by the Armenian troops during the recent war. He declared that the Turks and Kurds, as well as the Armenians, suffered by reason of the prevailing brigandage, which he said, Government were determined to suppress. He promised to expedite the needed reforms and to remove all officials failing in their duty. He undertook that refugees from Macedonia would be settled in the provinces nearest to Constantinople, and not in Armenia.

Turkey is chartering transports to bring either to Constantinople, or to Asia Minor, the troops which recently fought under the command of Djavid Pasha, and also Essad Pasha's troops. Both these armies are now in Albania, and number about 30,000.

A Sofia telegram says. Government has authorized its Minister in London to sign the peace preliminaries. M. Sarafoff, ex-Minister at Constantinople, is proceeding to Athens to negotiate the delimitation of the future Greco-Bulgarian frontier.

London, May 13.

Reuter learns that most of the Balkan Peace Delegates have already arrived in London. It is expected that there will be a formal meeting of the representatives of all the belligerents shortly, as the Powers urgently recommend the signature of the preliminaries of peace, which will end the Balkan war. These preliminaries amount to a definite settlement, but are so called because they must be taken in conjunction with the decision of the Powers regarding Albania and the Aegean Islands, and the findings of the Technical Commission in Paris. Then all of these will be incorporated in a treaty which will be submitted to the Powers and will replace the Treaty of Berlin.

The Conference of Ambassadors will continue to sit in London, but it is believed that it will be necessary to hold a Congress of Powers, in view of the success of the Conference; thus there will be no need to resort to the difficult procedure of a formal Congress.

The "Storming" of Scutari.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Cettigne, via Cattaro, April 21

ALL direct communications between Montenegro and the outside world ceased this morning by order of the Montenegrin Government. The post has not left, no telegrams are accepted, and ordinary travellers are forbidden to go to Cattaro. The reason for these measures is not stated officially, but it is believed to be in connexion with negotiations which are said to be in progress with the Commandant of Scutari for the surrender of the town.

Cettigne, April 21.

The population of Cettigne has passed the day trying to discover why all communication with the outside world was interrupted by the authorities until after midday, and in hourly expectation of the news of the surrender of Scutari.

April 22

It is stated that in accordance with a request from Essad Pasha that a Montenegrin *parlementaire* might be sent to Scutari, General Vukotitch was conducted yesterday within the Turkish lines. The question discussed between the Montenegrin General and the Commandant of Scutari was, according to official information, whether the Albanian refugees from the villages in the district bordering the Lake to the west of Scutari might be allowed to leave the town and return to their homes. It is stated that the King has granted permission for them to do so. It should be remarked, however, that the district in question, with the exception of the Tarabosh ridge, is occupied by Montenegrin troops.

The Montenegrin authorities have protested to the Austro-Hungarian Legation that, in spite of orders which had been issued that no person was to pass from Cettigne to Cattaro yesterday until after midday, the Austro-Hungarian Military Attaché who was proceeding to Cattaro by motor, refused to stop when called upon to do so at the outskirts of the town. On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian Minister is awaiting instructions from Vienna regarding the detention of the Attaché by the Montenegrin authorities.

Cettigne, April 22.

The following official report has been issued regarding the situation at Scutari:—

"Last night the Montenegrin troops took the offensive along the whole front, and an engagement took place which lasted the whole night, even bayonet-fighting being resorted to. On the west and east fronts the Turks lost two lines of posts, over which the Montenegrin flag was hoisted. Early this morning the Turks attempted a counter-attack, but they were repulsed. Confusion prevails everywhere in the town of Scutari and in the Turkish positions. The Montenegrin losses in the fighting were considerable, but their number has not yet been ascertained. The fall of Scutari is imminent."

Cettigne, April 23.

Almost on the stroke of the twelfth hour, with the International Fleet still blockading the coast, Scutari has fallen into the hands of King Nicholas. Late last night a rumour was current that the surrender of the town was impending, but it was not until 2 o'clock this morning that the news was made known to the public by the

firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. The population at once turned out in the streets, singing patriotic songs and firing revolvers. There was a great demonstration at the Palace, where the King, accompanied by the Princesses, appeared on the balcony and made a speech.

A feeling was prevalent yesterday that events were in progress at Scutari which were not fully covered by the official explanations. There is no definite news yet of the actual cause of the surrender, but there seems little doubt that on Monday evening the town was bombarded, and it is generally believed that the bombardment was accompanied by infantry action. It was officially stated in fact yesterday that, while moving from Bardajolt to Bushati on the preceding evening, the Montenegrins were attacked by the Turks, in consequence of which the former were obliged to reply. It may be remembered that on the occasion of the last attack on Tarabosh a similar explanation was given. It was further rumoured yesterday evening that a final desperate assault had been planned. News was received here yesterday from a refugee from Scutari that ten days ago there was a stock of rifle ammunition in the town, but that the shells were almost at an end and that, except meat, provisions were very scarce. Whether the garrison knew the real reason of the presence of the International Fleet, the ships of which must have been visible from Tarabosh, is unknown. Montenegro has obtained her heart's desire, and the King has gained for his people the principal object of the war, but it were idle to pretend that a situation of gravity has thereby not been created.

Cettigne, April 23.

The official account of the capitulation, which was signed by Essad Pasha and General Vukotitch at 6 o'clock yesterday evening, states that *parliamentary* began on Monday, when the Commandant of Scutari offered to surrender on condition that the garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war, taking with them all their artillery. This offer was refused by the Montenegrins, and in the evening an attack was made along the whole front. *Parliamentary* were resumed yesterday, when King Nicholas finally agreed to permit the garrison to depart taking with them their arms, their baggage, and their light artillery. It is stated that the Turkish positions are now occupied by Montenegrin troops, and that for the present only a few battalions have entered the town to preserve order. The Turks, it is believed, have already retired in a southerly direction. Three steamers are reported to have left Virpaza with provisions for Scutari.

According to the latest official information, the entry of the Montenegrin troops into Scutari to-morrow will be followed immediately by the entry of the Crown Prince. The number of guns captured is stated to be 120. At present Great and Little Tarabosh are actually occupied by the Montenegrins; the other positions will be occupied as they are evacuated by the Turks.

The Defenders of Scutari.

At the outbreak of the war the Vali of Scutari and Commander of the Scutari Division of the Ottoman Army was Hassan Riza Pasha, an officer of real ability and high character.

A member of the Committee in the early days of the Turkish Revolution, he was one of the leaders of the army of operations that followed Mahmud Shevket Pasha from Salonica to Constantinople, but he speedily abandoned all connexion with politics, and for the remainder of his career strongly discouraged political activity on the part of military men. In November, 1909, he accompanied Nazim Pasha to Baghdad, and while there did excellent work in settling the country, repressing brigandage, and improving the relations between the nomad tribes and the Government.

Just before the commencement of the siege Essad Pasha Toptan arrived at the head of a division of Albanian Redifs, and, thus strengthened, Hassan Riza Pasha made an excellent defence, retaining a considerable area of country under his authority.

On the news of the determination of the Powers to form an independent or autonomous Albanian State reaching Scutari, Essad Pasha Toptan hoisted the Albanian flag, on the ground that it was only under the national banner that the Albanian troops of the garrison could be relied upon to oppose the Montenegrins. In consequence of this action relations between him and Hassan Riza were rather strained for a time. Finally the Albanian General invited him to a dinner and, according to his own account, offered him his A.D.C. as escort on his return to his quarters. Hassan Riza refused the escort and was shot by unknown persons, believed to be Malinsors.

A close and indeed intimate friend of Nazim Pasha, Hassan Riza was murdered shortly after the news of the War Minister's death reached Scutari in February last. It is, however, impossible to give any explanation of his murder in default of fuller details as to his relations with the Albanians and with the Turkish officers of the garrison.

Essad Pasha Toptan at once succeeded Hassan Riza Pasha as Commander of Scutari. He is an Albanian chief of the powerful Toptan family of Tirana. As head of his house, he acquired distinction among the Ghegs and notoriety among men of less spirited breeds by the successful prosecution of various vendettas, and by the achievement of a reputation which might have been envied in the Scottish Highlands of old. His tenantry and his near neighbours did not, perhaps, appreciate his zeal for the acquisition of land and money, but his faithful retainers, of whom he could summon 500 within 24 hours, disarmed all local criticism of their chief. His reputation as a young man whose life was "bloody bold, and dangerous" reached the ears of Abdul Hamid, who made his brother Ghani Bey Toptan, a most attractive and handsome scoundrel, his aide-de-camp and saw that Essad, who held a commission in the *Gendarmerie*, obtained rapid promotion. After a series of tragic incidents in Constantinople, where Ghani Bey was murdered and the son of a Grand Vizier shot by one of Essad's clansmen in revenge, Essad was sent to command the *Gendarmerie* at Yanina, where he was given the rank of Brigadier-General. There he fell foul of Tatar Osman Pasha, brother of the famous Ahmed Fezi, whose violent and licentious disposition involved him in a number of deplorable scandals. Essad opposed a calculated austerity to the licence of the Vali and Commander of the Yanina division, and one night raided certain houses of ill-fame, in one of which he discovered Tatar Osman, who, on refusing to give his name, received one of the soundest thrashings which have ever been inflicted on a high official. Shortly after this incident Essad withdrew for a while to his estates, where the Revolution of 1908 found him. He promptly turned Young Turk, was elected a Deputy for Durazzo through the influence of his retainers, and, after a while, joined the Albanian party in the Chamber, where he proved a thorn in the side of the Committee.

In the Albanian developments of 1910 and 1911 his attitude towards the Government was highly critical, but early in 1912 Hadji Adil Bey, then journeying through Albania at the head of a reform commission, induced him to stand for the elections as a Committee candidate. He was, of course, elected, but speedily deserted the now falling Committee Party, supported the Halaskarian, and openly sympathized with the Albanian insurgents. His last appearance in the Turkish Parliament was marked by scenes of violence, and when Parliament was dissolved he is said to have threatened Halil Bey, the Speaker, and had certainly to be dragged away by the police.

As commander of Scutari he seems to have displayed no less energy and resource than did his predecessor, and he has certainly put up a very creditable defence, if such be measured by the losses he has inflicted on the besiegers; and it is for the moment immaterial whether Essad Pasha Toptan was holding Scutari in the name of the Sultan or on behalf of the Albanian State whose flag he flew.—*The Times*.

Scutari and its People.

(FROM AN OLD RESIDENT.)

MONTENEGRO has always coveted Scutari since it began to be ambitious of becoming a European State and of possessing something more than a ring of barren rocks. This ambition was only partly gratified when the rich plain of Podgoritz was given to the Principality after the Russo-Turkish war, when the menace of Turkey was removed. Until that time Montenegro dared not emerge from its fastnesses, and its ambitions really lay in the direction of the Herzegovina, which is part and parcel of the Black Mountain, but when Austria occupied Bosnia and all the country to the north, it became evident that the only expansion possible for Montenegro henceforth was to the south, and at the expense of the Albanians, the hereditary enemies of the Slavs.

The city of Scutari, or Shkodra as it is properly called, lies nestling under the crag on which the ancient castle is built, wedged in between the lake to the west and the erratic bed of the Kiri to the east, with the plain of Vrnja stretching away to the Malissor mountains on the north, and with the Castle Hill on the south. It is divided into two parts by a broad road which runs from the bazaar, past the Konak, or Government House, to the plain of the Kiri, the Muhammadan quarter lying to the north-west of the road near the lake, and the Roman Catholic quarter to the south-east, near the Kiri.

In the centre of the town, just north of the Konak, stand the Consular buildings, most of them round a large open space into which the road expands. Here, too, are the houses of the principal Roman Catholic merchants. The Slavs, or Orthodox, are very few in number, and hardly make any appreciable mark on the city, but they have a little church, just behind the open space in the centre of the city town. The most picturesque part of Scutari is the Muhammadan quarter, for there the houses stand further apart, each

one in its garden behind high walls built of cobble stones from the bed of the Kiri, so that from Tarabosh or Castle Hill the town looks like a garden city, with the slender minarets of the mosques rising above the trees.

CHURCHES AND GARDENS.

There are some good gardens in the Christian quarter, but for the most part the houses are small and close together, and above them rises the great Roman Catholic cathedral, built half a century ago, and looking from the hills like a railway station. Until after the Crimean war the Roman Catholics of Scutari, though they had a Bishop, did not possess a church, much less a cathedral, for though the Sultan had granted a *firman* for building, the Vali Pasha refused to read it, and it was not until 1858 that Abdi Pasha consented to publish it and announced his intention of being present at the opening ceremony. Before that time the Roman Catholics held their worship in a field, in the middle of which a wooden table placed on four piles served as an altar. Round this the Albanians sat or knelt on the ground, the mountaineers with their arms in their belts and their rifles in their hands, and neither the blazing heat in the summer nor the snow and mud in the winter kept them from their devotions. Strangely enough, the Orthodox had a little church at that time, but it was on the other side of the Boyana, on the slopes of Tarabosh, in the Greek cemetery opposite the bazaar.

Many of the buildings in the centre of the town have suffered during the Montenegrin bombardment, for the Roman Catholic Christians are in some degree considered worse than the Muhammadans by the Orthodox Montenegrins, and accidents from stray shot and shell will happen in a bombardment. The mosques of Scutari are very numerous, but none of them is worth notice except the mosque of Achmet Pasha, which stands on the other side of the Castle Hill, in the suburb of Tabaki, and was built about 150 years ago. The mosques in the town are mostly poor buildings of stone, and many of the minarets are made of wood. The town is quite open, and that it was not captured last winter is a proof of the inability of the Montenegrins for any but mountain warfare. Till quite recent years the only fortress of the city was the old Venetian castle, whose guns were utterly obsolete and its fortifications useless against modern artillery. Moreover, it was commanded by Tarabosh, the eminence on which a German-designed fort in the new style has been built with excellent results. Mount Tarabosh is by no means the highest point on the range of hills between Lake Scutari and the Adriatic. To the east there are several mountains of much greater elevation, but Tarabosh is just above Scutari, and is not properly commanded even by the higher ground in Albanian territory. The city has suffered from the shells fired at too great an elevation, which, passing over the fort and the exit of the Boyana, fell into the gardens and houses near the Konak and the cathedral. The other fort which has proved so hard a nut for the Montenegrins to crack is situated to the east of Scutari on the slopes of the mountains by the village of Bardanjolt. It lies across the bed of the Kiri and above the vineyards which are owned by the merchants of Scutari. In summer the side to Bardanjolt is a favourite one with the residents in the town. The village stands about three miles from the bazaar, and to reach it the plain and the wayward course of the Kiri have to be crossed and the narrow paths between the vineyards followed up the slopes of the hills. The vines produce an excellent red wine, and each little enclosure is surrounded by a thick hedge of the wait-a-bit thorn, whose long, curved spines protect every cultivated spot in North Albania, and above them stand platforms on which watchmen are placed at vintage time to scare off man, beast, and bird from the ripe fruit.

THE STORY OF THE TOWN.

King Nicholas claims Scutari as a city of the Serbs which was taken from the Servian Tsar when the Turks conquered the country, quietly ignoring the fact that the Slav came into the Balkan peninsula when the Roman Empire was breaking up, and dispossessed the ancient inhabitants, of whom the modern Albanians are the representatives and the descendants. It is quite true that at one time Scutari was held by the Servian Tsars, and that it acknowledged the Tsar Dushan, but it was also held by the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel, and by the Romans and the Byzantines, though in spite of these occupations it was, and has remained, an Albanian city. The Turks have held it for nearly 500 years, but it is no more Turkish now than it is Servian or Bulgarian or, for the matter of that, Byzantine.

Scutari was the capital of the Illyrian tribes 600 years B. C., and over 250 years later Alexander the Great beat Bardyles King of Scutari. More than a century passed, and the native Sovereigns came into collision with the Roman Empire, Teuta, the warlike Queen of the tribes, being defeated by the Prefect whom she had insulted, but it was not until 168 B. C. that the Roman armies conquered Gentius, King of Scutari, and took his capital. Even then Scutari was left semi-independent as the capital of the tribes of Labeatis, and it was not until the time of Augustus that Illyria

was made a Roman province. In A. D. 395 the town fell to the Eastern Empire, and about one hundred years later it was temporarily occupied by the Goths. At this time the Slavs were beginning to emerge from the mists of barbarism beyond the Danube, but though about A. D. 620 they ravaged Illyria and Dalmatia they did not take Scutari. The city at that time had at least twelve hundred years of respectable antiquity behind it, and looked on the Slav as a barbarian and an interloper. For nearly 600 years it had been ruled by native Kings, and for the rest of the time it had been sometimes semi-independent under its own chiefs, and sometimes ruled direct from Rome or Byzantium. It had been taken by Goths and Avars, but this so-called Serb city had never been entered by a Slav in all the long years of its existence.

Somewhere about A. D. 850 the Serbs occupied Shkodra, and their domination lasted for 700 years, more or less. When the Serbs were strong they held Scutari, and when the Bulgarians ravaged the peninsula it was subject to their Tsar Samuel. When both these intruding races were weak and the Empire was strong, Scutari returned to its allegiance to Byzantium, which, as far as form went, it had never lost. But for the most part, when Empire, Serb, and Bulgar were all weak or occupied with more profitable places than Scutari and the mountains of Albania, the tribesmen governed themselves, as they so frequently did under the Turks. The last Serbian Tsar who ruled in Scutari was Dushan, and two years after his death in 1356 the city broke away under the Balshas, a Frankish family who had taken service under the Serbian Tsars. But the Turkish peril was coming close, and in 1394 Balsha gave Scutari to Venice in return for a promise of help. For the next century the Venetians and the Balshas alternately held Scutari, but in 1479 the Venetians surrendered the city to the Turks, who were besieging it in force. However, the Albanians were not done with yet, and early in the 16th century Mehmet Bey of Doushati, a village suburb to the south, made himself master of Scutari and began the reign of the native Pashas which lasted until 1831, when Reshid Pasha defeated Mustafa Scodrali Pasha and established the direct rule of the Sultan which has lasted until the present time.

It is because few people in Western Europe know or care anything about Scutari that the Montenegrins have had the assurance to claim the place as a Slav city, ignoring the transitory nature of their occupation and the absence of Slavs among the Muhammadan and Roman Catholic Albanians. Scutari now has a history of well over 2,500 years, and of that time only 700 years from first to last can possibly be reckoned as belonging to the vague and precarious tenure which the Serbs enjoyed. Like every other city with so long a history it has had many rulers, but the population has always been Albanian.—The Times.

An Interview with Shukri Pasha.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST'S" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, April 16.

YESTERDAY afternoon Shukri Pasha received a number of foreign newspaper correspondents at his apartments in the Hotel Splendid Palace, and replied to numerous questions as to who actually made him prisoner. "The Servians," said he, "took possession of the Haidarlik fortifications four hours after the capture of the eastern section. If they state that they made me prisoner, I can only declare categorically that the facts of the case are as I stated in my declaration published by the Bulgarian headquarters. As supplementing that statement, I may say that Colonel Marcholski, of the Bulgarian Royal Guard, came first to the Haidarlik, and, after he declared me a prisoner, we went to the barracks, where we met General Vasoff. On the way back they wished to leave me at the police station, but at my request I was taken to my old residence. When we arrived there, about two or three hours after I was made prisoner by the Bulgarians, I found a Serbian major and a colonel, who began to talk with me."

Asked whether he informed these officers that he was already the Bulgarian prisoner, the Pasha answered:

"No. It did not enter my head to do so. It was all one to me who made me captive, and I did not suspect that there would one day be a quarrel over the question. Replying to another question, Shukri Pasha declared that he was unable to say if the Serbian attack by itself might have endangered the fortress, but that at the time he was made prisoner they had not captured the outlying works to the west.

The Turks, he stated, had provisions for from two to five days longer when the fortress fell. During the last days the soldiers had only 200 grammes of bread, made of the worst quality of flour. He did not believe that there was any considerable quantity of provisions hidden in the town, for careful search had been made; but in any case he had considered that the civil population should be better fed than the military, because the world would be

sure to lend more ready credence to the evidence of the foreigners regarding the real state of the besieged. There were plenty of sheep and horses in the town, but owing to the lack of salt it was not possible to give meat rations to the soldiers, who were already suffering from dysentery. The liquid obtained from salty cheese was used instead of salt in the making of bread. As to ammunition, there was enough to last a year, with economy. During the last stages of the fighting, Shukri Pasha stated, he had only 30,000 men actually at his disposal.

Asked whether the two months' armistice impaired the morale of the garrison, Shukri Pasha answered: "No, but when my men saw the Bulgarian trains passing laden with oranges, while they themselves were deprived of the necessities of life, they were certainly dispirited."

"It is true," he was asked, "that on March 26, seeing your troops in flight, you exclaimed: 'With such troops it is impossible to fight!'?" "Not at all!" he answered, energetically. "I may have made mistakes, but my soldiers, in spite of their miserable condition, fulfilled their duty."

"Did you know of the decisive battle of Lule Burgas? Having 80,000 troops at your disposal, why did you not attempt a sortie?" "We made sorties earlier. I cannot say now why they were unsuccessful. That the battle at Lule Burgas was taking place, I did not know."

The Pasha declared that he blew up the railway bridge because it was his duty to do so, but he did not do it after his surrender, which would have been dishonourable. He also destroyed the horses because it was the duty of a general to destroy everything that might be of use to the enemy. But he did not destroy the public buildings, from motives of humanity, because, as the Koran says, "There is one God for all." Finally, he asked us to deny the report of a German journal that there were dissensions amongst the officers of the garrison, and especially between himself and Ismail Pasha, the commander of the city; and that the chief of his staff, Major Fud Boy, had become rich by illegal means.

Who Financed the Balkan War?

At the beginning of the Balkan war the opinion seemed general that bloodshed could not last very long because the allies lacked money. This opinion has been proven to be erroneous. Half a year has passed since the conflict began. Either, therefore, the importance of money for waging war was overestimated or the financial preparedness of the parties was underestimated or help came from supposedly neutral States. It may well be that all three of these possibilities are concerned. In any event assistance from abroad has played no unimportant part, and for the larger Balkan States, Servia, Bulgaria and Greece, this has not been concealed from the public.

Bulgaria, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* just to hand, placed 40 million francs 5 per cent. treasury notes with a six months' maturity with the Banque de Paris in November before declaring the armistice. The Banque de Paris had headed the last Bulgarian syndicate in co-operation with the Deutsche Bank. The one-sided action of one of the syndicate leaders constituted some kind of offence against the tenets of tact usually followed in such matters. Of more interest still is an additional loan transaction in Russia, another neutral State. Perhaps some of our readers, the *Zeitung* continues, remember a Sofia report of October last, according to which the Russian State Bank had opened in the Bulgarian National Bank a credit to the amount of 25 million francs. The haste with which at that time this information was declared by the official authorities in St. Petersburg and in Sofia and by the Bulgarian Minister in Berlin to be freely invented could not fail to work startlingly. But a few days ago the same Bulgarian Minister of Finance, who was then the most energetic one in denying the report, boasted in the Parliament that he had been able to place 27 million francs in Russia at 5½ and 6 per cent. This event is—one must not doubt it—of no political importance; it was, of course, nothing but a mere financial transaction. For Russia is so wealthy a country in capital that she does not know what to do with her funds, especially now when the whole world is fairly swimming in money-abundance and even great Powers have to pay for their loans not more than 6½ to 7 per cent.

In November Servia, too, placed 18 million francs 5½ per cent. treasury bonds of the Serbian Mortgage Institute guaranteed by the Serbian Government for account of the Banque Franco-Serbe. The Banque Franco-Serbe is a purely French organisation of the Paris haute finance. At the end of February the same institute, in co-operation with the Ottoman Bank and the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, applied for a Serbian railroad franchise and offered for it a security to the amount of 80 million francs. This is nothing but a loan affair, which was disguised by advice of the French Gov-

ernment, because the banks had been forbidden to give Turkey a loan only a short time before.

Greece likewise procured a loan in Paris—it was in December—an advance of 40 million francs at 6½ to 7 per cent. through the instrumentality of the Comptoir National d'Escompte. Just now the report has been received that Greece had placed an additional 25 million francs with Paris big banks.

"No one who knows the strong influence of the French Government on the big banks of Paris will," the *Zettung* remarks, "be able to suppress some doubts as to the neutrality of France. One will remember that it was the French Government who by its categorical veto frustrated the proposal of France's former Minister in Madrid, the present director general of the Banque Ottomane, to grant Turkey, in the interest of creditors, monthly advances for paying the salaries of her officers. As the demand for money by the belligerents is becoming more urgent every day, the great Powers have it in their hands to put an end to bloodshed by strictly refusing to further lend money to any of the involved. Should this refusal fail to lead to the conclusion of peace one means would remain, an intimation that in case of carrying the war further on against the wishes of the great Powers, those would interpose their veto against negotiating the future Greek, Bulgarian and Servian loans. As Bulgaria and Servia alone are planning loans of half a billion each, this intimation would hardly fail of its effect"—*New York Journal of Commerce*.

The Settlement with Turkey.

BACK of the peace terms proposed by the powers and accepted by Turkey is the financial question, and back of that is the question of the continued existence of an Ottoman State as an independent entity. It is plain enough that if nearly all the European provinces of Turkey be taken from her and a proportional share of her debt be not lifted with them, her credit will suffer a serious blow. There are several reasons why the credit of Turkey is an object of solicitude to the great powers. One of these is that Turkey's bankruptcy would involve the financial ruin of many of their subjects and sensibly derange their finances. The following summary has been offered of the interest of the powers in the financial stability of the Ottoman Empire and it seems a fairly correct one.

France possesses about 60 per cent. of the Ottoman debt, Germany is the owner of the Baghdad Railway, and is interested in the economic condition of the country through which it runs; the Oriental Railway is Austro-Hungarian property, the Dedeagatch-Salonica line is French. Moreover, these railway interests are further entangled by the diverse ways in which they pay interest on the invested capital. Some of them are unremunerative and must rely upon a fixed rate of interest which is guaranteed by the State. The annual payments for this purpose are secured by the revenues of certain territories which are not always in geographical proximity to the enterprises, Asiatic enterprises being sometimes secured by liens on European revenues. For example, the revenues derived from some of the lands now in process of incorporation by Bulgaria constitute the cover for the Baghdad Railway guarantee. It is thus hardly to be expected that Germany, France, and Austro-Hungary, however much they may sympathize with the victors, will forego their own claims of older date on the solvency of the Ottoman Empire, and disposes their own subjects in order to enable Bulgaria and her allies to lessen their war budget.

It will be observed that the powers themselves are to undertake the delimitation of the new Albanian State. This will include at least two vilayets of Scutari, Janina and part of Monastir, containing a total population of 1,600,000, of which about 1,200,000 are Albanians, 250,000 Serbs or Bulgars, about 100,000 Greeks and the rest Vlachs. The Albanians are a non-Slav and relatively aboriginal race, being divided into two principal tribes, the Ghegs of Northern and the Tosks of Southern Albania. Of the Northern Albanians some 60 per cent. are Muhammadans; Central Albania is almost entirely Moslem, but in Southern Albania there is a Christian population numbering about 480,000. Family feuds and religious differences have, so far, kept Albania in a condition of semi-barbarism. Before the present war the average number of assassinations in Scutari were said to have been three per day. Agriculture, manufactures and trade have all been neglected, no interest has been shown by the people in education; the telephone and electric light were forbidden in Scutari, and until recently neither books nor newspapers were allowed to enter the country. We are accustomed here to regard the immigrant from Southern Italy as somewhat low in the scale of civilization, but the place held by the Albanians would seem to be economically lower, since there are 154,000 of them as immigrants in Southern Italy and 50,000 in Sicily. The Duke of Montpensier, or whoever else is to become ruler of the new State, will, obviously, have no light task on his hands in bringing it within the pale of modern progress. For the rest it would seem that the frontiers of Servia will march with

those of Montenegro and Albania, and that she will find in Salonica and the Chalcis peninsula the enlargement she has so long coveted. Bulgaria will apparently have all of Thrace and the western shores of the Sea of Marmora, so that she can easily afford to give Roumania the slight extension of trans-Danubian territory for which the latter has been asking. The question of the Aegean Islands is to be settled by the powers, but Greece will probably retain most of them, including Crete, and Italy may feel disposed to surrender Rhodes, while Great Britain is reported to be ready to cede Cyprus.

But will this be the final settlement of the question of the Near East? Some skilled observers think not, and, among these, Sir Harry Johnston submits the following as embracing "the consensus of opinion among reasonable and well informed persons as to the lines of ultimate settlement": (1) Free trade over the whole of the existing Turkish Empire, that is to say, no differential or preferential tariffs to be levied in Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Aleppo, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, or Cyprus, giving any one power a commercial advantage over the rest. (2) The apportionment of the Turkish public debts over all the countries which have formed part of the Turkish Empire in Europe, Asia, or Africa since the beginning of the twentieth century, the contributions of Egypt and Cyprus not to exceed the present amount of the tribute, and facility, of course, to be given for the amortization of the debt charges. (3) The transference to Great Britain of Turkish suzerainty over Cyprus, Sinai, and Egypt, the assumption by France of a protectorate over Syria and the Lebanon, the creation in Palestine and Midian of a mainly Jewish State, guaranteed and supervised by the great powers, independence to be granted to Turkish Arabia, a Russian protectorate to be established over Trebizond and Armenia, and lastly, the restriction of direct Ottoman rule to a new Turkish Sultanate extending from Constantinople, and including Asia Minor, the Aleppo district, and Mesopotamia down to the Persian Gulf. This Sultanate, however, is to be under German protection and with all its foreign affairs conducted and its finance controlled by the German Ambassador, much as Egypt is supervised by Great Britain. The proposed solution is certainly sufficiently drastic, and even its speculative possibility gives it a close relation to the immediate problem of settling the affairs of the newly enfranchised Balkan provinces. The second phase of Ottoman dissolution is more likely to be the division of the Turkish dominions into spheres of influence, although their apportionment may not improbably be on the lines above indicated. It is not open to question that the native Turkish population itself would be benefited by European supervision of its government, as much as that of Egypt has been benefited by the British protectorate, and that the Christian races of Asia Minor and Syria would enter on a new era of peace and progress by being emancipated from Turkish rule. Since it may be assumed that the creation of a Balkan confederation will tend to stimulate unrest in Asiatic Turkey the sequel to the pending settlement may not belong to a distant future.—*New York Journal of Commerce*.

Decentralization in Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 8.

SINCE the beginning of 1912 decentralization has been "in the air" in Turkey and on March 28 last the new "Law of the Administration of the Vilayets" was officially promulgated, subject, of course, to the sanction of Parliament. The history of this law is of some interest. Its precursor, the Law of 1867, was never properly applied for a variety of reasons, among which may be cited the lack of proper financial provisions for the Provincial Budgets and the suspension of the Constitution by Abdal Hamid. In 1911 a draft law modifying the Law of 1867 was prepared for submission to the Chamber. Its provisions were severely criticized by the Opposition, notably that by which the non-Moslem ecclesiastical dignitaries were deprived of their former ex-officio right to take part in the deliberations of the Provincial Councils. The substitution of elected representatives of the non-Moslem communities satisfied neither clergy nor laity. Said Pasha's Cabinet fell before the Law had been sanctioned by Parliament, though an Imperial Iradeh ordered it to be provisionally applied. Kiamil Pasha on becoming Grand Vizier withdrew the scheme, which his Minister of the Interior, Reshid Bey, proceeded to modify, restoring their prerogatives to the ecclesiastical representatives of the non-Moslems. Before the law had been revised Kiamil Pasha fell, and the Bill was submitted to a committee composed of Valis (Governors-General) and ex-Valis sitting under the presidency of the Minister of the Interior. The committee appears to have upheld Kiamil Pasha's modifications of the original Bill as regards the representation of the non-Moslem clergy.

The Law of March 28 defines the powers of the Governor-General and the other Government officials. It confers the power of voting Provincial Budgets on the Provincial Councils, but stipulates that their decisions can be vetoed by the Governor-General within three weeks of their adoption, in which case the Council of State will have two months in which to decide the difference between the representative of the Central Government and his Council. The Vah has the right to adjourn meetings of the Provincial Council for a week, after immediately advising the Minister of the Interior, and to dissolve it in conformity with a decision of the Council of Ministers sanctioned by Imperial Iradah. The Councils are forbidden to discuss political affairs or to pass any resolutions except with reference to taxation and local administration.

It will thus be seen that the new law does not go nearly as far as the scheme laid before the Government by the Arab Nationalists of Beirut and Damascus.

The Jews of Salonica.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, April 22.

THE Jews of Salonica are somewhat surprised at the effort which is being made in some quarters to use them as a catapaw in the discussions concerning the future possession of the town. They are, of course, essentially interested in their commercial future. They see that Salonica is, in any case, likely to lose much of its pristine importance, and they but echo the general mercantile opinion when they hold that the best business prospect would lie in the establishment of Salonica as a free port under autonomous rule. They also consider that if definite annexation by one country or the other is inevitable, their money-making opportunities would be greater if the town became part of Bulgaria, both by reason of the more extensive hinterland Salonica would then have and the marked inferiority of the Bulgarian as a trader. These considerations, however, are purely financial, and would lose any weight they possess in the event of a Greek-Servian Customs Union or a decision on the part of the Powers to continue even temporarily the application of the existing tariffs to all the territory formerly known as Macedonia. There is no evidence to show that the community is making any strenuous efforts to throw the influence of European Jewry on one side of the scales or the other.

The attitude of the Donmehs, or Jews-Turks, may best be described as showing a tendency to stand by and make the best of whatever solution arrives. They have neither the desire nor the power to take any effective part in discussions.

The Beyrout Disturbances.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CONSTANTINOPLE CORRESPONDENT.)

THE troubles which have recently taken place at Beyrout have aroused considerable apprehension among the members of the Committee. All is quiet now, the Government having pacified the Arab reformers by the release of their arrested chiefs, but there are signs that Syria may yet give serious trouble, not only to Turkey, but to Europe. Indeed, there are some who prophesy that the European war which civilisation fears will arise through some explosion in the Syrian provinces.

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Less Commission and Telegraphic Charges	18	7	0
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7-6-'13.

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(آرڈر • قاعدہ ۱۰)

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پس تمکو لازم ہے کہ اسی روز اپنی جملہ گواہوں کو جن کی شہادت پر
نیز تمام دستاویزات جن پر تم اپنی جواب دی کی تائید میں استدلال کرنا
چاہتی ہو اسی روز پیش کرو۔ تمکو اطلاع دیجاتی ہے کہ اگر بروز مذکور
تم حاضر نہ ہوگی تو مقدمہ بنیر حاضری تمہارے سمرع اور بصل ہوگا *
بہ ثبت میرے دستخط اور مہر عدالت کی آج تاریخ ۱۳۔ ماہ مئی
سنہ ۱۹۱۳ ع جاری کیا گیا *

دستخط بخت انگریزی

منصہر عدالت بجنور

مہر عدالت

اطلاع

(۱) اگر تمکو وہ اندیشہ ہو کہ تمہارے گواہ اپنی مرضی میں
حاضر نہ ہونگی تو تم عدالت میں سے یہ این مراد جاری کر سکتے
ہو کہ جو گواہ نہ حاضر ہو وہ جبراً حاضر کرادیا جائے اور جب
دستاویز کو کسی گواہ میں پیش کرانی کا تم استحقاق رکھتی ہو وہ اسی میں
پیش کرانی جائے بشرطیکہ تم خرچہ ضروری عدالت میں داخل کرکے
اس امر کی درخواست گھرانو *

(۲) اگر تم مطالبہ مدعی کو تسلیم کرتی ہو تو تمکو لازم ہے کہ روپیہ
مع خرچہ نالش عدالت میں داخل کرو تاکہ کارروائی اجرا سے دگر
جو تمہاری ذات یا مال یا دونوں پر ہو کرنا نہ پڑے *

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24-5-18

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of office work with practice in drafting and writing
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All applications should be addressed to—

The Honorary Joint Secretary
of the All-India Muhammadan
Educational Conference,
Aligarh.

7-5-18

SUMMONS FOR SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES.

(Sections 84 and 88 of the Code of Civil Procedure.)

REG. SUIT No 71 of 1918

IN THE COURT OF M. ZIAUDDIN AHMAD, B.A.,
PROBATIONARY MUNSHI, FYZABAD.

KUNAI TEWARI, son of Ganga, caste Brahman,
of Mauza Nagipur, Pargana Amsin,
Tehsil and District Fyzabad ... PLAINTIFF,

versus

GOPAL and HANOMAN ... DEFENDANTS.

To Gopal Tewari, son of Ishri, of M. Rampur Moya, at present
in the service of Mr. Ismail, Merchant, (Baran Company,
Bhattha Station, Durgapur, City Calcutta.

Whereas the Plaintiff has instituted a suit in this Court against
you for possession of 1 big. 7 bis 10 bis jaula land in M. Nagipur,
P. Amsin, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person
or by duly authorized pleader of the Court duly instructed and able
to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall
be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions
on the 29th day of May 1918, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to
answer the abovesaid Plaintiff, and you are hereby required to
take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before
mentioned, the issues will be settled in your absence; and you will
bring with you or send by your pleader any document on which you
intend to rely in support of your defence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this fifth day
of May 1918.

By ORDER,

ZIA UDDIN AHMAD,

Probationary Munshi.

NOTICE.

(1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of
their own accord, you can have subpoenas from this
Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and
the production of any document that you have a right
to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the
Court at any time before the trial, on your depositing
the necessary subsistence money.

(2)—If you admit the demand, you should pay the money into
Court, with the costs of the suit, to avoid the the sum-
mary execution of the decree, which may be against your
person or property, or both if necessary.

(3)—A * accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—If written statements are required, say—You are (or such a party is,
as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the
day of
Hours of attendance at the office of the— from 10 A. M. till 4 P. M.

* Fill in "copy of the plaint" or "concise statement of the nature of the
claim," as the case may be, vide Sections 85 and 86 Code of Civil
Procedure.

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—Morris.

Vol. 5. Single Copy
No. 20. Annex 4.

Delhi: Saturday, May 24, 1913.

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Persia.

Salar-ed-Dowleh is reported to be making overtures for submission. He no longer insists upon being appointed Governor of Resht. It is understood that Russia has intimated that she will not support Salar-ed Dowleh.

Indians in Canada.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagjee presided at a meeting of the Canadian Indian Immigration Committee at Caxton Hall, when delegates from British Indians in Canada described the alleged injustice and hardship of treatment of their compatriots in Canada.

Sir Mancherjee said they could at least be thankful that the position of Indians was not so humiliating and degrading as in South Africa. There were 1,500 Indians resident in Canada, mostly in British Columbia, ninety per cent of whom were Sikhs, who had fought for the Empire, yet the Canadian Government passed the so-called continuous journey clause, which effectually closed further immigration of Indians, though Japanese and Chinese were still able to enter Canada.

Among letters of regret at inability to attend was one from Lord Roberts, who wrote appreciating the hardships of Indians, but said that the question was most difficult as it was impossible for the Imperial Government to dictate to the Dominions. A resolution was adopted demanding repeal of the continuous journey clause. The resolution will be forwarded to the Secretaries of State for Colonies and India and to the Dominion Government.

The Week.

China.

Tax Times states that the arrangements for the issue of the Five-Power Loan to China are practically completed. The loan will probably be issued on the 21st instant. The amount offered in London will be £7,416,680, in Paris £7,416,680, in Germany £6,000,000, in Russia £2,777,778, and in Belgium £1,588,887. The price will be 90 and interest 5 per cent.

A *Times* message from Peking states that the Five Power group on May 19th handed to the Government the first advance of 1,200,000 dollars in connection with the loan.

The *Financial Times* says that large applications have already been received in London from Paris and elsewhere on the Continent and that the Chinese loan is therefore likely to be a success. It will probably not be underwritten.

A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from Peking states that an agreement has been signed by the Russian Minister and Chinese Foreign Office conceding entire autonomy to Outer Mongolia.

Tripoli.

The Italians on May 18th stormed the strongly entrenched positions at Sidi Garba and Ras-el-Ain which were desperately defended. The Arabs afterwards made an unexpected attack on the Italians, but were repulsed after the arrival of reinforcements. The Italian losses were 17 officers and 72 men killed, and 29 officers and 250 men wounded.

The All-India Medical Mission.

DR. ANSARI sends us the following letter this week. It is, indeed, gratifying to learn that the contributions of India to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society not only exceed the contributions of every other country, but that they exceed the contributions of all the other countries of the world put together, including Turkey! But two things must be borne in mind. Not all the contributions of a country like Egypt were sent to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, nor is the entire contribution of India represented by the amount sent to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society.

Stamboul, May 6, 1913.

I forgot to tell you last week about the Annual Congress of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. It was held in the great hall of the Dar-ul-Funoon. There were about 150 members present. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Muhammad Husam and I were also invited to attend.

The proceedings began with the election of the Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen in a very methodical manner. Two scrutinizers and two tellers were elected to count the votes. Hazrat Essad Effendi, a very venerable and universally respected *kodja*, was elected to the chair. This proceeding appeared to us a bit tedious, but later on when we witnessed the parliamentary way in which all the discussions of the Congress were carried on, it appeared quite consistent.

The Secretary was then asked by the Chairman to read the printed annual report, which unfortunately we could not follow

in all its details. But it was very extensive and exhaustive. I am sending it on to you although it is written in Turkish. You would see from the figures what a vast amount of work has been done by the Society. It has given substantial assistance to almost all the foreign missions that were sent to Turkey, in some cases furnishing everything, even the uniforms of the doctors and nurses. Besides the Turkish Red Crescent Hospitals, it has rendered help to the Military Hospitals and those under the Board of Sanitation. The vast organization for the relief of the refugees, who have been given shelter, food, clothing and bedding, has saved thousands of lives and enabled innumerable families to escape from perishing on account of starvation and other hardships.

Bessim Omer Pasha, who is the soul of this great organization, has been conscious in his efforts in this noble cause, and no less praiseworthy are the efforts of the devoted band of workers associated with him. Colonel Mehmet Ali Bey, in spite of his old age, has shown such a remarkable energy as Inspector-General of the Society that it has earned the respect and devotion of every one of the staff of the various hospitals working under the auspices of the Society. Dr. Akil Mukhtar, the *Rais Sami*, by his activity has added a good deal towards the smooth working of this useful organization. But the most useful member of the Central Committee, who is always ready to help wherever help is needed, is Kemal Omer Bey, the younger brother of Bessim Omer Pasha.

In this connection the enormous work done by the Ladies' Committee presided over by Princess Nimet Hanum is worthy of note. It consists of 120 members, who have got under them a number of bands of workers distributed in the metropolis and the suburbs. The hundreds of thousands of clothes for the use of patients and *mahmudurin* had been turned out week after week without the expenditure of a single penny for their sewing. They have also knitted the warm socks and night caps, and prepared sheets, pillow-cases, aprons, caps and overalls.

When the Secretary had finished his report it was put before the assembly for criticism. After a good deal of very animated discussion a committee was appointed to audit the accounts and to report in the next meeting of the Congress for their final adoption.

I had never seen Turks looking so interested and keen as I saw on this occasion. It would have convinced anyone who had seen this debate that the quiet and impassive Turk is at times quite capable of getting wound up into an impassioned denunciation or rejoinder. And after all he is not altogether incapable of discussing affairs in a representative assembly as many would have us believe.

Kemal Omer Bey read a list of donations received up to date from different countries. It would gladden the generous Indian Mussalmans to learn that they stand first in the aid rendered to the Ottoman Red Crescent. This is the most convincing proof that the Indian Mussalman has the largest heart although he has the shortest purse. I am sending you a copy of the list.

A meeting of the Indo-Ottoman Colonisation Society was held under the Presidency of Dr. Essad Pasha on May 2nd in which all the Members were present. Discussion took place regarding the Government Scheme for colonisation and the advisability of the Ottoman and Indian Committees working together, having a common advisory council, but separate executives. It was also decided that Dr. Essad Pasha should ascertain from the Government the various tracts of land at its disposal, their irrigation facilities, their proximity to railways and the sea, the condition of labour, the nature of soil, etc., and that after this a select committee with an agricultural expert should be sent out to Anatolia on a tour of inspection. The final scheme with the plans of the village and outlay is to be submitted to the Government after the return of the committee.

As regards the two hospitals, there are only 25 patients left in Omerli. I have been considering whether it would not be advisable to close this hospital and send the members on to *Kata-i-Sultanick* (*Chanak Kala*), as the prospects of peace seem to be very great. But I have been advised not to do so until peace has been definitely signed. Two members of this section who have shown conspicuous good work are Dr. Mahmudullah and Mr. Hamid Rasul. Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf Ansari, who will always be remembered for his incomparable toasts and excellent cuisine, has exalted cooking to a fine art. But he is even more indispensable in the wards for performing night duty, and occasionally as an interpreter when an Arabic-speaking Pasha visits the hospital.

The *Kata-i-Sultanick* hospital is working in full swing and has more than made up in number, although it started a month later. It has at present 110 in-patients and the average daily number of out-patients is between 40 and 50.

We are also feeding daily 76 women and children refugees at *Kata-i-Sultanick* and 30 at *Hindia* (Omerli).

List of amounts received by the Ottoman Red Crescent Society from various parts of the world.

	£T.	Piastres.
Spain	184	24.75
Sweden	48	38.00
Switzerland	23	68.25
South Africa	18,311	88.875
Afghanistan	3,784	50.00
Germany	4,676	35.00
America	1,818	15.875
London	2,088	26.00
Austria-Hungary	8,866	30.125
Italy	4	37.50
Persia	2,595	76.625
Java	1,599	3.50
Belgium	127	65.50
Bukhara	509	49.625
Bulgaria	986	68.625
Belgrade	40	20.50
Benghazi	7	96.00
Bosnia	6,210	66.625
Tunis	612	31.00
Algeria	18,804	80.00
China	372	10.75
Denmark	43	86.00
Romania	3,255	59.25
Japan	48	85.00
Australia	294	26.00
France	1,192	66.75
Cyprus	968	78.00
Holland	351	48.00
Crete	275	98.875
Egypt	9,857	12.75
Greece	00	21.75
India	157,044	72.125

Lying in the Bank, sundries, names and countries being unknown (But it is presumed that most of the amount has come from India)

27,119 00.125
TOTAL ... 256,911 00.250

Collections made in Turkey.

	£T.	Piastre.
Central Committee of the Croissant Rouge	16,028	74.50
Adrianople	598	29.375
Isnid	511	33.125
Erzurum	1,241	84.125
Smyrna	3,579	01.125
Scutari	00	57.00
Adana	1,877	10.875
Angora	964	68.625
Bitlis	512	58.75
Basra	382	19.875
Bagdad	867	86.50
Beyrout	1,728	16.875
Biga	140	69.375
Archipelago	128	78.25
Chatalja	7	78.50
Hedjaz	294	90.00
Haleb (Aleppo)	2,570	95.125
Hudavindigar	1,706	50.625
Dayar Sakr	488	22.00
Salonica	97	96.875
Sivas	3,558	86.00
Syria	508	80.00
Trebizond	3,894	92.00
Jerusalem	1,863	00.00
Kres	87	75.125
Kastomoni	925	47.625
Konia	5,128	96.125
Kosovo	1	66.75
Memouret-el-Aziz	3,310	18.00
Mcnaatir	111	66.625
Mosul	1,949	77.125
Van	118	77.00
Janina	68	84.00
Yemen	38	62.00
Ladies' Committee	6,014	50.00

TOTAL ... 60,779 85.875

GRAND TOTAL ... 317,690 86.125

N.B.—The above lists contain amounts received only during the year February, 1912, to February, 1913.

TETE À TETE



WE ARE thankful to Sir James DuBoulay, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, for the information contained in his letter, dated 18th instant, from Simla. He writes to us that the Foreign Office thinks it may be of interest

The Relief of Adrianople.

to us to learn that in a report received from H. M.'s Consul at Adrianople it is stated that "a portion of the fund contributed by the *Comrade* will be devoted to the purchase and the distribution of flour in the Turkish quarter of the town. A committee composed of some of the chief Turkish notables, together with a member of the Municipal Council, and Major Simpson himself as president, is being formed to administer this fund." We hope the little assistance which our readers have enabled us to render to the brave defenders of Adrianople will be the means of saving many useful lives. We, however, regret that practically all desire to assist the Turks seems to have evaporated with the fall of Adrianople, and very little money is now being received for the Turkish Relief Fund. Surely it should be least likely that Indian Mussalmans were only anxious to befriend the Turks so long as the war lasted, and that Moslem feeling was no better than the excitement of a horse-race when plungers are ready to lay odds on their favourite horse in the hope of winning the race. We are conscious of the fact that Moslem assistance of Turkey has been far more generous than might have been expected, but unless Mussalmans can be equally generous in cold blood as in the excitement of the battle the significance of Moslem generosity can not be the same. The bonfire that sends up its flames to the skies and burns itself out in a few moments is not censurable as the modest candle that burns through the long-drawn hours of the dark night. During the war the Moslem bonfire was indeed glorious, but let us be sure that it is the modest candle by which the Mussalmans will be judged. Adrianople still needs Rs. 45,000 for the relief of the neighbouring villages that have really suffered as much as, if not more than, the town itself, and we hope our readers will enable us to supplement our contribution of Rs. 30,000 (not Rs. 45,000 as by a slip of the pen we had stated in a recent issue, having confused Rs. 30,000 with £3,000) with another contribution for the villages, making our total contribution to Adrianople Rs. 75,000 or £5,000. The pace at which subscriptions are now coming in leads us to despair; but we prefer to believe that the reaction after the recent excitement is only temporary, and so long as relief is necessary our readers will not be content with using all their wealth for their own luxuries and comforts, but will contribute part of it to provide the necessities of life for their Turkish brothers and sisters as well.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, on the strength of some information which it seems to have gleaned from "the mail papers," writes of the death of Niaz Bey who shares with Enver Bey the glory of being the hero of the Turkish Revolution.

Reported Death of Niaz Bey.

Says our contemporary: "For some reason or another. Reuter did not cable the murder of Niaz Bey, which occurred, according to the mail papers, last month. It appears, from the particulars to hand, that he was standing on the deck of a steamer about to leave for Brindisi, when he was shot down by some men who escaped. It is believed that the Albanian Chief, Issa Boletinat, was concerned in the crime." The last we heard of the movements of Niaz Bey was through Dr. Naim of the All-India Medical Mission who, on his return from Constantinople, informed us that Niaz Bey, after hearing repeated tales of the outrages and atrocities committed by the Balkan Allies on innocent Moslem women, children and old men, could no longer restrain himself, and with a band of five hundred determined followers, who had vowed to avenge, in some slight measure the victims of a savage blood-bath, plunged into the heart

of Macedonia. Nothing had been heard of him since, but it is obvious that his was a perilous venture and he and his comrades carried their lives in their hands. All the same we felt we must await fuller confirmation and details before we could make up our mind to believe that one of the purest, most chivalrous and noblest Turkish patriots had been struck down by the dark hand of fate in the darkest hour of his country. The latest Arabic papers now confirm the story and state that an Albanian was the murderer of Niaz Bey, who was killed at Valona where he had fought side by side with Djavid Pasha. Under the circumstances we fear the tragic news may turn out to be true.

A COUPLE of days hence Sir Louis Dane will retire from his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, and his official career in India will come to a close. Many good things have been said

Sir Louis Dane.

of him in the customary addresses of farewell which he has received from various representative bodies in the province, and we believe some of them are well deserved. It is, however, difficult to say that as a provincial ruler he holds the front rank with those who have left the impress of their beneficent energy on the administration of the Indian provinces. To a man of capacity and genius for constructive statesmanship the Panjab offers the most attractive field. It has a virile population, inured to patient toil, peculiarly accessible to new ideas and delightfully free from some of the prejudices that have weighted the efforts of the modern reformer in some other parts of the country. And yet Sir Louis Dane made a startling confession the other day in the course of his evidence before the Public Services Commission that the Panjab was, after sixty years of British rule, still a battle-ground of warring creeds, and that the administration would fall to pieces if any attempt were made to separate the Judiciary from the Executive. Much has been done during his term of office to create new facilities for irrigation. But the period shows few achievements of enduring value which might live as grateful records of Sir Louis Dane's statesmanship or of a courageous and liberal sympathy with the wider needs of the people. The Hindu-Moslem relations are nowhere so hopelessly tangled and acute as in the Panjab. The causes are various and some of these date back to the beginning of British rule. Sir Louis Dane often deplored the existence of racial bitterness in his province; but curiously enough, he did little to remove some of the conditions—decidedly of recent growth—which have rendered the racial feelings so bitter. His attitude towards the Mussalmans and their grievances was usually indifferent. They have never ceased to ask for separate communal representation on the local bodies and in the Legislative Council of the province, and yet Sir Louis Dane had the boldness to declare on a recent occasion that they alone were responsible for their failure to secure a single elected seat in the Council! The absence of communal representation is one of the main causes that have embittered Hindu Moslem feelings in the Panjab. Sir Louis Dane, however, resolutely set his face against any efforts to remove this source of discord. He has a genial personality and great social charm. His linguistic and other personal gifts are considerable. We trust these have stood him in good stead in leaving kindly memories behind him.

SOME of the admirers of Sir Louis Dane are trying to preserve his memory in some permanent and tangible form. One of these admirers, "The Confectioner's Shop."

Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash, came out some days ago with a scheme for erecting a Scientific Institute at Lahore as a memorial to Sir Louis Dane. The proposal seems to have been conceived with some measure of sincerity, for sheer flattery is oftener cunning than blind and would have liked to burn incense at the feet of the incoming man of power rather than erected a shrine to the memory of the departing hero. In itself it is not an extravagant proposal, for the provision of scientific teaching on an efficient basis would assuredly supply a much-felt need in the education of the Panjab Moslems. But has it any chance of fructifying? We confess we can easily guess its ultimate fate when we consider the manner in which it is sought to be carried out as well as the public activities of the gentleman who is its author. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan has thought it necessary to commemorate the services of Sir Louis Dane—perhaps to the Mussalmans of the Panjab—and he wants to despoil the Moslem University Fund of the subscriptions contributed by the Panjab Moslems that he may gratify his curious whim. This is the way in which "the President of the premier educational Anjuman of the Panjab Moslems" would like to express his gratitude. We would have dismissed the proposal as puerile were it not that the glamour of big names is apt to render all such insanities mischievous. Obviously enough, the gentleman who can indulge in such reckless proposals has no sense.

of the value of things or of the essential needs of the community in whose name he pretends to speak. He is manifestly concerned in creating a brief noise about himself by playing fast and loose with the deep-seated ideals of the Mussalmans. To-day he wishes to commemorate a Lieutenant-Governor by demolishing the foundations of the Moslem University and lodging his new idol in its ruins. At some future time he would hold up his "Scientific Institute" to the highest bidder that he might find a dwelling for some other god. Unfortunately enough, the Mussalmans seem to be the only community on whom such pranks can be played with entire safety. The Nawab has launched forth his scheme with the announcement of a liberal donation. He welcomed the proposed Moslem University with a much bigger donation which still remains unpaid! What would, however, be still more jarring to every Moslem with his traditional instincts of hospitality is that the Nawab sent a bill for payment out of the Moslem University Fund detailing the cost of entertainment of the Moslem University deputation which, headed by H. H. the Aga Khan, visited Lahore in February 1911. The cost of a dinner given by the Nawab to the visitors forms one of the items of the bill! The bill has already been paid. We think it is the duty of the Central Standing Committee of the Moslem University Foundation Committee to publish all the papers relating to this sordid affair. We would like to know on what grounds the Committee readily sanctioned the cost of an extravagant display of bunting and the feeding of rich and important personages at public expense. We would also like to know if Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash has been paid the cost of the dinner which he presumably shared with his (?) guests. We have said all this, for, in view of these facts, we are amazed at the inordinate amount of courage with which the Nawab has posed as the spokesman of the Panjab Moslems and claimed back their contribution to the Moslem University in their name. Whatever their other faults may be, the Panjab Moslems are true to the ideals of their community and are never lacking in the great Moslem virtue of hospitality. While they would regret the lack of hospitality shown by Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash, his courage would afford them an apt illustration of the well-known proverb:

دادا جي کي نانغہ حراڻي کي دکان

(Offer prayers for one's grandfather's soul over the confectioner's shop.)

The Nawab has, it would seem, been bitten with some sudden and strange zeal for public activity. He has been dallying with the notion of a Hindu-Moslem League perhaps as a counterblast to the Hon. Mr. Shafi's. And just now he seems to have fastened on the Government Circular on Moslem Education—which he somewhere describes as "an educational coup d'état"—and is trying to get up some sort of monster petition of thanks to Government signed by Indian Mussalmans. Has the proximity of the 3rd of June anything to do with this?

CAPTAIN OWEN BERKELEY-HILL, I. M. S., very kindly complied with our request to enlarge upon the theme of his letter of the 19th April on the subject of social intercourse between the Europeans in India and Indians, and we have published his very interesting letter in our last issue.

Imitation, Protection or Self-Assertion?

Captain Berkeley-Hill is not inclined to regard the adoption of European clothes by Indians in the light of a concession to European prejudices, and while we are not privileged like him to run down the clothes of his nationality as "frightfully ugly," and we own we have come across a large number of Europeans who "infinitely prefer to meet Indians, or any other Asiatics, for that matter, wearing the costume of their race or caste," we are still of opinion that many Indians not only "imagine that by wearing European clothes they conciliate European prejudices," but actually succeed in doing so. Lord Morley, when he was the Secretary of State for India, quoted, in connection with the proper attitude of Europeans towards Indians, an observation of General Gordon's. The Europeans must try to get, so to speak, into the skins of the Orientals before they can do them full justice. This is as it should be, but the fact is that Europeans do not even get into the clothes of Indians much less into their skins, and we contend that unless a European gets into Indian clothes and travels for sometime in railway trains by first or second class he is not likely to understand the secret of the Indian's love for a costume which Captain Berkeley-Hill himself admits to be "frightfully ugly and singularly ill-adapted to a hot climate like India." We confess that one of the reasons why Indians adopt European clothes is that they are "copyists" not only in the matter of clothes, but in "almost every aspect of their lives." So far as the Indians are concerned the desire to play the imitation game is one of the signs of subjection to a foreign power. But when we see the Japanese setting an example of "copyists" we recognise that there is something like a uniform of the assertive Western civilization, and in order to get themselves recognised as a proper match for this civilization, the Japanese are willing to sacrifice even the beauty of their

costume. Many Indians who have no desire to be "copyists" wish to assert their inner merits in the same manner in their outer garments, and we know of many Europeans in India who "infinitely prefer to meet Indians, or any other Asiatics for that matter, wearing the costume of their race or caste" not to satisfy their æsthetic cravings,—which they could do by altering their own "frightfully ugly" costume—but in order to mark off the inferior brand of humanity from the superior, just as they infinitely prefer to call them "Munshis" or "Baboo" or prefix the non-descript "M." before their names—which may mean anything—rather than give them the English titles of courtesy, "Mr." and "Esq."

Similarly, although we confess that Indian houses built on the pattern affected by Europeans are somewhat ill-adapted for Indian families, and "English 'ornaments' and furniture are repellent in design and shoddy in execution," this is not altogether because Indians are "copyists," but also because some Indians at least wish to entertain Europeans in their houses, and we have not come across many Europeans who have shown a desire to meet Indians in their open *dalans*, squat on the carpet or *chandan*-covered floor, and recline on fat bolsters in the true Oriental fashion, instead of sitting on European chairs which often make rest and comfort impossible. We have known cases in which cigarettes of the worst tobacco—if they were made of tobacco at all—and cigars, which were first cousins of cabbages and the fathers of nausea, have been offered to Europeans as part of "refreshments." But how is an Indian, who has such a very little opportunity of knowing the ways and habits and tastes of the English, to entertain them, if he knows at least this much that chewing the best *Begam* pan is an abomination, and smoking the most fragrant *khamira* is a device of the devil in English eyes to-day? We have been told only too often how not to do it. What we want to know is how it should be done. As the poet has said,

How shall we do it?

چند کالم جب آتائی بگڑ جاتی ہو وہ طرف تو جادو نہیں چلے کونکر

(Whenever we mention love you get into a temper. Then pray tell us the way we should love you.)

THE Indian who has to save himself from insult in railway carriages, and wears English costume, and the Indian who desires to entertain the English and builds a house on the English pattern

Concessions.

and furnishes it in what he understands to be English style, because the Englishmen will not be entertained in the true Oriental fashion, makes concessions not only to the self-sufficiency but also to the pride of the English. Even if he is a "copyist" because he lives in subjection to the English, this is itself a concession—though an unconscious one—to English pride and English self-sufficiency. We do not know whether the self-sufficiency of the English "exercises a kind of hypnotic effect over other races and peoples, forcing them to believe that the English standard is the only one and to disregard it is to invite some social or moral disaster," for it is certain that only the male attire of the English is copied by the upper classes of Europe, while the female of the species in England as elsewhere dreams of Paris "creations" and "confections." But the Indian who copies the male attire of the English more often "believes that the English standard is the only one" not for all occasions, but only for railway travelling, and to disregard it in a railway carriage is to invite rude behaviour and occasionally a breach of the peace.

As regards the more conservative Indians, we fear their number is now

"The Good Old School."

far too small and, as a rule, those who know English least are the least artistically-minded. We confess it will be a source of unique pleasure to us to come across a conservative Indian who dresses as our forefathers did at least twenty or thirty years ago and lives in a house with purely Indian ornaments, furniture and fittings, because we find the chances of there being such an Indian only too few to-day. How many conservative Indians avoid wearing at home a waistcoat of the English pattern over their *kurtas*, showing a back made of ordinary lining cloth instead of the *sarkar* or *mawra* of the pure Oriental type made of the same material front and back? How many conservative Indians avoid wearing long coats and over-coats open at the collar without understanding that the opening in a coat of English pattern was meant to display a neck-tie—that one concession in a dress of

sombre hue to the human love of colour—and not to display a crumpled up *kurti*. These are very small matters, in themselves, but they go to illustrate the drift even of the conservative Indian mind in the matter of dress. As for the very conservative and devout Maulvi who thinks that nothing good can ever come out of a Mussalman who wears a solar topee, or the young Brahmin who laments the use of stockings and high-heeled shoes by Brahmin ladies in Madras, this too is a pose like the love of everything European, and not much worthier of imitation. Changes in dress and manners and habits are bound to take place when an ancient society like the Indian comes into contact with a modern Western society, and whether these changes are for the better or for the worse can only be judged if we reject both the attitudes, the attitude of the "copyist" who thinks everything Western is good because it is Western and new, and the attitude of the conservative Indian who thinks that everything good must be absolutely Oriental and old. That, however, takes us far afield; but it is undoubted that, whether through genuine conviction of its excellence, or fear, or desire to win favour, Indians have made more concessions to the self-sufficiency and pride of the Europeans than the Europeans have made to the desire to win popularity among Indians or to the requirements of the Indian climate, in the matter of dress. As for "the good old school," conservative Indians do not admire the mess jacket worn by so many Englishmen on warm evenings, and all classes of well-bred Indians disapprove of low-necked evening gowns affected by European ladies. And yet the majority of even such Englishmen as "infinitely prefer to meet Indians wearing the cost me of their race or caste" would consider it an impertinence if an Indian suggested an alteration in these garments. So far, therefore, as the question of costume is concerned Indians for various reasons have tried to conciliate European prejudices by adopting European costume, and they are now being required to conciliate some more prejudices by renouncing it. But no promise is held out that in order to conciliate the prejudices even of "the Good Old School" the Europeans would dress in a more decorous fashion even in Western style, let alone adopting Indian costume for anything more than a *bal masque*.

Whatever justification there may be for the remarks of Captain Berkeley-Hill on the subject of European costume and social intercourse, we have no shadow of doubt whatever that his conjectures about Indian food are based on very insufficient knowledge.

He has no answer to give to our question whether many Europeans entertain even such Indians as have no objection to dine with them. When that question has been answered there will be time enough to discuss whether it is a physical possibility for a European to eat Indian dishes or not. No one resents more than we do the inference of want of cleanliness that lurks in the refusal to inter-dine which has kept the Brahmins such an exclusive caste. But although the convention is there, and even the inference may still lurk therein, it is clear from the statement of our correspondent that even the Brahmins of Maharashtra can be sociable enough within certain limits and can entertain a European "sitting afar off." But even such sociability is a rare thing amongst Englishmen where the Indians are concerned, and as we have no desire to "cadge" for dinners at European tables we shall not dwell on this topic any further. Capt. Berkeley-Hill has not evidently dined as often as he can—if he only wishes—an Indian dish which it is not only a physical possibility but a delicious certainty for any European to eat. The single instance that he gives is of the Maharatta Brahmins, who, like the Deccanis of the Nizam's Dominions, put more chillies than any other substance in their food. He must remember that there are many Indians who can bear such "molten lead" as little as any European. And yet they find a thousand varieties of dishes in India which are not in the least pungent and in which chillies and even black pepper are not used at all. Even those who take a very large quantity of chillies in their food show enough consideration for the tastes of their guests to have a number of dishes prepared in any ordinary *d'awar* which are free from pungency, and even in Delhi within our short experience—we trust it will soon be more extensive—we have tasted many a dish—very unlike the famous *sakari*—which could not be objected to by an Englishman on the score of being a morsel from Gehenna.

If an Englishman wishes to entertain an Indian he will not find it difficult to secure a cook who could prepare dishes which he could partake of as well as his guest. But why need we go so far? Capt. Berkeley-Hill admits all this, and, what is more, admits that "Europeans will not generally take this trouble."

But we are unable to accept his statement that it is the "trouble" that makes any European "forego the entertainment of Hindu friends altogether," or that many entertain even those who "will eat the food they themselves eat." We have certainly not yet come across one who showed in the least

that he experienced "the unpleasant feeling that his guests are not getting what they like." And let us here correct a misconception. Many English dishes are not only "insipid" but a "physical impossibility" for Indians to eat on account of their "elevated" character. It may be physical impossibility to swallow "molten lead," and if one does not swallow it he is not such a great loser after all. But some European dishes are veritable sky-scrapers in the matter of being "high," and they not only refuse to be swallowed, but make a demand in the contrary direction which is as impossible to evade as—the orders of a British Resident in a Native State.

We are quite prepared to admit that "the idea of eating with the fingers is extremely repellent to most English people," but are there no English ideas which are or were repellent to the Indians?

We have no desire to pursue a policy of kettle-and-pot recriminations, and shall not enter into the details of such ideas and habits. As a matter of fact some of them do not even lend themselves to a frank discussion in the Press. But the very fact that such a simple thing as eating with one's hands—which is far safer than eating with another man's knife and fork—is repellent to most English people, and that on that account they cannot dine with Indians, proves our point that, while Englishmen desire Indians to make every concession to European prejudices, they are prepared to make none to the prejudices of Indians. As a matter of fact, although our esteemed correspondent, like a good advocate, tries to discover every extenuating circumstance that may favour his clients, and even goes so far as to lament the "diminution of hospitality" even between Europeans themselves—it is still very extensive and Englishmen in India entertain on a more lavish scale than men in the same position in Europe—Captain Berkeley-Hill gives away the whole case by his many admissions which do him far more great credit than to his race. The English are a "singularly unsympathetic race." They have an "extraordinary trait" of character, namely, "that air of complete self-sufficiency (so provoking to the rest of mankind)." The Englishman finds it "a physical impossibility" to eat Indian dishes. Although "it only needs a little trouble to get a qualified cook for the occasion (i.e., when an Indian has to be entertained) and this is not, as a rule, very difficult . . . Europeans will not generally take this trouble." "The idea of eating with the fingers is extremely repellent to most English people . . . This fact, small as it is, must have led to many a European declining to partake of food with an Indian who was not able to supply the indispensable knife, fork and spoon." "Frigidity of temperament," "snobbishness," "mock-morality," etc., are admitted to be the "leading characteristics of the English." And yet Captain Berkeley-Hill does not propose that his fellow countrymen should surrender any of their ideas and prejudices!

His plea is that the leopard will not change his spots. And we suppose for that reason the Ethiopian must change his skin! Because the Englishman will not give up the most meaningless convention,

the Indian must give up every cherished tradition, however reasonable and well-adapted to his surroundings, and not only must the man conform to the conventions of an insular and unchanging community, but the women also must surrender all that they hold dear, all that fathers and brothers and husbands hold dear in them, all that redeems their general ignorance and that which ignorance breeds. All this must they sacrifice. And for what? Merely to be able to hope that some day the Englishmen would become more sociable and less frigid and snobbish and proud and "mock-moral" and matter-of-fact, and treat the Indian as a man and a brother. There was a time when great sacrifices were made by Indians, and greater sacrifices were contemplated in order to win over an essentially unsympathetic race. But the Indian's *amour propre* has now been forced to assert itself and he refuses to make any further concessions in this direction. He is still prepared to meet the Englishmen more than half way, but he will not go the whole way on the off-chance of making the Englishmen some day melt and thaw into sociability. If the English only knew to what extent their power to rule long over India rested on their capacity to make themselves more sociable and popular among the ruled, the leopard would change his spots quickly enough. But whom the gods wish to . . . Let us stop at that, and not trespass on the land of the Indian Police and the English Magistracy. If we did not wish well to the English we would not be half so frank, and our candour is the best indication of our friendliness. Our correspondent appears to us to be singularly sympathetic for an Englishman, but we fear he has yet to learn a good deal about Indians and their feelings and habits, and we wish him a short and successful novitiate. If many more Englishmen discussed these matters equally frankly and sympathetically, and showed the same earnestness in learning the point of view of Indians, and explaining their own, things would be far better than they are. Let us hope it will be so.

The Comrade.

The City of Tombs.

When after the transfer of the Capital to Delhi we made our second *debut* last October, we published two sonnets on "Imperial Delhi," "the Time-enthroned Queen," one by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the other by Nawab Nizamat Jung. The first was reminiscent of

"The splendid tragedy of ancient things,
"The royal woe of many a vanquished race,"

while the second was full of hope for the birth of a new Delhi burning from the ashes of the old,

"More proudly fair, more glorious than thou wast,
"Freed from the gloom of years that overcast
"And hid thy visage from expectant eyes"

But when the note of hope was struck it was never contemplated that the new phoenix would literally burst forth from the ashes of the old, and that the more proudly fair and more glorious Delhi would arise actually from the relics of her storied past. We all desire to see Delhi freed from the gloom of past years, but no one could have desired that those responsible for the creation of the new Delhi should act as if this could be done by removing the mementoes of "the royal woe of many a vanquished race" and destroying every trace of her "splendid tragedy of ancient things." Is the gloom of years that overcast and hid her visage from expectant eyes typified in Delhi's tombs or in the effete despotism that hastened the Moghul Empire to its grave and, if copied to-day, would repeat the same disaster?

While fully believing in the benefit to India as a whole from the transfer of her Capital to Delhi, we were never very sanguine of any benefits to Delhi herself within the life-time of her present citizens. But we confess we were not prepared to discover within six months of the advent of the Government of India a remarkable diminution in the value of house property in Delhi, and a great commotion among her people, as a result of fear that their houses would be acquired without adequate compensation for the improvement of the town, and that the graves of the departed would be disembowelled in order to make room for the creation of the new City. Rules and regulations are being passed in Delhi with such rapidity that it takes away one's breath to follow them as they succeed each other, and the discontent they create would lead anyone to believe that there was no such thing in Delhi as a Municipal Corporation with representatives of her people to criticise and improve or reject objectionable rules and regulations. We are only too painfully aware of the discontent caused by some of these regulations and by the fear of more to follow, but we do not propose to express any opinion on them before we have fully studied them. We, therefore, intend to send, with the permission of the Municipal Corporation, a representative of the *Comrade* to its weekly meetings, so that we may remain well informed on the subject of the City Improvements. But it is not only the houses of the living that are in danger, but also the resting places of the dead. If after life's fitful fever they sleep well, those who are left behind them cannot remain equally quiet.

Maulvi Abdul Ahad Sahib, Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Munayyid-ul-Islam of Delhi, has published on the 21st of May a memorandum of the Deputy Commissioner, dated 30th April, relating to Moslem graveyards. The Anjuman was requested by the Deputy Commissioner on the 3rd of May to arrange for a deliberation of all sections of the Mussalmans over the memorandum, so that a report might be sent to him before the end of June, and the Deputy Commissioner expressed his willingness to receive a select body of Mussalmans to confer with him on the subject. In itself the time offered for expression of opinion by different sections of the Mussalmans was not apparently insufficient, but the delay that has taken place in the publication of the memorandum has reduced it by nearly three weeks, and we, therefore, hope the Deputy Commissioner would be induced to increase it by a month before any action is taken.

The memorandum itself combines with good intentions considerable ignorance of Moslem views about burial grounds and graves and Moslem funeral arrangements, and an amount of inconsistency which is surprising. It is ridiculously inconsistent to state that the first consideration that moved the authorities to make the new proposals was a desire "to honour the dead," because "the dead should not be buried everywhere and in such unsuitable places that after a time the relations of the dead may not themselves be able to distinguish the grave of their departed kinsmen," and then to state in the same breath that the third consideration is that "it is not proper that obstacles may

be thrown in the way of improvements to be made in the City in future, or prejudice them with a view to save extensive graveyards." If extensive graveyards are not to be saved, then, in the name of all that is plain and straightforward, why all this consideration for burying the dead in a place where their graves may easily be distinguished? How are the people of Delhi to be convinced that the authorities are sincere in their desire to make the graves of their departed friends and relations easily distinguishable, if the graves of their saints and divines, patrons and ancestors that are already sufficiently distinguished are to be levelled with the ground?

We know that all sorts of elaborate scientific and sanitary reasons are forthcoming whenever Moslem graveyards are to be dug up, and we are not sure that even mosques are quite safe in these days of City Improvements, for in Cawnpore such a case is pending and Delhi has yet to see what is in store for her. But two considerations must always be borne in mind. In the first place, with very rare exceptions the Mussalmans bury their dead outside the inhabited areas of towns and villages, and although the distance between the graveyards and the inhabited areas is not many miles, as it is now contemplated to have in Delhi, it is sufficient for all genuine sanitary purposes. If it is not, the burden of proof lies on the Health Officer of the City who, if he wishes to carry conviction, must base his own convictions not on a *priori* reasoning, but on statistics of health and sickness in the inhabited areas nearest the graveyards. If the Health Officer of Delhi cannot prove from these figures that these areas are more often subject to epidemics than other parts of the City, or that the average of sickness and the death-rate in ordinary years is abnormally high in these areas, he has no right to put a stop to what a long line of his predecessors allowed to go on without let or hindrance. Can he say that the European graveyards of London, or Calcutta, and the burning ghats of Bombay are situated several miles away from every inhabited area? By all means improve Delhi; but the ideal should be practicable and human, and not impracticable, Utopian and within reach of angelic beings only.

As for the need of a large area for the extension of Delhi, we do not see why the living should not choose some spot other than that already occupied by the dead. As a Persian proverb says, the realm of God is not small and their foot is not lame. And yet while they refuse to go out in search of fresh fields and pastures new, they must needs tell the dead that

"The world was all before them where to choose
"Their place of rest."

We do not for a moment question the rights of the living; but there is such a thing as the rights of the dead as well, and if the living do not show proper regard for the fact that

مرده بدست زند (The dead is in the hands of the living),

we shall be compelled to remind them that they too are not immortal. It has been said of Kings:

هر که آمارت نو ساخت (Whoever came built a new building).

If the graves of one dynasty are to be destroyed to build up the palaces of the next, then who can believe his place of rest after death to be safe?

The Deputy Commissioner proposes three cemeteries, one measuring 30 acres near Hazrat Sultan Nizamuddin Ansa for Delhi and Paharganj, another of the same dimensions near Dhorasia Nullah for the Sadar Bazar and the new City, and a third of 20 acres near the Azam Road and the Najafgah Branch Canal for Sabzmad and the Notified Area (Civil Lines). These areas are to be acquired at the cost of the Moslem public for some twenty thousand rupees, and to be walled in at further cost to the community. So far as we know, burial grounds and burning ghats, in India at least, have been granted by successive Governments free of charge. But even if the sordid question of responsibility for the cost of new graveyards is not taken into account, we have still to consider whether the sites proposed are in sufficient proximity to the Muhammadan quarters of Delhi to enable the Mussalmans to bury their dead without considerable inconvenience. It must be remembered that it is not permissible, according to Islamic law, to leave the dead unburied for any length of time, and burials, therefore, take place at all hours of the day and night, "weather permitting" or not. Moreover, the remains of a Mussalman are not taken in a hearse driven by horses, nor have we yet come across Moslem dead bodies carried to the burial ground in hand barrows or carts even during terrible epidemics. Therefore the convenience of the living as much as respect for the dead compel the Mussalmans to have their graveyards at a reasonably moderate distance from their quarters. But, to take only one instance, the Deputy Commissioner, on the one hand, proposes Sultanji as one of the sites for the ideal Moslem cemetery and on the other, cannot give any assurance to the Mussalmans that there will be no demolition of

the existing graves in that neighbourhood, which include the graves of many a saint, such as Maulana Noor Mohamed Sahib, attracting as they do thousands of visitors from many parts of Asia.

We have also to consider whether the area mentioned will suffice for the Imperial Capital, where the death-rate is not very modest, and where population is likely to increase considerably in the near future. Had the Municipal Corporation of Delhi shown itself more capable of effecting improvements in the condition of the City than of lowering the value of house property with the promise of improving the roads in an unknown and apparently uncertain future, we might have believed that it intended to "abolish dying." All that seems certain, however, is its desire to "demolish the graves."

We must say in fairness to the present generation of Delhi men that they are not so anxious about the future for themselves as for those who have died in the past. Delhi may arise, as our poet says, and we trust she will arise.

"Robed in the light that gilds the Western skies
"More proudly fair, more glorious than thou wast."

But for long years to come she will find it difficult enough even to live up to her past, and it is only right and just that her citizens pay to-day the homage of reverence to those that lie buried in her graveyards, and exert themselves in order to leave in peace their last abode on this earth. Has not the poet, addressing Delhi, said

آج جس دولت کا بازارِ جہان میں کال می
تیرا قبرستان اُس دولت سی مالا مال می

(The wealth of which there is a famine in the market-places of the world, the treasure-houses of thy graveyards are overflowing with that wealth.)

The "Times" on the Indian Mussalmans.

II

WE HAVE already stated that the amplification of the political creed of the Mussalmans of India has been dictated by the clearly noticeable change in the policy of the Government, but we do not care to disguise the fact that there has been a predisposition on the part of Mussalmans to adopt self-government as an ideal on account of the scurrilous treatment meted out to Morocco and Persia, Tripoli and Turkey by the Powers of Europe, in which the Triple Entente Powers, including subservient England, have generally been found to favour the party opposed to Moslem States. We wish for that very reason that the new political creed was not adopted in such an abnormal year, and we said in the issue of the 29th March that "it is our belief that the adoption of self-government as an ideal at the present moment is likely to be misunderstood by the Government and other communities. They may think that disturbing events occurring elsewhere have prompted the Mussalmans to hoist the flag of self-government in sheer desperation." But if this new declaration of policy has had the effect of disturbing the equanimity of the *Times* and forcibly drawing the attention of the British public and the Liberal Cabinet to the evil consequences of the British attitude towards Moslem States, then we are prepared to withdraw our criticism and to regard the amplification of the League's objects and ideals as extremely opportune and expedient.

The Bombay correspondent of the *Times* would have us believe that "no one supposes that the policy of the Government of India will be influenced because the Moslem League hopes to attain self-government a hundred years hence." But we consider anyone who prophesied anything about India even thirty years hence to be at least a mild imbecile. Few could have prophesied thirty years ago, or even twenty years ago, about the India of to-day with any chance of being justified by events. But we know that Government is greatly disturbed at the idea which has so often shown in raptures so many sanctimonious rulers of India in their public declarations, namely, the political co-operation of Hindus and Mussalmans. The Bombay correspondent of the *Times* is evidently a tyro in political strategy, for he has been unable to carry out a masking movement to disguise the real objective of the writer. Not so the paper that is more of an institution than a journal. The *Times* pretends in its best manner to disregard the movement in favour of co-operation between the component parts of the nation of the future for the attainment of self-government. "We do not condemn these aspirations, though we regard them as premature." "We do not question the propriety of Hindus and Muhammadans working together for a common political cause, though we find no confirmation of the new cause of brotherhood in the present state of religious antagonism in Upper India." "The new line of activity, not necessarily unwholesome, adopted by Muhammadan politicians is bound to have some effect upon

current Indian politics." "We are not disturbed by the new craving of the younger Muhammadans for self-government, though we hold, with the Aga Khan, that in any case it is "an ideal which can be reached by generations of effort, by generations of self-sacrifice." These mild expressions of unconcern overweighted by grave doubt, and even veiled sneers, are in the best manner of the most ponderous journal in the world. But it pours out not phials but whole barrels of wrath on Indian Mussalmans for feeling distressed about the fate of Turkey!

Now usually we regard English papers to be ill-informed about India rather than ill-natured towards Indians. But being an institution rather than a newspaper the *Times* has always appeared to us to be more ill-natured than ill-informed, and we are not likely to misunderstand it when it says that there is a disposition "to foment angry excitement about the fate of Turkey and to attack British policy in the Near East because it is neutral," and that Indian Mussalmans have, "at the interested incitements of prominent organs of the Hindu Press, attacked British statesmen and have clamoured for British intervention on behalf of the Turks." We believe that the *Times* knows as well as we do that there has been no need of fomenting angry excitement about the fate of Turkey, because angry excitement has been universal, and the more sagacious Mussalmans have done not a little to allay it by directing Moslem sympathies into productive channels, and regulating Moslem feelings, which would have either wasted themselves in angry passivity or run amok as destructive forces, by providing safe outlets and a constructive programme of active beneficence. The *Times* knows as well as we do that Indian Mussalmans do not attack British policy in the Near East, because it is neutral, nor clamour for British intervention, but attack it because it has shown itself, from whatever motive, to be in its results and its indications hostile to all independent Moslem kingdoms, and they demand, as they have every right to demand, that the foreign policy of Great Britain should pay due regard to the susceptibilities of seventy million Mussalmans in India if it pays due regard to the idiosyncracies of forty-five million Britons and ten or twelve million Colonials. This is, and can be the only meaning and significance of the British Empire, for otherwise it ceases to be anything but a triumphal creation of the Earl of Meath which demands from those that constitute the Empire nothing but the waving of a hundred thousand tiny Union Jacks by schoolboys on every recurring Empire Day. The *Times*' correspondent accuses Indian Mussalmans of ignorance of history, and the *Times* itself calls them all sorts of names so that one may expect before long this ponderous sermoniser turning itself into an institution for the fishwives of Billingsgate learning the noble art of vituperation. But the fact is there all the same that, as Abraham Lincoln said, you can fool some people all the time and all the people for sometime but you cannot fool all the people all the time, and although there are some Indian Mussalmans who can be fooled all the time, we believe practically all of them have been fooled for sometime by friends of the type of the London *Times* and the Allahabad *Pioneer*, but it is no longer possible to fool all of them all the time. We need not cover the old ground of British participation in treaties guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and then tolerating its torrid disintegration with a light heart, the futile rattling of the sabre when Austria pounced upon Bosnia and Herzegovina, the change of attitude towards the best element in modern Turkey, namely, the Young Turks; the immoral inactivity of England, even diplomatically, and the absence of all official action in the matter of the horrible atrocities in the Oases of Tripoli, which even the correspondent of London *Times* could not but condemn; the foolish intervention of England in the affairs of Persia, followed by slavish submission to Russia; British support of France in the usurpation of Morocco, and, last but not least, the inconsistencies of Europe, including Great Britain, as regards the *status quo* in the Balkans, and in connection with the doctrine of "the fruits of victory to the victors" in the Greco-Turkish and the Balkan wars; the cruel speeches of British Cabinet Ministers gloating over the misfortunes of their old ally; and the practical silence of Sir Edward Grey over the question of the Balkan atrocities, about which the Bombay correspondent of the *Times* does not scruple to state that "excitement has been fanned by an atrocity agitation on an unprecedented scale." These have not failed to create in the minds of the Indian Mussalmans a great deal of ill-feeling towards Great Britain, and in view of all that has happened, the practical loss of four Moslem countries, and massacres in Africa and European Turkey on a scale which would long remain without a parallel, as they have been without a precedent, it really required a journal like the *Times* not only to preach contentment to them but to lecture to them soundly on their feeling distressed under the harrow.

The *Times* is astute enough to say that "the agitation about the Balkan war is probably evanescent"; but its Bombay correspondent lets the cat out of the bag when it says at the end of his letter that "if after peace is declared and Turkey settles down to her new

role in Asia, she is further disturbed, and if as the consequence thereof the custody of Mecca and Medina were endangered, the Indian Muhammadans would become uncontrollable." This is a fact, and he who keeps it as a secret from Government is a worse enemy of Government than of Indian Mussalmans. The Bombay correspondent states that "an old Muhammadan friend of mine, a graduate of an English University, assured me that when the news of the battle of Lule Burgas arrived, he felt that the only course for him was to commit suicide." If we know the person at all to whom the writer refers, we may assure him that if news arrives of any action of Christian Powers endangering a genuine and effective Moslem sovereignty over Mecca and Medina, Jerusalem and Karbala, his old Muhammadan friend would certainly feel that the only course for him would be something manlier than dying the death of a miserable suicide. We say this not to foment angry excitement, but to warn all whom it may concern that schemes for the autonomy of Syria and Palestine, the decentralisation of Baghdad and the Hedjaz, or the extension of the nominal rule of the Khedive over Arabia wear too diaphanous a veil, and any such action is bound to be resented by the whole of Moslem India. The responsibility for all consequences—and like the Bombay correspondent of the *Times*, we fear the very worst—would be entirely that of the people who prepare these schemes and of those who fail to understand their consequences, or at least to explain the situation to those that scheme and plot. He who casts covetous eyes on the territories containing the sacred places of Islam plays with fire.

Moslem Education and Government.

111

WE HAVE already examined the lines, in the light of the suggestions made by the Government of India, on which the education of Moslem boys in all its stages—primary, secondary and collegiate—can advance. It is not less important to study the ways and means for the proper education of Moslem girls. The Government truly observe that "no system of Muhammadan education will be complete without arrangements for the education of girls." They are further alive to the fact that "this form of education is attended with special difficulties in certain parts of the country" and recognise that probably everywhere the strictest arrangements for *purdah* will be necessary. They, however, refrain from making any definite suggestions and refer the Local Governments to the general principles detailed in paragraphs 16–18 of the Resolution of the 21st February which the Government of India desire to see adopted in the matter of the education of girls irrespective of class and creed. According to these principles, the education of girls should be practical with reference to the position which they will fill in social life; it should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys nor should it be dominated by examinations; special attention should be paid to hygiene and the surroundings of school life; the services of women should be more freely enlisted for instruction and inspection; and continuity in inspection and control should be specially aimed at. These are no doubt valuable suggestions and may go far to ensure the spread of female education on sound and useful lines. But these suggestions are essentially related to the problem of organisation and do not touch the far more important and urgent problems relating to the evolution of a suitable type of education for Indian girls and its steady growth. The Government of India fully realise that the total number of girls under instruction at present remains insignificant in proportion to the female population. The immediate problem in the education of girls is, according to Government, one of social development and the existing customs and ideas opposed to the education of girls will require different handling in different parts of India.

It is abundantly clear that the Government, while deeply interested in the spread of female education, is very cautious in formulating definite lines for its development. This caution is in the highest degree commendable. Not only the needs of the various classes and communities in the country vary in respect of the education of girls, but also the conception of these needs is as yet vague, tentative and fragmentary. The number of social organisations in India is hardly less than the number of its creeds; and the differences of history, tradition and ideal on which these organisations have been reared find their sharpest expressions in the lives and mentality of Indian women. We can well appreciate the latitude that the Government of India have been willing to allow to Local Governments in the application of the principles of their general educational policy to local conditions. In view of the great diversity of conditions they could not have done otherwise. The argument applies with tenfold force to the question of

organising education for Indian girls. What is still more important is that the initiative should be entirely left in the hands of the various communities themselves. Sir James Meeson's observations on the subject appear to us to define admirably what ought to be the position of Government in the matter. In the course of a discussion in the United Provinces Legislative Council he said that personally he should like to see the Government taking a rather secondary part in the provision of female education, because the subject was so delicate and so difficult to handle that Government seemed to him to be on surer ground when it was following rather than when it was leading private enterprise in the matter. What he would rather do was to help, and help liberally, institutions that had actually been created and were growing up in places where the ground had been prepared and the seed had been sown, instead of ploughing in new fields for themselves with prospects of unsuccessful. This would be an eminently wise attitude for all Local Governments to adopt. The ultimate problem of Indian education in its broad and comprehensive sense will find solution only on communal lines. The education of girls is pre-eminently a communal question, and can best develop the necessary vigour of aim, and the method and line of solution only from within.

These considerations are, as we have seen, of general application; and in the circumstances Local Governments would be well-advised to leave the initiative in the matter of the education of Moslem girls in the hands of the Moslem community. That does not, however, mean that Moslem efforts in this direction have reached a stage when State help and encouragement have ceased to be necessary. As things are, every possible facility will have to be provided by Local Governments till Mussalmans succeed in organising a complete system of education on the basis of self-help. That consummation, we need hardly say, is not yet in sight. Generally speaking, the amount of illiteracy among Indian women is enormous. Systematic efforts on a large scale will have to be made before it effectually and finally gives way. But the condition of Moslem women as regards modern education is in the highest degree deplorable. The statistics bearing on the subject furnish a sad commentary on the attitude of the Mussalmans towards this vital problem of their social and political existence. We need not set about to-day to preach the supreme need of making efforts with a view to provide suitable education for Moslem girls. We trust that need is recognised in some degree by every Moslem who has some idea of the conditions that govern the lives of progressive communities to-day. The causes that have so far hampered the growth of education amongst Moslem girls are in a measure the same that have handicapped Moslem boys. They are obvious enough and need no detailed analysis here. But there are certain other causes apart from the general ones, that arise out of the peculiar conditions of Moslem society, which have offered formidable difficulties in the way of the growth and organisation of female education amongst the Mussalmans. The chief difficulty in the way is, of course, the observance of *purdah*. A few impatient idealists would get over the difficulty by a complete suppression of the system. The bulk of enlightened Moslem opinion, however, regards the continued ignorance of Moslem girls, under the circumstances, a lesser evil. It is obvious, then, that no system of education for Moslem girls can be evolved with any chance of success which does not take into full account the main conditions of Moslem society. And it is because this aspect of the problem is recognised in its full gravity, that some of the sanest and most clear-headed Moslems, who have devoted anxious thought to the subject, look with marked aversion to a blind tendency of copying the public school system of Europe to meet a far different set of needs and a wholly different situation. European schools of both sexes have been evolved in a peculiar social atmosphere and are naturally adapted to the social needs of European communities. The absurdity of imitating Europe in this respect becomes only too glaring when we compare the European public school girl with her Moslem sister in India. The Mussalman will have to evolve his own ideals and to try to achieve them in his own way.

✓ The Government of India have recognised the necessity of creating separate schools for Moslem boys. It is infinitely more necessary that the provision of education for Moslem girls should be absolutely and without exception based on independent communal lines. Joint schools for Hindu and Moslem girls have rarely met even with a moderate degree of success. Model Schools established for girls in the United Provinces have, for all practical purposes, become Hindu institutions. Moslem parents who have not yet fully reconciled themselves to the idea of imparting modern education to their girls will never avail themselves of the facilities that a mixed school offers. The only way out of the difficulty is to afford the Mussalmans every inducement and help to open

schools for the girls of their own community, arrange their own curricula and conduct the schools on lines of their own devising.

It is sad to think that the ideas of Mussalmans on the subject of female education are still in a nebulous stage. They are gradually realising that something should be done to remedy a state of things which is becoming a severe handicap to the rising generations of Mussalmans in their struggle for existence. But they have not yet formulated their ideas in a definite programme, nor have they been able to create an efficient, purposeful and earnest communal organisation to undertake the task. A few among them have been feeling the need keenly and have seldom missed an opportunity, during the past decade or so, to give it a forcible expression. It was a result of the insistence of these practical enthusiasts, who as parents realised the duty they owed to their daughters, and yet were helpless to do much in the face of a total lack of even elementary facilities for the education of Moslem girls, that some efforts were made to focus the growing public desire into a communal movement with a local habitation at Aligarh. All history, however, reminds us that human movements are little better than the men that control and inspire them. The Aligarh movement for Moslem female education was palest at the start. It fell into the hands of little men with feeble spirit, narrow outlook and lukewarm enthusiasm. Instead of becoming a force of vitalising energy it has been stereotyped into a sort of personal "Trust" with all its little selfishnesses, vanities and secretive character. The result is what we are seldom permitted to see—a small school imparting elementary instruction to a few scores of girls of the locality at huge communal expense. As it is a matter of urgent importance to the community, the whole subject should be dragged into the light of day and some efforts made to ensure the better organisation of the communal movement and the judicious application of the communal funds. We will discuss the various aspects of the question in some detail in our next and indicate the ways in which Local Governments can supplement the efforts of the Mussalmans. For it is, in the last resort, the attitude and energy of the Local Governments which will decide the fate of the Circular issued by the Government of India.

LADY LOWTHER'S TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

The following is a complete list to date of subscriptions to Lady Lowther's Turkish Relief Fund. Of the total, Rs 1,85,000 have been forwarded to the British Ambassador, Constantinople.

	Rs.	A.	P.
H. E. the Viceroy	1,000	0	0
Given by Haji Baksh Elahi Sahib of Delhi for charity, and allocated by H. E. the Viceroy to Lady Lowther's Turkish Relief Fund	80,000	0	0
H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, donations	45,000	0	0
Council of Regency, Bawalpur State	20,000	0	0
Nawab Salar Jung of Hyderabad	5,000	0	0
Mirzapur Muhammadans	2,750	0	0
Khaja Aszullah Sahib of Dacca	2,376	8	0
H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad	2,000	0	0
Collected in Ajmer by Munsif Muhammad Abdus Samad Khan Sahib	2,000	0	0
W. Pansel, Esq., Karachi 2 donations	2,000	0	0
Khan Bahadur Mantri Muhammad Ali Nawab Chowdhuri of Tippera, 5 donations	1,789	6	0
H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala	1,500	0	0
Anjuman-i-Islamia, Akyah	1,400	0	0
Nawab Abdul Amena Banu Sahiba of Dacca	1,250	0	0
Collected by H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad	1,000	0	0
People of Bekah Bazaar, Moonshiganj, per Ahsanullah Rashid-ud-din Ahmed Sahib	940	0	0
Wilayat Ali, Esq., Shillong	982	12	0
Muhammadan Officers, N.-C. O's and Men, 37th Rifles, Frontier Force	700	0	0
Muhammadans, Beera State	692	0	0
Syed Abdul Rab, Esq. (Faridpur)	600	0	0
Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Ghoshani, Subscriptions			
Uttar, Mysensingh	510	0	0
H. E. the Governor of Madras	500	0	0
Sir George Roos-Keppel, K. C. I. E.	500	0	0
Bharatpur Muhammadans	500	0	0
Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam	500	0	0
H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala	500	0	0
Suzanganj Muhammadans, per Mr. Muhammad Faz Ali	500	0	0
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mazharul Haq	500	0	0
Abdul Wadud, Esq., Bareilly	500	0	0
Mussalman officials and residents, Raoni State	444	11	0
H. H. the Lieut.-Governor of Behar and Orissa	400	0	0
A. G. Pasch, Esq.	400	0	0
Subscriptions of seamen, per Muhammad Yusuf, Esq.	376	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
J. G. Lorimer, Esq., I. O. S.	315	0	0
The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Kuddus Badsha Sahib, Madras	300	0	0
Amantullah Ahmed, Esq., 2 donations	268	0	0
104th Welleley's Rifles	253	2	0
The Hon'ble Mr S. C. Lyon, C. S. I.	250	0	0
The Hon'ble Mr. W. H. Clark, C. S. I., C. M. G.	250	0	0
Maulvi Abdul Karim Sahib	250	0	0
Sir William Meyer, K. C. I. E.	250	0	0
Shahk Asghar Ali, Esq., I. O. S.	250	0	0
Lt.-Colonel Ramsay, C. S. I., C. I. E.	250	0	0
S. F. Rahman, Esq.	240	0	0
Khan Bahadur Kazi Furzand Ahmed	202	8	0
Aziz-ud-din, Esq., C. I. E., M. V. O.	200	0	0
Kazi Anwar Ahmed Sahib Faruqi	186	5	0
N. D. Beatson Bell, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S.	150	0	0
Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami, C. I. E., C. S. I.	150	0	0
Mrs. Imdad-ul-Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami	150	0	0
Colonel Archer, C. S. I., C. I. E.	150	0	0
Abdul Wahid, Esq.	150	0	0
Maulvi Muhammad Hadiq (? Sadiq) Sahib	145	0	0
Syed Ejaz Ahmed, Esq.	100	0	0
Hon'ble Mr. O. Dwyer, C. S. I.	100	0	0
Messrs. Lanson and Cornish, Madras	100	0	0
Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp	100	0	0
Muhammad Fayaz Khan, Esq.	100	0	0
Lieut.-General Sir Percy Lake, K. C. M. G.	100	0	0
R. E. Mogul, Esq., Secretary, Red Crescent Society, Chittagong	100	0	0
Staff and pupils of Government Zenana School, Hyderabad	95	11	7
Maulavi Abdul Wahid Sahib	92	0	0
Lt.-Colonel K. D. Erskine, C. S. I.	75	0	0
Nahni Nath Beri, Esq., President Muslim Association, Tirael	73	0	0
W. N. Crawford, Esq., I. C. S.	50	0	0
S. Raza Ali, Esq., Basti	50	0	0
Hon'ble Mr. Stevenson-Moore, C. V. O.	50	0	0
Lt.-Colonel Cordue	50	0	0
Darcy Lindsay, Esq.	50	0	0
H. L. Braidwood, Esq.	50	0	0
The Bishop of Madras	50	0	0
Anonymous	50	0	0
Dhanit Manad Sircar, Esq.	50	0	0
H. E. C.	50	0	0
Mrs. Archer	50	0	0
A. E. Lawson, Esq., Madras	50	0	0
Maulavi Muhammad Hamid Sahib	50	0	0
S. F. Rahman, Esq.	45	2	0
Muhammad Ismail, Esq.	38	14	0
Maulavi Muhammad Hadiq (? Sadiq) Sahib	35	0	0
Mrs. Azizuddin	35	0	0
T. P. Ghose, Esq. Alipore	25	0	0
Mrs. W. R. Gourlay	25	0	0
Boyla Rahaman	25	0	0
Lt.-Colonel Stevenson	15	0	0
Major Dale	15	0	0
Muhammad Nazimuzzaman, Esq.	13	6	0
Muhtabuddin Ahmed, Esq.	10	0	0
Ryaz-ud-din Hyder, Esq., Lodikatra	10	0	0
K. S. Ahmed Din Khan Sahib, Daly College	10	0	0
Mu. Kazim Ali Sahib, Hyderabad	10	0	0
S. M. Hassan, Esq.	10	0	0
Pupils of Government Zenana School, Hyderabad	8	6	7
Anonymous	6	0	0
Abulkhair Muhammad Abdul Jabbar, Esq.	5	0	0
Asadullah Hussain Sahib	5	0	0
Mushtaq Hussain, Esq., Ambala	5	0	0
Abdul Ghaffoor Khan, Esq.	5	0	0
Anonymous	1	0	0
	1,36,558	7	2

FURTHER SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED RECENTLY.

S. Karim Bux, Esq., Hon. Sec., Anjuman Hidayat Islam, Dinapore	50	0	0
Men of the 26th Mule Corps	402	1	8
Officers & Residents, Baoni State	117	8	0
Total	1,37,128	0	5

SIMLA :

17th May 1913.

A. A. Tod, Captain,
A.-D.-C. to H. E. the Viceroy,
Honorary Secretary.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Sofia, May 11

A semi-official explanation has been issued here of conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarians. It says that the continual advance of the Greek troops in the district of Previsa, which was originally occupied by Bulgarians, provoked a series of incidents showing that the Greeks' movement aimed at the capture of Previsa, Leftera and other strategic points. The Greeks were everywhere the assailants and the Bulgarians at first did not reply to their fire. Bulgaria has protested at Athens, demanding the punishment of the guilty.

An official list is published showing that the Bulgarian losses in the war, up to the present, are 30,041 killed, 58,500 wounded, and 3,198 missing.

London, May 14

Since yesterday, hitches have occurred foreshadowing the possibilities of the protraction of the peace negotiations in London. Bulgaria's readiness to sign the preliminaries forthwith is not approved by Greece and Servia, who are disinclined to sign without a full reservation of the points nearly concerning themselves, and an exhaustive discussion firstly between the Allies and afterwards with the Powers as represented by the Ambassadors in London.

Cetinje, May 14.

The international force to-day occupied Scutari under the command of Admiral Burnev to whom the Governor handed over the town.

Vienna, May 14.

The international force which is to occupy Scutari landed this morning at San Giovanni di Medua. It is now en route for Scutari. It has everywhere been acclaimed by the Albanians. It is stated here that as soon as Scutari is occupied by the international force the demobilisation of Austrian troops will begin.

Constantinople, May 14.

Sir Gerard Lowther, the British Ambassador here, who has been in ill-health for some time, has resigned.

Corfu, May 15

The international blockade of Montenegrin and Albanian coast has been raised.

Constantinople, May 15

The suspension of hostilities between Bulgaria and Turkey has been prolonged till the end of May.

Budapest, May 15

Hungary has formally annexed the Island of Adakaleh on the Danube by virtue of the Austro-Turkish Agreement of 1878. The annexation is the result of the Balkan peace preliminaries which transfer to the Allies all Ottoman possessions west of the Enos-Midia line. It was apprehended that one of the Allies might claim this Island.

Vienna, May 15

The military authorities are not altogether satisfied with the situation in the Balkans. Consequently the dismissal of reservists will proceed gradually, and only a third will be permitted to return to their homes.

London, May 16.

The new Balkan Peace Conference assembled at St. James's Palace on Monday. Sir Edward Grey yesterday received three Turkish delegates. The Bulgarian delegates including Dr Danoff arrived last night.

Salonica, May 17.

It transpires that during the last fortnight there has been a great movement of Bulgarian troops to the west. From the 8th to the 12th instant eight long trains containing troops, guns, and stores passed Xanthi on the border of Thrace and Macedonia, the soldiers uttering anti-Greek cries as they passed.

Paris, May 17.

M. Pichon, French Foreign Minister, speaking in the Chamber yesterday, said that French policy in the Balkans was inspired with the desire to promote the union of Europe. M. Pichon paid a tribute to the work done in London by the Ambassadors under the presidency of the eminent statesmen who has done so much for the peace of the world. There were still difficulties, but none should endanger international peace.

Vienna, May 17.

Orders have been issued dismissing altogether 58,000 reservists, but the reservists in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia are being retained with the colours.

London, May 18.

Reuter learns that the Greek and Servian delegates are still without instruction with regard to the signature of the preliminaries of peace. Both countries object to leaving the questions of Albania and the Archipelago to the decision of the Powers.

In Balkan quarters there is general indignation at the unwarrantable exaggeration in the foreign press as regards the relations between the Allies. It is declared that the Allies are determined to reach a peaceful solution of all questions between them.

Vienna, May 18.

The newspapers state that Austria and Italy, notwithstanding the blockade has been raised, have despatched each a warship to Durazzo owing to doubts as to the attitude of Essad Pasha.

London, May 19.

The special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* says that Greece and Servia have concluded a treaty which involves the common policy with regard to the conquered territories, and an anti-Bulgarian alliance.

All the Peace Delegates have arrived in London.

Bagdad Railway.

According to information from reliable sources, the basis of the Anglo-Turkish understanding with reference to the Persian Gulf are as follows —

"The Turkish Government recognises British Protectorate over Koweit, and concedes the eventual right of the construction of the railway between Bassorah and Koweit.

"Bassorah shall become the terminus of the Bagdad Railway, which will be continued to Bassorah under the same conditions as the other sections of the line.

"Two British Delegates at least shall be appointed to the Directorate of the Bagdad Railway in order to supervise all the transactions and prevent discrimination in the treatment of goods."

The German Government is naturally a party to the arrangement where it affects her interest regarding the Bagdad Railway. Indeed, German advice and influence contributed to facilitate the understanding.

It is hoped to reach a definite settlement within a fortnight.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables — The *Daily Mail* has published a statement that the Anglo-Turkish agreement has been drafted and is awaiting ratification. It provides for the transfer to Britain of the Turkish shares in the company formed for the construction of the Bagdad-Gulf section of the Bagdad Railway.

The *Gazette* urges France to participate in the negotiations since arrangements between Britain, Germany and Turkey seriously threaten her interests in Syria.

The *Echo de Paris* and the *Journal* refer to the Anglo-German combination. The latter sees therein the beginning of the partition of Asiatic Turkey.

The *Times* to-day states that concurrently with the negotiations between Britain and Turkey in London with reference to the southern section of the Turco-Persian frontier, negotiations with reference to the Northern section in which Russia is interested are in progress.

The French papers discuss with apprehension Turkey's negotiations with Britain and Germany, and particularly the policy ascribed to Germany as regards the Bagdad Railway. They emphasize that French is the predominant interest in Syria.

France has presented to Turkey a series of demands relating to schools, railway and harbour concessions in Syria and other matters, and makes her consent to the increase in the Turkish customs conditional upon Turkey's acceptance of these demands.

Speaking in the Chamber with reference to a question concerning the Bagdad Railway, M. Pichon said the Government were watching the matter closely. France would not forget her duty to defend her legitimate interests.

The Times publishes the following details of the Anglo-Turkish understanding, supplementing those in Reuter's message of the 14th instant:—

"Britain recognises the suzerainty of the Porte over Koweit which becomes an autonomous Turkish *kaza*.

"The Porte engages not to interfere in the internal affairs of Koweit or in the question of succession. It recognises the validity of the Convention concluded between the Sheikh and Britain

"The Porte abandons the pretensions to suzerainty over the peninsula of El. Katr, the Bahrain Islands, and Muscat.

"It recognises the right of Britain to undertake in future, as in the past, the lighting, buoying, and policing of the Gulf."

France, as well as Germany, has been kept well informed of the trend of negotiations, which are not likely to end without a definite agreement maintaining Britain's rights and privileges with reference to the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates. This is likely to include the establishment of an Ottoman Commission with strong British participation to exercise independently the functions of a navigation and port authority for the Shat-el-Arab.

This can only be effective if the heads of both the inspection and the engineer branches are British.

The whole agreement, when completed and confirmed, will be an event of the utmost importance for the promotion of British commercial interests in the Middle East.

The paragraphs in the Anglo-Turkish Agreement referring to Koweit, the Persian frontier, and Basra have already been initialled.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, referring to the Anglo-Turkish negotiations regarding the Persian Gulf, says both the German Bagdad Railway Company and German Government had been kept informed of the Anglo-Turkish negotiations.

The British Minister recently handed a memorandum to the Persian Government placing on records Britain's intention in accordance with prescriptive right to carry out the lighting and buoying of the Persian Gulf and to protect the Bahrain Islands and the subjects of the truce chiefs in Persia.

The *Times*' Constantinople correspondent mentions that the Press hints of the approaching change towards anti-Slavism on the British policy in the near East and is disposed to credit the Committee of Union and Progress with a similar belief.

The *Daily Telegraph* understands that Herr Gwinner, head of the Deutsche Bank and President of the Bagdad Railway Company, will arrive in London this week.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables:—The *Times*' St Petersburg correspondent says that Government circles there readily admit that the Anglo-Turkish agreement is equally justifiable with the Potsdam Agreement.

The Hero of Scutari.

"HASSAN THE JAPANESE."

WITH the end of the siege of Scutari another, and probably the last, dramatic episode of the war is finished. Longer than Plevna, longer even than Adrianople, Scutari has successfully resisted the assaults of its enemy, which is the more remarkable as Scutari was not, like Adrianople, a place surrounded by modern forts, but an open little town, only protected by the physical features of the surrounding country and by field constructions. Its resistance, therefore, was less due to the engineering skill than to the valour of its defenders—above all to that of the two commandants of the place, Hassan Riza Bey and Essad Pasha.

To many who have hitherto heard so much of Essad Pasha the mention of yet another name beside his will come as a surprise. Yet, says a writer in the *Standard*, the informed historian will allot the chief honours of the defence to Hassan Riza. There is often something sublimely cruel in the irony with which Fate arranges historical situations. On the last day of February, 1912, a Turkish mission, consisting of several officers and accompanied by the Turkish Minister at Cetinje and the Turkish Consul at Podgoritz, was received by King Nicholas of Montenegro at the Krusevats Palace, whither he had come down specially from the capital with General Vukotitch, his Minister of War, and General Martinovitch, his Chamberlain and aide-de-camp. The occasion was the settlement of the outstanding questions after the Albanian revolt of the previous year. The King received the mission with full honours, assured it of his desire to live in friendship with the Ottoman Empire, and expressed his high admiration for the valour of the Turkish officers. In the evening a gala dinner was given by the King in honour of his guests, and the chief of the mission was decorated by him with the Grand Cordon of the Order of

Danilo. That chief of the honoured mission was none other than Colonel of the General Staff Hassan Riza Bey, commandant of the independent division of Scutari; and eight months later the same men—Hassan Riza on the one side and King Nicholas, with his two trusty Generals, on the other—found themselves confronted once again, this time as enemies, across the walls of Scutari.

HASSAN'S HIGH CONNECTIONS.

That the highest ambition of King Nicholas was to march one day on Scutari had been known to all world since the days of the Berlin Congress. It was at the same time equally clear that it was just because of that ambition that Hassan Riza had been appointed in 1910, immediately after the second revolt of the Albanians, to the Scutari command. For Hassan Riza was an officer of no mean repute. "Hassan the Japanese" he was frequently called by his adoring soldiers, not merely on account of his short stature, broad face, and high cheekbones, but also because of his indomitable courage and his ardent devotion to his country and his duties. Hassan Riza was, in fact, a soldier from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet—a soldier who cared nothing about politics, and still less about personal advancement. His father was a high functionary, Namik Pasha, who at one time occupied the great post of Vali of Bagdad. He himself was born and educated in Constantinople, under the very eyes, as it were, of the Sultan, and he married a daughter of the famous Zekki Pasha, Field Marshal and favourite of Abdul Hamid. With such connections it was the easiest thing for him to make a career. In fact, after having studied in the Berlin War Academy and then served with distinction in the German army, having also worked several years at the German General Staff (both the "grand" and the sectional staffs), he returned home with the rank of a lieutenant-general and received immediately an appointment as instructor in tactical and general staff problems at the Constantinople Military School.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

It was while at this post that he was found by the Young Turks after the revolution. His presence at Constantinople was not liked by the new masters on account of his family connection with the old Zekki and he was transferred to Adrianople there to serve as chief of the General Staff of the Second Army, then commanded by the late Nazim Pasha. In 1909 the Young Turks undertook the famous measure of regrading all the high officers who had risen to prominence during the last years of the Hamidian régime, on account of the high favouritism which had reigned at Yıldiz Kiosk. In numerous cases the measure was perfectly justified, but in others it must have been wholly unmerited. Hassan Riza was regraded to the rank of simple lieutenant-colonel. This must have been very galling to Hassan Riza, but he remained true to himself and his duties, and continued to work without a murmur. Happily neither in his nor in most of the other cases was the regradation coupled with a change in the character of employment, and so Hassan Riza continued at the head of the General Staff under Nazim without being obliged to do the work of actually training soldiers. Nazim, who was greatly attached to him, would not, in fact, have allowed such a degradation, and when he was appointed to the command of the Sixth Army Corps in Bagdad he took his Chief-of-the-Staff with him. When Nazim returned to Constantinople Hassan Riza returned with him in the same year, 1910, he was sent to Scutari to take over the command of the independent 24th Division stationed there—at the post, as it then seemed, of the most immediate danger. It was virtually against him, the recipient of a high honour from the King of Montenegro a few months previously, that the first shot in the war was fired on October 8th last.

HIS ASSASSINATION.

Exactly four months later, as he was leaving the house of Essad Pasha, with whom he had been having supper, he was attacked in the street by three men, two of whom fired at him with revolvers. The noise attracted some passers-by, who found him lying on the ground in a pool of blood, and immediately took him to a neighbouring house. But he was already dead. The assassins in the meantime had escaped, and all efforts to discover them proved unavailing. This is the Albanian version of the story, which naturally ascribes the crime to Montenegrin authors. The truth, however, will probably be found to lie in another direction indicated by the fact that Hassan Riza was Turk, and could scarcely be popular with the Albanian population, jealous of its flag.

ESSAD PASHA.

Hassan Riza's post was then taken over by Essad Pasha, an Albanian of the great Toptani family, of Thirana, who had always been an ardent champion of the idea of an Albanian nationality and a prominent advocate of the Latin script. He is about fifty

years of age, and was at one time commandant of the gendarmerie at Constantinople. The Pasha title was conferred upon him in 1897 as a reward for his distinguished services in the Greco-Turkish War. He played, however, a still more prominent part on another still more memorable occasion. His brother, Gani Bey Toptani, also an Albanian nationalist, had been shot by order of Abdul Hamid and when the Turkish Parliament, on the occupation of Constantinople by Mahmud Sherket's troops, proclaimed the Sultan's deposition, Essad Pasha asked for and was granted the privilege of being one of the deputation sent to Yildiz Kiosk to announce to Abdul Hamid his fate. On April 27th, 1909, Essad Pasha, accompanied by three others, presented himself before his family enemy, and pronounced the fateful words: "In accordance with Kotwa the representatives of the nation have decreed your deposition Follow us." The Albanians thus had his revenge. He was afterwards one of the officers who took part in last year's revolt against the Young Turkish régime. It was not until sometime after the commencement of the siege that he came into Scutari with a number of troops and placed them at the disposal of Hassan Riza.

The Albanian Muddle.

Albanian Condemnation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, April 28.

There is no inclination to take too tragic a view of the exploits of Essad Pasha or of his arrangements with King Nicholas. It is manifest, however,—and the French Press does not neglect to call attention to this new aspect of the situation—that Austria-Hungary cannot regard the proclamation of Albanian independence by Essad Pasha with the same benevolence which she exhibited some months ago towards Ismail Kemal Bey, when he established a Provisional Government at Alessio. Ismail Kemal Bey is now in Paris, and in conversation with a representative of the *Temps* has denounced Essad Pasha's action as both treason and folly. It is treason, he considers, in that it "decapitates" Albania by handing over Scutari to the Montenegrins, and by making the province a virtual dependency of Montenegro and Serbia. It is folly because it sets Albania at loggerheads with the Powers and compromises the prospect of its independence.

Ismail Kemal admits that Essad belongs to a powerful Albanian family, but does not believe that all his troops will continue to follow him. The contingents of Berat and Elbasan, he expects, will adhere to the Provisional Government. From the point of view of the Great Powers the independence of Albania is conditional upon the maintenance of its integrity, upon which Austria-Hungary has rightly insisted. Ismail Kemal intends to leave for London to-night in order to urge his views upon the Ambassadors. He was received this afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Pichon.

Scutari, April 28.

According to Montenegrin reports, when the Crown Prince Danilo entered Scutari on the 26th instant he was met at the Citadel gate by Essad Pasha. The greeting was very cordial. The Crown Prince shook hands thrice with Essad Pasha, who in a speech said:—

"I am handing Scutari over to a brave adversary. The Montenegrins have absolutely deserved it with their heroic courage. I would cede the key of Scutari to nobody in the world except the Montenegrins."

Essad Pasha presented the key to the Crown Prince who said:—

"We in Montenegro are proud of taking over the key of the capital of our old Zeta from such a brave adversary. You have fought stubbornly and heroically. Fate willed it that you should lose Scutari, but only with glory."

Essad Pasha then accompanied the Crown Prince to the Citadel, where the Montenegrin banner was hoisted with military honours.

Essad Pasha as he marched the head of his troops through the Serbian cordon to Tirana received a salute of 11 guns. On returning from the Citadel Prince Danilo was enthusiastically acclaimed by the inhabitants, including all classes and denominations, the Muhammadans being especially emphatic in the expression of their joy, while the Catholics with their clergy also took part in the demonstration.—*Reuter*.

Ismail Kemal Bey arrived in London yesterday and called upon several of the Ambassadors. His view that Essad Pasha had been guilty of treasonable folly in proclaiming himself King or Prince of Albania was reported by our Paris Correspondent yesterday.

According to some who know Essad well, it is unnecessary to take his proclamation too seriously. His object is probably to secure that he should be the leading subject of the Prince, not Prince himself. They do not believe that he has any intention of co-operating with King Nicholas in defying the Powers.

Turkish Collusion Denied.

Constantinople, April 29.

The Agence Ottomane states to-night that its inquiries make it abundantly clear that the Ottoman Government had no hand in the mysterious negotiations which terminated in the surrender of Scutari. More convincing than the statements of this agency, which not long ago denied in the strongest terms that Hakki Pasha's visit to London had any connexion with the negotiations concerning the Persian Gulf and kindred questions, is the fact that Essad Pasha's attitude with regard to the Albanian question seems opposed to that of Turkish official circles, which have never quite abandoned the hope that a member of the House of Osman, or at least some high Turkish official, might be appointed Governor General of an autonomous Albania.

At present, what with the Provisional Government at Avlona, Djavid Pasha's Turkish force, officered mainly by Committee stalwarts, at Berat and Fieri, and Essad Pasha playing for his own hand as Prince or Prince-maker at Tirana, the prospects of an early settlement of the Albanian problem seem somewhat remote.

The Turkish Forces in Albania.

Constantinople, April 29.

The Turkish Press, while expressing regret at the fall of Scutari, appears to be chiefly preoccupied as to the result it may have on the policy of the Powers. Among members of the Committee there is a tendency to argue that the capitulation of Essad Pasha has been for some time highly desirable from the Turkish point of view, since the few remaining Turkish troops belonging to the garrison have been shedding their blood in the interests, not of the Ottoman Empire, but of an autonomous Albania.

In this connexion it may be noted that Essad Pasha, who is apparently marching south with the greater part of the garrison and light artillery to Tirana, is now in a position to play an important rôle in Albanian politics. The strength of his force is estimated here at over 9,000 men, the great majority of whom are seasoned Albanian troops belonging to the Redif division, which entered Scutari a few days after the outbreak of war, and are largely recruited from the Tirana and Durazzo districts, where the influence of the Essad family has always been great. The future relations between this force and the army of unknown strength which still follows Djavid Bey Pasha, whose alleged occupation of Avlona is still unconfirmed, is also an interesting subject of speculation.

Djavid Pasha's Exploits.

Constantinople, April 30.

I learn from Albanian sources which profess to be in touch with the Albanian Provisional Government and are usually well-informed that the story of the overthrow of that Government by the forces under Djavid Pasha is quite untrue. On the contrary, the Provisional Government is keeping the remnants of Djavid's Army which are now concentrated in the villages of Fieri and Ichermen, between Berat and Avlona, alive with doles of bread. Djavid himself is declared to be accepting the hospitality of a member of the Vlora clan, while Ghalib Pasha, who was said to have been appointed by the Committee Governor of Avlona, is in reality a prisoner in Athens. This being so, it is hard to understand the motive of the local extremist Press in publishing for some day, and maintaining, inaccurate statements which are supported by much characteristic rhetoric, unless a movement such as described had been contemplated, but could not be carried out.

There is some ground for the belief that not only Hassan Riza, but the Chief of the Staff, Kiamil Bey, a distinguished and gallant officer, was murdered at Scutari on the night of February 8-9 in circumstances previously described.

Vicissitudes of Scutari.

Last Monday's *Morning Post* contained an admirable article on "Scutari: Two Thousand Years of History," by Mr. William Miller, from which we quote the following passages:—

"The brothers Balsha, who had carved out for themselves a principality in the Zeta, the present Montenegro, on the fall of the great Serbian Empire, took Scutari in 1366, and a document of 1369 describes it as their capital—*principale eorum domicilium*. Thus, the Montenegrins are historically correct in denob-

ing Scutari as their ancient capital, for such it was till first Jablyak and then Cetinje became the residence of the Black Prince. In 1399 George II. Balsha surrendered Scutari to the Turks as his own ransom: but it was recovered three years later, only to be sold in 1398, together with the lake, the islands, and the neighbouring castle of Drivasto (the modern Dristi) to Venice. Except for one brief interval in 1405, when Balsha III. recaptured it, the place remained a Venetian Colony till 1479."

Late in the fifteenth century the Venetians began to pay tribute to Turkey, already encroaching on Albania, and in 1474, in alliance with the Montenegrins, the Venetians successfully defended Scutari against the Turks. But their efforts were futile, and the consequent respite brief, for in 1478 Muhammad II. renewed the siege, and, though he failed to capture the town by storm, in the following year Scutari surrendered.

"The siege had cost the Turks 45,000 men. The Venetian Governor, Antonio da Lezza, was punished for having asserted that it could hold out no longer. Those Scutarenes who wished to emigrate were given lands in Venetian territory, and the Albanian colony of Borgo Erizzo, near Zara, is traced to this emigration."

THE POPULATION OF THE TOWN.

The *Daily News* of April 24 contained an article by Miss M. E. Durham, who, writing from Cetinje, ridicules some statements made by Mr. Harold Spender regarding the "vast Serb population" of Scutari. Here are two passages that make out a strong case for the Albanians.—

"The wife of more than one Montenegrin Consul has lamented to me bitterly in Scutari her exile from Slav land and her loneliness in an entirely Albanian town. 'Our little Serb colony is so small!' Rarely, indeed, is the Serb tongue heard, and then mainly among the refugees from Bosnia, who were induced by the Young Turk Party to quit Bosnia at the time of Austria's annexation of it (1908).

"Mr. Spender's calculations leave a minority of 12,000 to Albanians, Turks, and foreigners. How passing strange, if this be true, that this small minority should have succeeded in imposing the Albanian tongue and costume on all these Serbs, who Mr. Spender has created and wishes to hand over to Montenegro. And why, we must ask, is it that this huge Serb population never informed Montenegro that the town was strongly fortified and prepared for siege? Far from helping Montenegro, these mysterious Serbs prefer to speak Albanian and assist in the defence of the town. They allowed Montenegro to start gaily, with the belief that Scutari could be taken in four days. They have defended it nearly six months. All that these poor people could do to show that they do not want Montenegrin rule they have done. Yet Mr. Spender calls on the Powers to allow Russia and Serbia to crush them into Montenegro's hands. This is bullying indeed."

"PROVISIONS" AT SCUTARI.

Alphonse Courlauder, in the course of a vivid despatch in the *Daily Express* (April 28) on the conditions prevailing in Scutari at the end of the siege, writes.—

"Wine and coffee were plentiful, but milk was scarce. I paid on entering, a shilling for a small glass of hot water coloured with milk. During the last two months horses were eaten. The plight of the poorest people was fearful. Some ate grass, others any filthy rubbish, so long as they could fill their stomachs. The case became so desperate that the military finally commandeered everything from private houses."

This account is in striking contrast to the reports circulated regarding the abundance of provisions in Scutari, and it has to be remembered that it emanates from the pen of an eye-witness.—
The Near East.

New Peace Conference in London.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 1.

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to-day communicated the following Collective Note from the Powers to the Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"The undersigned Ambassadors of [here follow the names of the Powers] have the honour to inform the Imperial Ottoman Government that the Powers, having received the reply of the Allied States to the Note in which the Powers formulated the bases of peace, and having taken note of their acceptance of these bases, have invited them immediately to cease hostilities and to designate plenipotentiaries and a place of meeting for the peace negotiations.

"They are charged by their respective Governments to address, and hereby address, the same invitation to Turkey in their collective capacity."

The Porte's reply, which, I understand, will be in the affirmative, will probably be given to-morrow.

There is reason to believe that the delay in the presentation of the Note was due to the fact that the Russian Government, which seems to have had a certain measure of support from Austria-Hungary, proposed that the Conference of the Ambassadors of the Powers, instead of contenting themselves with proposing a formula as a basis of peace for the belligerents, should submit more detailed terms of peace for their acceptance, and that this proposal was discussed but rejected by the Conference of Ambassadors. Meanwhile it is certain that the Porte is considerably relieved by the presentation of the Note without further delay, responsible Turkish statesmen, whatever be the views of extremists, realizing that if the present Albanian-Montenegrin imbroglio leads to a conflict their country will do well to leave the water before it is further troubled by the incursion of European leviathans.

With regard to Essad Pasha's communication concerning the repatriation of the Turkish troops, which the Porte received three days ago, it would seem that this cannot be effected without the consent of the Balkan Allies, more especially Greece. The Turkish Government has approached the Powers with a view to obtaining their good offices in the matter.

Constantinople, May 1.

The Ottoman plenipotentiaries will be Hakki Pasha, who is already in London, Osman Nizami Pasha, ex-Ambassador at Berlin, and Batzaria Effendi, the Minister of Public Works, who is a Macedonia Vlach.—*Reuter.*

The Financial Conference.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, April 28.

SIR RICHARD CRAWFORD received instructions last night to proceed to Paris and London so soon as possible. He will leave Constantinople on Saturday. The date of the departure of the other Ottoman delegates to the financial conference has not yet been fixed.

April 24.

By an error in the transmission of my telegram of the 14th instant, relative to the appointment of the Ottoman delegates to the financial conference in Paris, M. Méry was described as a representative of the Public Debt Administration instead of as assistant to the representative of the Administration in question. It may be added that the representative of the Public Debt Administration has not yet been appointed. MM. de Janko, Pritz, and de la Bonlière, who represent the Austro-Hungarian, German, and French bondholders respectively, are taking part in the conference as representatives of their respective Governments. Meanwhile there is reason to believe that the delegates, who have already met in Paris, have not yet come to any decision whatever.

Paris, April 27.

The German Government has agreed to the proposals of the French Government with regard to the programme of the technical commission which is to meet in Paris in the middle of next month to discuss the financial details of the Balkan settlement. The chief matters with which the Commission will be called upon to deal are the amount of the Ottoman Debt revenue to be charged upon the Balkan States in respect of the conquered territories, the method by which such contributions shall be made, the financial compensations demanded by the Allies, and questions regarding railway and other concessions which will fall within the new Balkan frontiers.

There is strong feeling in certain financial circles that if any contribution to the Ottoman Debt revenue is agreed upon, the course adopted by Italy, at the conclusion of the Tripoli War, should be followed, and liability be met by a capital payment. Should it, however, be decided to leave the contribution to be made by annual payments, the Commission will have to discuss how to guarantee these revenues in the interest of the holders of Turkish bonds.

Ottoman Finance.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, April 28.

THE Treasury receipts during the month of January, 1913, as shown by the returns just published, were actually less by £1484,812 than during the corresponding month of the previous

year. If, however, for the sake of comparison, deduction be made of the receipts from certain districts, and particularly those now occupied by the Balkan Allies, not figuring in the present returns, the actual shortage becomes an apparent increase of £T23,336 for the remainder of the Empire. The actual total receipts for the eleven months of the fiscal year to January, 1913, were £T294,954 greater than those of the same period of last year, and if deduction be made of the items appearing in the returns of the previous year, but not in the present returns, the balance in favour of this year would amount to £T2,631,527. Since the returns quoted in my letter of April 5 to the month of December, 1912, in which I stated that the actual excess over the previous year amounted to £T688,417, certain receipts and corrections, amounting to £T191,349, appertaining to previous months, have been advised, and now appear in the corrected figures to date. The Customs receipts during the month of January, 1913, were slightly greater than during the corresponding month of the previous year. While the export duties are, during the eleven months of the current fiscal year, still in excess of the previous year by £T13,752, the import duties during the same period are less by £T78,252, and represent a decrease of £T66,000 in the value of the imports compared with the corresponding period of the previous year.

Repatriation in Bulgarian Provinces.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, April 30.

THE negotiations between the International Refugee Committee and General Hassapchieff for the return of the refugees to the provinces occupied by the Bulgarian troops will probably fall through. A short time ago General Hassapchieff requested a list of Moslems desiring to return to their homes at the expense of the Bulgarian Government. In reply the Committee demanded an assurance that the lives and religion of those who return shall be respected.

General Hassapchieff considers that the request is offensive in the extreme and refuses to make any reply, while the Committee state that, in view of what has already occurred in the regions from which these unhappy people fled and the large amount of money which has been entrusted to the Committee for administration by European philanthropists, particularly from England and British Moslem subscribers, they are in honour bound to secure safeguards before any of the outcasts whom they have sheltered, clothed, and fed for the past five months have been sent to the Bulgarian interior.

The Egyptian Red Crescent Society are sending a ship to transport the families of Turkish officers to Smyrna and Constantinople.

The New Turkish Battleships.

IN view of the renewed rumours, mentioned in the *Times* of Saturday, that negotiations are in progress for transferring to the British Navy the two battleships building in this country for Turkey, a description of their design will be of interest.

The order for the construction of these two vessels was provisionally placed in May, 1911, and the contract signed in August of that year, the firms comprising the syndicate being Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., Messrs. Vickers, and Messrs. John Brown and Co. The keel of the first battleship, which was named the *Reshad V.*, was reported to have been laid at the Vickers' yard, Barrow, in December, 1911, and that of the second, named the *Reshad-i-Hamza*, at Elswick, early in 1912. This was about the time that the British battleships of the *Iron Duke* type, of the 1911-12 programme, were being begun, and the Turkish ships resemble these in many important respects. They are smaller than the *Iron Dukes*, however, and as far as size and dimensions are concerned they approximate to the *King George V.* class of the 1910-11 programme, though their armament is superior. The *King George V.* class will all be completed by the autumn of this year, and the *Iron Duke* class are due for completion by March 1914.

The displacement of the *Reshad V.* is 23,000 tons, the same as that of the *King George V.*, and 2,000 tons less than that of the *Iron Duke*. Her length, 557ft., is intermediate between the two, but in her breadth, 91ft., she exceeds both. Her draught of water, 28ft., is the same as that of the *Iron Duke*. The propelling machinery will consist of Parsons turbines as in the case of the British vessels, the horse-power being 26,500, which is below that of the *Iron Duke* and *King George V.*, but the designed speed is the same for all—namely, 21 knots. The coal capacity of 900 tons, with a maximum of 2,120 tons, is also understood to be about the same in each case, while, like the British ships, the *Reshad V.* will have four screws. As for armament, all three types carry ten 13.5in. guns disposed in twin turrets on the centre

line, but there are differences in the calibre and disposition of the secondary or anti-torpedo defence armament. The *King George V.* mounts 16 4in. guns, principally behind casemates; the *Iron Duke* has 12 6in. guns placed behind armour of 8in. thickness, while in the *Reshad V.* there are 16 6in. guns behind 5in. armour. In addition the Turkish vessel, like the *Iron Duke*, has four 21in. torpedo tubes. The thickness of the main belt armour, 12in., is the same in all three ships, while the heavy guns in the Turkish vessel are protected by armour of the same thickness. The complement of the *Reshad V.* will be 900 officer and men.—*The Times*.

The Task of Reconstruction.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CONSTANTINOPLE CORRESPONDENT.)

THE Government, I have reason to believe, contemplates contracting a loan of £T2,500,000 for the purpose of settling the refugees from European Turkey in the Asiatic provinces and of opening a pension fund for the widows and orphans of the many soldiers killed in the war. The task of settling the *muhajirs* in Anatolia will be a difficult one, and will require not a little expert advice and assistance. Previous attempts made under the auspices of the Committee of Union and Progress in time of peace have not been very successful, owing to lack of managing ability on the part of the promoters of the "colonisation" scheme, which was intended to strengthen the Moslem element in European Turkey, but merely succeeded in planting a couple of thousand Bosniak colonists in the less healthy parts of Macedonia. After the Russo-Turkish war similar experiments were tried in Asiatic Turkey. They failed in many instances owing to official mismanagement. Only the hardest of the Tartar, Circassian, and Turk colonists from Bulgaria and the Caucasus survived the combined effects of starvation and disease. Hillmen were sent to "colonise" marshy and fever-stricken lowlands, Northerners packed off to the hot plains of Mesopotamia; in fact, all was done to render the experiment a failure, and that it succeeded in certain localities more for the pluck and physical toughness of the colonists than for the administrative skill of the authorities. If the present Government or its successor really makes up its mind to choose the best officials for the task of settling the refugees, and to scatter the latter over the uplands instead of allowing them to drift to the richer but less healthy coast, it will be doing a great service to the Turkish race and Empire.

There are scores of other duties that await the Government. The settlement of the difficult and thorny problem of the Armenian lands now occupied by Kurdish squatters; the conciliation of the more or less national ideals of the Arab partisans of decentralisation with those of the dominant and centralising Turk; the solution of the problem presented by the officials who have come in from European Turkey and are now idling here on half-pay, with no posts to occupy; the problem of the army—all these are most urgent and important problems. The latter is particularly difficult. In theory, the Turks, who had previously concentrated the greater part of their forces in European Turkey with the object of defending it against the attacks of the Balkan States should now reduce their military strength. The problem of defence is greatly simplified. They have now to defend a very small land frontier in Europe against the Bulgars and the old Eastern frontier against the Russians. Their requirements for the defence of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, of the Aegean coast, and of Syria and Mesopotamia have not increased. Arabia, or, rather, Yemen, needs less troops than in the past, thanks to the 'air success' that has attended the application of autonomy. It would, therefore, seem that the antebellum strength of the army—14 army corps and 5 independent divisions, totalling 48 divisions of Nizam (first line) troops—might be reduced by at least 30 per cent., to the great advantage of the revenues. But one has immediately to ask how the army will take this. A large reduction in peace effective is likely not only to annoy the officers, who are all for a large army, and still believe in the "million bayonets" of which Mahmud Shevket Pasha once spoke, but to result in the placing of a certain number of officers on half pay or on the retired list. The army still remains the one great force in Turkish public life. It is more united, better trained, and, what is most important, has developed a habit of interfering in political questions. Will its chiefs accept a policy of military retrenchment? The foreign advisers of the Ottoman Government, official and non-official, will certainly recommend the Government to "cut its coat according to its cloth," but it is decidedly doubtful whether the army, at whose expense the cutting will be done, will bear the operation with calm.

Turk and Arab.

ANNOUS of the proposal to establish a Parliament at Beyrout or Damascus for the Arab population of the Turkish Empire, the *Pan-Mall Gazette* observes that while such a plan might satisfy the

Arabs of Syria and the neighbouring regions, it would "assuredly bring cold comfort to the Arabs of Central and Southern Arabia":—

"The Porte has never been able to suppress the revolts in the provinces of Asir and Yemen, and has never really conquered Yemen at all. The great Arab chieftains of Nejd only occasionally acknowledge Turkish supremacy as a matter of policy, and the Turkish tenure of the lands on the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf is very precarious. The few people who know something of the obscure politics of Arabia have never ceased to predict that the dramatic reverses of the Turks in Europe would soon weaken their hold upon their Arabian provinces. In this matter it is impossible not to feel some sympathy with the Arab point of view. The Turks have done nothing for Arabia, and have looked upon the peninsula solely as the source of an exiguous and fluctuating revenue. They have only maintained themselves there through the fear of them inspired by the fiercer campaigns of Ibrahim Pasha a hundred years ago. Whatever happens they will probably preserve their hold upon the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina."

"Whatever happens" is, perhaps, a rather bold statement. But Turkey's friends will certainly hope that she will lose no time in grappling with her Arab problem, and that she will know how, by judicious concessions, to bind the Arabs to her and make them loyal citizens—or, at least, loyal subjects—of the regenerated Turkey that we hope to see.

ITALY AND ISLAM.

Signor Aldobrandino Malvezzi, a well-known Italian author, has written a book on the future relations of Italy and Islam. Italy, since the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne, has become an Islamic Power. She finds herself in the presence of a native population that has for a year been subjected to all the consequences of a long war, therefore it is necessary for her to modify her attitude towards these people, not only with a view of pacifying the country, but also in regard to its development. Hence the necessity of a Muhammadan policy.

What will the Muhammadan policy of Italy be? Signor Malvezzi recommends his fellow countrymen to study and to take advantage of the examples that Britain and France offer so abundantly. He considers that the first task of Italy in Tripoli is to place the population, which has been too backward in the past, on a level with other Moslem peoples. Then she must seek to conquer the soul of the Arab, and with this object she will direct all her efforts to secure the support of the chiefs of the great brotherhoods. This, in the opinion of Signor Malvezzi, would be less difficult than one might expect, because the confraternities, formerly very ascetic and speculative, have had to make themselves militant and develop their temporal power in order to resist the spiritual supremacy of the Ottoman Khalifate, and they have thus become more accessible to European influences.

The grave question is that of Senusism. It is well known that the Senusi were the most ardent fighters against the Italians, and that they have remained the most irreconcilable adversaries. They are particularly numerous and rich. Isolated in the Kufra Oasis in the midst of the desert, their sheikh dominates the whole of Tripoli with his uncontested prestige, both as a religious and a military chief. There is in this a danger for the future of the colony which is naturally preoccupied by the Italian mind. Signor Malvezzi, however, believes that it would not be impossible to persuade the Senusi that Italy proposes to resurrect the trade of Tripoli and Benghazi, and that she will be the zealous guardian of the integrity of the caravan routes which lead from Central Africa to the Mediterranean, and particularly of those tracks which pass along the Oasis of Kufra.—*The Near East*.

The Position at Baghdad.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople.

APPROXIMATELY the article entitled "The Young Turks: How They Might Succeed," by "One of Them," which appeared in your issue of March 26, and wherein mention was made of the state of feeling at Baghdad, *El Mokattam* has published an interesting letter from its local correspondent. Both at Busrah and Baghdad there is a very strong movement for home rule. Meetings are being constantly held, and at a recent one held at Arak, at which El Seyed Bey Taleb, one of the most influential men of the locality, and many notables and chiefs of tribes were present, it was decided to send telegrams to the Grand Vizier, the Vali, and the Governors of Busrah and Baghdad, demanding reforms and pointing out the dangers which disregard for their claims would entail. At Baghdad itself the movement is even stronger. The prime mover is Taleb Bey El Nekib. A meeting of notables and chiefs of tribes was held at the National Scientific Club. According to *El Mokattam's* correspondent, it was an enthusiastic though eminently peaceful gathering, and similar telegrams to the one from Arak were des-

patched. The inhabitants of this region will have nothing but decentralisation, firstly, because centralisation means continued obstruction of all progress, and, secondly, because by means of what they term "home rule" they will be able to ward off the danger of the resources of their vilayet falling into foreign hands. They also demand that their Governors shall be Arabs or, at any rate, Turks who are well acquainted with Arabic. Apparently the Turkish Government will have to subjugate the whole region from Beyrout to Baghdad and Busrah if it declines to accord any concessions. From conversations I have had with men who have recently arrived from these parts, or who are in close correspondence with the inhabitants, they are determined this time not to give way one inch, and there are all the makings of a serious revolt, which may easily spread to other parts of the Empire.

Unrest in Asia Minor.

Agitation Against the Armenians.

ACCORDING to information received from Adana in Asia Minor, the situation in the *Hinterland* is causing much uneasiness in Armenian circles, where many of the phenomena which preceded the terrible massacres of 1909 are again noted. The Committee organ *Tarzus*, published in the town of the same name, is engaged in the publication of inflammatory, and often bitterly anti-Christian articles, which are varied by attacks on the local officials. The same procedure was followed by the Committee organ *Itadul* before the outbreak of 1909. Mosque meetings have been held in several centres, and the Armenians have been warned by well-disposed Turks of both sexes that districts untouched by the former troubles will be in danger during the Gregorian Easter. The Armenian Patriarchate, furthermore, has been informed that persons, believed to be officers in disguise, are in the interests of an anti-Armenian agitation perambulating the country in company of one Yakub Djemil, who provoked the Italian protests against the abduction of an Italian girl before the Turco-Italian war of 1911.

The causes of this movement are variously explained. It is believed in some quarters to be due to exaggerated accounts of the excesses committed by the Balkan irregulars in Macedonia, and certainly odious articles such as that recently published in the *Tarzus*, in which the King of Bulgaria is described as "Ferdinand the violator," and General Ivanoff is falsely accused of permitting his troops to violate every Moslem woman in Adrianople, are calculated to provoke feelings of bitter animosity against the Christians among the uncritical and ignorant Mussalmans of Cilicia, despite the fact that the Armenians have supplied the Turks with thousands of brave soldiers who have done their duty as well as any of their Moslem comrades in the present unhappy war.

According to other theories a propaganda has been carried on by unauthorized and unofficial foreign agents described sometimes as Magyars, sometimes as Germans, and the present excitement is connected in the minds of certain pacific Turks with the large purchases of land which have recently been made by Europeans in the Adana Vilayet. In any case the situation in Adana requires to be carefully watched by the Powers.—*The Times*.

The Reform Movement.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT)

Beyrout, April 23.

The Imperial Firman of the nomination of Hazem Bey as Vali of Beyrout was read yesterday. As a rule, this ceremony is attended by the spiritual dignitaries and notables of the town, but this time this distinguished assistance was conspicuous by its absence. It was another protest against the Vali's arbitrary action in closing the Reformist Club, dissolving the General Assembly of Reform, and arresting a few members of the Reform League, all of which injudicious acts led to the closing of the business establishments of the town for a few days, and to the creation of considerable popular commotion.

The reform movement seems to be gaining force from opposition, and the Committee Government is apparently at a loss how to deal with it. After a blunt policy of violence and duplicity, it is now trying to initiate a milder policy of conciliation, but, sincerity, sagacity and foresight being lacking, the new policy is equally doomed to failure. An attempt was made at a severe censorship of the Press, to be soon given up, since it was hard to see how this was to be reconciled with a constitutional régime. Then a sort of palliative was offered by a so-called concession in regard to the Arabic language. It was first announced that Arabic was at last to be made an official language, but the official announcement, made yesterday on the occasion of the reading of the Firman, represented but a nominal concession.

All the latent forces of the Arabs have been awakened by them, and signs are not lacking of the brewing of the storm. A revolutionary leaflet has lately been circulated secretly inciting the people to

revolt against a Government that has brought upon them moral and material degradation, and offering them the hospitality of the Lebanon for their women and children. Revolution is passing into revolution, and this leaflet is one of the first symptoms of the latter.

UNWANTED REFUGEES.

The ss. *Sheffield*, flying the British flag, but commanded by a Greek captain, arrived here last week with 200 Macedonian refugees from Constantinople for Beyrout, mainly women and children, in a pitiable state of destitution. The local authorities were hard-hearted enough to try and prevent these unhappy people from landing, by not allowing any boats to go alongside the steamer, and they suggested to the captain that he should land them at Cafia, but the latter would not thus be banked, and brought his ship alongside the coal quay and landed them there. The authorities, however, found means to get rid of most of them by reshipping them by the Khedivial mail steamer *Assuan*, which arrived here soon after, with 1,200 Macedonian refugees, who were being sent by the Khedive to his Anatolian estate in Dolman.

Kiamil Pasha's Opinion.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT).

Recently Kiamil Pasha was entertained at a *d'honneur*, which was offered to him at Alexandria by a committee of his partisans. Speeches were made, and the ex Grand Vizier took the opportunity of indulging in some strong criticism of the Young Turks, whom he characterized as "a revolutionary group with a disastrous policy and selfish motives." In an interview that the venerable statesman granted to *El Messar* he expressed his entire sympathy with the Syrian movement—this confirms what he told me about two months ago—and said it would be well if the other *vilayets* followed that lead, as the movement was for the good of the Empire. Kiamil's outspoken views have aroused no little attention, and have called down upon him the wrath of *El Sharih*, which considers itself to be the Nationalist mouthpiece, and evidently is bent on following Shoukhi Shawish in his support of the Committee of Union and Progress. Advises from Constantinople state that an *ordre* has been issued forbidding Kiamil Pasha to return to Turkey.

The *Times* received the following communication from the Turkish Embassy:—

"The situation in Asia Minor and in Alban in particular has already been brought under the serious notice of the Ottoman Government, who have stringent instructions to the local authorities and Government representatives for the protection of the Christian population and the immediate arrest and severe punishment of all those who spread or engage in the publication of inflammatory and anti-Christian articles. It may also be stated that owing to the steps already taken in an unfortunate incident has, up to now, to be deplored."

Mr. Asquith's Speech.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at the 25th anniversary dinner of the Foreign Press Association, said:—

I esteem it a great privilege to express our lively sense of your gracious hospitality to-night and the feelings of satisfaction and gratification with which, I am sure, all of us have associated ourselves in being able to be present on this very interesting anniversary in the history of your society. Mr. Condurier used some expressions, which I am sure were quite sincere, expressing his own modesty and his sense of his own inefficiency for the task which had been laid upon him, but I should be only too happy if I could express myself in any language but my own as well as Mr. Condurier seems to express himself in all languages. I am sure we shall all agree that nothing could have been more felicitous than the manner in which he presented this toast in its various aspects to us. I will not on this occasion indulge in the customary discourse on the functions of the Press. It is a very tempting theme, and has been rendered even more tempting in some of its aspects by some of the allusions which the chairman has made. But the subject has recently been handled with a characteristic clearness, insight, and delicacy of touch by my noble friend Lord Rosebery in a speech which a casual phrase has led the world, I hope and believe mistakenly, to assume was his final contribution to an art in which he has no superior and few rivals. I associate myself with everything that he said upon the general topic. In common, however, I suppose, with most public men, I have notions of my own upon the subject—the subject of the Press—which it might not be

convenient at this moment to develop. (Laughter.) For a great many years past the Press—I mean our native Press—has from time to time been telling the world what it thinks about me. But I hope one day to be even with them. (Laughter.) When the hour arrives—perhaps it may not be very distant—when the hour arrives for me to resume what Mr. Gladstone once described as a position of greater freedom and less responsibility, I may find an opportunity of telling the world without fear or favour what I think about the Press. (Laughter.)

In the meantime I must remember that I am here as a guest, and that our hosts are the representatives of the foreign Press of Europe. It—and here I am in the region of truism—the Press is, and always has been, a great power for good or for evil, and perhaps for both, at home, it has become in these days of rapid communication, which may be said to have broken down the barriers both of time and of space, an even more potent influence in the international sphere. The foreign correspondent was, I believe, one of the discoveries of the mid-Victorian era. He was, I think, in the first instance, evolved, or mainly evolved, by the English Press, but it so, our foreign friends have paid us the flattery of imitation, and it is to that happy development that we owe the pleasure of enjoying to-night the hospitality here in London of the Foreign Press Association. I listened with great interest to what Mr. Condurier said both about the past and the future of its fortunes. It includes, as I understand, this representative of all the great European countries and the two American continents, and having passed, as the chairman said, and passed successfully, through the trials of infancy and early manhood, it has to-night attained its 25th birthday. We, its guests, offer it our most hearty congratulations. Its first, and, as I understand, its main purpose, is to promote fraternity and good fellowship amongst foreign journalists in London. With that object, we are all glad to hear, it has started a pension fund, which, in common with all your guests, I wish every possible success.

In thus joining together for social intercourse and for mutual assistance the journalists of diverse foreign countries you have, I believe, a higher and a wider aim. I referred a moment ago to the influence of the Press as an international factor. It can, as we all know, breed bad blood between nations. It can also sow and water the seeds of reciprocal amity and good will. Powers so large and so far reaching, which, according as they are wisely or recklessly used, make the difference between friendship and enmity—even between peace and war—carry with them proportionate responsibilities. What do they most need who inform and instruct and guide the public opinion of the world? They need what can be best got from intercourse and co-operation amongst themselves—knowledge, understanding, imagination, sympathy. Half the quarrels between nations are due, not to deliberate ill-will, or conscious ambition, or the passion for revenge they are due to misunderstandings, innocent and even unintended in their origin, which are magnified and inflamed by perverted patriotism, by the circulation of unfounded stories, by the distortion of petty incidents, by the abuse of rhetoric.

THE POWERS AND THE BALANCE.

I have here to-night, as fellow-guests of your association, the Ambassadors of the Great Powers of Europe. We have been sitting, together round a table this afternoon for the prosecution of the great task of conciliation and of common counsel, in which, under the presidency of my right hon. friend and colleague Sir Edward Grey, they have been now for a month engaged. (Cheers.) Shallow and impatient critics are ready enough to gibe at what they consider the combrous and dilatory methods of the European Concert. But the results which are being slowly but surely achieved are, in my opinion at any rate, well worth the time, the energy, and the tact which have been so unsparingly given to their attainment. The Great Powers, more than one of whom are acutely and directly interested in the upheaval of the old régime in the Near East, have worked so far successfully for an honourable peace amongst themselves. Their mediation has now, we hope, been, at least in principle, accepted by the actual combatants. I do not say that points of difficulty may not and will not emerge—one such is prominently before our minds to-day—points which still call for the exercise of the same qualities of forbearance, of mutual understanding and accommodation, of willingness to subordinate particular interests and susceptibilities to one great governing purpose—the common pursuit of a durable peace. (Cheers.) And we may, I think, believe, without an excess of optimism, that sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, we shall reach the goal which has been so long and so laboriously sought.

UNOFFICIAL AMBASSADORS.

I venture to commend to-day, if I may do so respectfully as one of your guests, the procedure which has been followed, and still more the spirit which has made it possible, seeing as I do around me so

many distinguished representatives of the Press of the Continent. You are the unofficial ambassadors of the nations, accredited not by Sovereigns or by Ministers, but by the confidence of your unnumbered readers in all the countries of the world. You can do as much—perhaps you can even do more—than the illustrious diplomatists whom I see sitting around me to maintain the harmony and the unity of European policy. The Governments of the Great Powers—I say it without any qualification or reserve—are animated by a common purpose, which, while it overrides any selfish or particular interests of their own, is in no sense otherwise than friendly, subject to the conditions of equal justice, to the development of free self-governing communities. But Governments in this democratic age can only lead where their peoples will follow, and there is no body of men—I say it without flattery, I am stating the simple truth—who can do more than you of the Press either to create or to destroy the atmosphere in which the plant of international goodwill can alone thrive and flower. (Cheers)

WORK OF THE DIPLOMATISTS.

The French Ambassador, who also replied to the toast, speaking in French, said he would like to thank the Prime Minister for the amiable things he had said of the Diplomatic Body. He was sure he had the assent of his colleagues in saying that they were the more touched by his kindness because they were not accustomed to receive such testimonials. Diplomats were persons much exposed to criticism. It was said that they followed dark courses, they were accused of shyness and they could not defend themselves. It was impossible to explain either themselves or the actions of their Governments, to reveal the secret of the efforts they were making. He once heard an impertinent person say that if there were no diplomats there would be no conflicts among the nations. Unfortunately the nation did not need their help in seeking causes of quarrel, and he believed he could say that, without diplomacy, most of those quarrels would produce harm, or even conflicts. Diplomats could not work otherwise than in silence, and a diplomatist who understood his *métier*, who possessed *son front*, who could detach himself from the passions of the moment, could render the greatest services. He thanked the Prime Minister for the allusion which he had just made to their work. They were glad to work with him in the mission of pacification.

With regard to journalists, they had also their responsibility. They were accused of many things and charged with many misdeeds, but they could defend themselves. (Laughter.) When they were mistaken, which happened sometimes rarely—they could correct themselves—they need not even do that, they could contradict themselves, and no one could say anything. It was a great advantage. (Laughter.)

A Peaceful Element in Macedonia.

(FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE "NEW LIGHT.")

IN the veritable welter of conflicting political interests that surges up on all sides in what we have hitherto learnt to think of as Turkey-in-Europe it is with a sense of refreshing relief that we can contemplate the case of the Dnimehs, "Munims," or converted Jews of Salonica. These blessed people it would appear, have absolutely no axe of their own to grind in the claims they put forward for a prompt settlement of the existing uncertainties. Let who will, they say, swallow down the Salonic portion of the Balkan cake, provided that the slice consumed be treated according to the best rules of digestion and the liberty and commercial activities of the Dnimehs be respected.

It may be that the Jews proper residing at Salonica would hold nearly the same language, but there would always be found some thinkers so doubtful their sincerity so long as certain occasional aspects of Zionism, with its avowed object of founding an autonomous State in the home of the ancient Israelites continue to spread by the aid of active propaganda.

Our ideally complaisant citizens, the Dnimehs of Salonica, however, could in the nature of things with difficulty become a cause of political disturbance; for they number but some 15,000 souls and show no signs of increase. But a few words to recall the origin of this interesting by-product in the way of sectarians would be very apropos at a moment when each Balkan State is rummaging the archives of medieval history in order to prove by century-old facts how far the present-day labels of nationality hold good in Macedonia.

The year 1625 saw at Smyrna the birth of a poor Palestinian Jew called Sabbathai Levi, who in spite of himself became the founder of a Muhammadan sect, but in a strangely round about way.

In 1666 Sabbathai Levi appeared at Jerusalem, he was the long-awaited Messiah, he who, after the thirteen preceding false Messiahs, was to prove the Holy Messenger, whose coming certain predictions accepted by the Jews of the seventeenth century had already announced. By letters sent to all the synagogues of the Ottoman Empire his growing fame soon spread rapidly, and Jews from every town of Turkey and even from far-off Germany and Holland, flocked towards him, while legends as to his miraculous powers further swelled the numbers of his adherents.

He told his fellow Jews that as the Messiah he had come to reign over the entire earth, and hence, incidentally, to dethrone the then reigning Sultan Mohamed IV. A few rabbis remained incredulous, and feeling grew so that he was forcibly expelled from Smyrna, but he claimed that while absent he had been visited by the prophet Elijah, and soon re-entered the town amid the wild enthusiasm of his followers. The disturbances which accompanied Sabbathai's appearance everywhere began to disquiet the Sultan's Ministers, all the more so as they had on their hands an impostor Mahdi of their own, who was also preaching the near approach of the Day of Judgment to the Muhammadan world. The Vizier, Ahmed Koprulu, therefore had Sabbathai seized and imprisoned in one of the Dardanelles towers; but the fanatic Jews only saw in this temporary "disappearance" a further proof of the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning him.

But the Sultan had ready a neat and effective way for Sabbathai to prove his divine powers. He called up his surest archers and told them to draw their arrows on the "Jewish Messiah," while he, Mohamed IV, would be able to watch the interesting sight of arrows bounding back when striking a human body. The luckless Messiah did not face the ordeal, and falling prostrate at his Sultan's feet gladly accepted the gift of his life on the condition of embracing Islam.

As a Muhammadan convert his rank became somewhat humble, for he remained on as a doorkeeper in the palace, but his religious zeal burned in him as strongly as ever, and he now began, with astonishing success, to convert former co-religionists to Islam, in the pursuit of which laudable activity death cut him short in 1676.

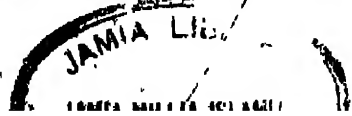
His followers have lived on, and are now nearly all congregated among the 15,000 Dnimehs at Salonica. They have kept all the exclusive characteristics of the Jewish race, and no Dnimeh ever marries his son or daughter to the ordinary Moslem on the one hand or back among the orthodox Jews on the other.

Muhammadans do not look upon them as really of themselves, and the liberty they allow their women when within the Dnimeh circle is certainly at striking variance with the Moslem customs, as also is their rigid observance of never mixing outside their own body.

Many think of them as purely Jews in religion at heart, with merely the outward veneer of Islam, but if this were so we should see them return to Judaism once Turkish rule has left Macedonia. What grounds are there for believing such a re-entry in the India told a likelihood? None, if the Dnimehs themselves be asked. Theoretically, hard and fast distinctions are gratifying perhaps to the logical faculty of our mind, but in practice the world is so made up of differences, subtly and imperceptibly merging into each other, that the heterodox sect of the Dnimehs may be taken as still another fact needing permanent and separate classification, while the knowledge that their whole political creed may be summed up in the words, "We accept any masters provided they give us peace and prosperity," surely brings a gleam of comfort in the dark chaos of racial dissensions in Macedonia.

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				Collections from Wolda	1
				Collections from Lalpur	1
				Collections from Patipathan	8
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				Begam Salfar Ali	35
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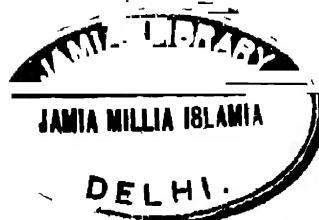
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less before being abandoned. He pointed out that in modern tactics it was considered preferable, in spite of ancient prejudices, to abandon a few guns rather than sacrifice human life. It was inadvisable to say at present whether there was any individual responsibility, apart from unforeseen regrettable incidents which were always occurring in war.

Persia

It is understood that an arrangement has been reached between the Sheikh of Mohammurah and the Bakhtiari, whereby the latter agree to cede to the Sheikh on payment of 30,000 tomans a piece of territory in the neighbourhood of Ramorinuzd, known as the Jerrakh lands. The settlement is eminently satisfactory as disputes concerning these lands have been a serious source of danger.

A telegram from Benderghex, near Astrabad, states that the followers of Salar-ed-Dowleh pillaged the customs house and violated the domicile of a Belgian customs official.

Turko-Persian Frontier

The settlement of the Turko-Persian boundary, which has been discussed by a mixed Commission for months without matters being advanced, is now occupying the British and Russian Embassies with better prospects of succeeding. The southern boundary has already been established.

Chinese Opium.

China has officially informed the British Government that the growth of poppy has been entirely suppressed in the provinces of Shantung, Anhui and Huonan, and has requested the cessation of the importation of Indian opium in those provinces. Sir John Jordan, British Minister, has sent officials to inspect and report on the matter. The enquiry in Shantung is still incomplete. Mr. Wilton, Consul-General at China, after making an exhaustive inspection of Anhui has confirmed the Chinese statement. Mr. Rose, Consular Officer, has thoroughly inspected Huonan. Reuter is informed that these provinces will be closed to Indian opium forthwith. The officials all report that the suppression of poppy-growing is astonishingly thorough.

Indians in Africa.

In the Union House of Assembly the Immigration Bill has passed through the committee stage. An amendment permitting Indians to introduce more than one wife was negatived.

The Union Assembly has passed the third reading of the Immigration Bill with an amendment permitting the wife of a monogamous marriage to enter South Africa.

Public Services Commission.

The Indian Public Services Commission will meet on June 3rd to arrange the London programme. The evidence taken here will relate chiefly to the educational and other tests, the age limits, and the probation of public servants for India recruited here.

The Week.

Bagdad Railway.

PROMINENCE was given in Berlin to article by Mr. Arthur Dix, the publicist, which said that a far-reaching Agreement between Britain and Germany was pending under which Great Britain, in return for concessions in connection with Bagdad Railway, would accord Germany a prominent economic position in Central Africa including the Bulgarian and Portuguese Colonies.

Reforms in Asia Minor.

Reuter learns that Turkey recently approached the Foreign Office with a request for the loan of the services of several British officials to assist in the execution of reforms in Asia Minor. The choice of men was left entirely to Britain which acceded to the request. No officials have so far been mentioned or selected.

Tripoli.

According to the details of the fighting in Tripoli on the 19th instant, the Italians were surprised while forming up for a return march. The Arabs poured in a deadly artillery fire, and the Italians were compelled to retreat to Derna abandoning four guns.

General Ragni has been relieved of his command in Tripoli at his own request and will be succeeded by General Garioni.

Replying to a question in the Chamber regarding the reverse to troops in Tripoli, the Under-Secretary for War admitted that four guns had been lost. They had been, however, rendered use-

TETE À TETE



Our readers would recall that we reproduced in our issue of the 19th April the observations of an unknown writer on "Ottoman Finance" published in *Capital* of 10th April over the initials

"E. H." The writer had stated that "the Turkish Government is, without any shadow of doubt, bankrupt, and not for the first time either." He had referred to the financial straits of Turkey which had, according to him, compelled her to "descend to the issue of petty bonds among the people of the world who believe themselves to be the co-religionists of the Moslems of Turkey." He had instanced a previous issue of no earlier a date than 1868 when, "as now with a depleted treasury, Turkey issued several million pounds worth of bonds of the value of £T. 1 and £T. ½ each." "When they matured," alleged the writer, "the most enlightened Government of the Caliph met them by cancellation on payment of from ten to twenty piastres for each note, or at from one-tenth to one-fifth of their face-value." (Of course the objective was the prevention of the sale of the recently issued Bonds in India, and at the end of the article the writer had clearly said that "the Moslem of India should be warned before he commits his hard-earned capital to the keeping of the Ottoman Government in exchange for pieces of paper which will be worth their weight as paper and probably never anything more." We believe we guessed right when we said that probably Mr. "E. H." was "a person who had tanned his skin under Egyptian suns, and was one of the fine products of the Cromer and the Kitchener régimes that afflict a country possessing an unenviable scriptural record of pests and plagues." We rebutted his allegations in our issue of the 19th April, and have now the pleasure of publishing the cable which His Excellency Rifaat Bey, the Ottoman Minister of Finance, has addressed to us on the subject. He wires to us from the Finance Ministry, Constantinople, as follows:—

"Contradict 'Capital.' Ottoman Government, notwithstanding War, has regularly and honourably paid all liabilities, which proves its solvency and probity. Treasury Bonds issued only to meet exceptional needs and are fully guaranteed and governed (? covered) by Land Revenue. Italian, German, English Bankers applying for Bonds.

"Rifaat."

This is also borne out by the Financial Correspondent of the *New East* who writes from Constantinople on May 10th that "the situation in Turkey may be said to be one of expectation . . . The Government are making every effort to pay salaries and to maintain their credit until the conclusion of peace, and the settlement of outstanding questions at the Conference in Paris will enable them to undertake the extensive loan operations which are under consideration. Quite recently the 'Società Commerciale Italiana' made an advance of £T. 400,000 against Treasury Bills." We trust after this our Calcutta contemporary would hasten to make the *amende honorable* for the action of its correspondent in impugning the solvency and probity of the Ottoman Government. *Capital* is, as a rule, too shrewd a journal to be taken in by financial charlatans and always too honourable to assist in the financial laceration of interested "politicians." We are confident that the recent figures of Turkish revenue would convince it that for once it was having its "forty winks" when the lucubrations of Mr. "E. H." crept into its columns. We learn that the French Bank at Bombay has already received Provisional Receipts from Turkey and one of the best Mussulmans that it has ever been our good fortune to know has purchased 2 lakhs worth of them.

This week Dr. Ansari sends us another very interesting letter with still more interesting enclosures. The latter will be published in our next. He writes:—

The All-India Medical Mission.

"The unexpected sometimes happens even in Turkey. The scheme of a Moslem Bank and Co-operative Society is taking a definite shape, and the deliberations of the Committee are resulting in bringing the scheme to a head. The National Defence Association, which at present is doing considerable work in the matter of the Turkish army and is showing its activities in many other directions, is about to place £25,000 in this Moslem Bank for the purchase of shares. This generous offer turns the Co-operative Society at once into a practical concern. Only £25,000 more have to be subscribed to start the Society. The *Irish* would be issued as soon as the regulations are ready, and prospectuses would be prepared and sent out for the sale of shares to the different Moslem countries. You can well imagine how far-reaching the effect of the Bank and Co-operative Society would prove in developing the decaying industries of Turkey and other Moslem countries. Another important matter is the question of the University of Medina. A meeting of the Central Committee was held this week in which several Ministers and other leading men of Turkey were also present, showing what keen interest is being taken in this matter. The Minister of *Erlaf* showed great zeal, and wished the University to be started with as much expedition and despatch as possible. The *Nizam-namah* (copy of which I am sending) was discussed and sanctioned. Members of the Constitution Committee were appointed, including Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and myself. Shaikh Abdul Aziz Shawash, who is the soul of this movement, would probably be appointed Principal of the University. We have sent you a cable and hope you will not spare any pains in preparing the Constitution and Curriculum for the University of Medina on the lines of the Aligarh University, special regard being paid to the local requirements and the fact that Arabic would be the medium of instruction. Please consult Maulana Shibli No'mani, Dr. Iqbal, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, Maulvi Hamiduddin and any other persons that you may consider desirable. The Shaikh Saheb has also requested some friends in London and Egypt to prepare draft constitutions, and on the receipt of the three drafts, the Constitution Committee will draw up the Constitution, taking the best and most suitable draft as its basis. Two more meetings of the Indo-Ottoman Colonisation Society have been held, and a Constitution has been drawn up for presentation to the Minister of the Interior for approval. Hadji A'dil Bey has given us a list of lands in Anatolia which the Government has got at its disposal and would grant us for colonisation purposes. In Angora 65,000 acres near the railway are available. There are also available in Adana 45,000 acres in a very well irrigated tract, but the climate here is warmer than would suit the emigrants from Macedonia. From 20,000 to 25,000 acres of land could also be got near Broussa and Konia. We are only awaiting the approval of the Minister of the Interior of the rules of our Society before we start on a tour in Anatolia. I hope we will not be delayed more than a week. I have already given you the names of the members of our Mission who are willing to stay up to the middle of September to look after the work, but you must be on the look out for suitable men to reach here by the beginning of August, so that they may not be new to the work when the time comes for the old members to leave. Bassim Omer Pasha has got an expert to prepare a general plan of the villages and one for the cottages. Each village would contain 100 cottages, a mosque, a school, a dispensary, a washing-house and a school for teaching practical farming. Each cottage is two-storied. The ground floor will have a kitchen, a dining room, and a few small store-rooms, a bath and a lavatory. On the first floor there will be two bed-rooms and a sitting room. In the compound there would be a shed for cattle and a place for keeping the harvest. I would send you the plans later on as soon as they have been approved after taking estimates from different contractors.

As there are only 30 patients left in Hindia, and the prospects of peace are very great, I have decided to close the hospital, sending to India materials for 50 beds, and placing the remainder in the Hilal-i-Ahmar Storerooms. The members would be sent over to *Chandik Nila* as there is still a considerable number of patients in the hospital there, and a daily growing out-patient department. Owing to a great deal of work in hand in connection with the Colonisation scheme, the Medina University, and the Moslem Bank and Co-operative Society, I am not able to answer the letter of Mr. Kasim Hossain published in the *Comrade* received last week.

I cannot help noting that my statements have been grossly misrepresented and things have been read into them which could never enter the imagination of a man who is jealous of the good name of the profession to which he belongs. I am sending a cable to-day for £1,000 for the closing expenses of the Mission. The Hilal-i-Ahmar has given us a bill for about £T. 750 for food supplied to the patients and other articles bought for our Hospitals. This includes all our

liabilities to the Hilal-i-Ahmar, and after we have paid it we shall be free of all monetary obligations to the Society."

In their recent Circular on Moslem Education the Government of India note the fact that very few Mussal-
The State Technical mans have been selected for the State
Scholarships. technical scholarships. We do not, however,

know if the local Governments in whose hands the selection lies are equally cognisant of the fact. It is, of course, hard to believe that any conscious and deliberate injustice has been done to the claims of the Moslem community in the matter. What has happened is an old story—the Mussalman candidates, not very large in numbers, have had little chance of success where the test of merit has been searched only through a mass of academic qualifications. Highest University degrees in Science and Mathematics cannot be a substitute for personal aptitude and, though they may be an indication of certain merit, they cannot necessarily give a better equipment to their holders for an industrial career than the practical experience and personal aptitude of a man who may not be able to boast of great academic achievement. We trust the Government of India's hope that it may be found desirable to offer some special facilities to Mussalmans by way of stipends and scholarships will induce the local Governments to exercise greater care in future in the selection of candidates for technical training. It may be noted in this connection that the Panjab Government has under consideration the applications of candidates for the study of flour milling, including the cleaning and conditioning of wheat, roller milling and the grading, improving and bleaching of flour. We have reason to believe that competent Moslem candidates have applied for the award of the scholarship. The industry to be encouraged this year does not obviously require men possessing high University degrees, but those who with fairly decent education and common sense combine some personal aptitude and practical experience. We shall await the decision of the Panjab Government with considerable interest.

The serious reverse that the Italians have suffered in Tripoli must
The Tripoli have caused a rude shock to their fond
Campaign. belief that "the Arab resistance has been broken down." The Arab remains yet to be vanquished, and we will not be surprised

if Italy finds the task a little too heavy even for her madacious shoulders. Reports of Italian activity were, not long ago, issuing thick from Rome and they all went to make a tale of uniform success of the Italian arms. The Rome correspondent of the *Times*, writing some time ago, said:—"This evening's journals announce the actual occupation of Merg by the Italian troops, though the news still seems to lack full official confirmation. In any case its capture by General Tassoni must be fairly well assured now, and, with it, the Italian operations in Cyrenaica ought to enter upon a new and more active phase. Merg is practically the key to the possession of the highlands that lie behind Bengazi, Tolmetta, Cyrene, and Derna, since all the roads from the coast to the interior pass through it. The Italian losses on the march from Tolmetta seem to have been very small." The Italian adventure has had so many "new and active" phases that the world may be pardoned if the latest "phase" does not strike it as particularly portentous. It seems the military chronicler must needs recover the phrase every other month lest the tale of Italian valour should grow stale.

A MEETING of the Central Managing Committee of the Moslem
The Moslem University Fund was held at Aligarh
University Fund. on the 10th instant at which the accounts for the past year were submitted. Up to 30th April, 1913, the promised subscriptions amount to Rs. 46,37,229-0-11, of which Rs. 26,35,042-1-8 have been received and deposited with the Bank of Bengal, Agra. The interest realised as yet on this deposited capital amounts to Rs. 97,207-13-8. Out of the sum total of capital and interest, Government Promissory Notes, of the face value of Rs. 27,73,000, have been purchased at the cost of Rs. 20,63,872-4-11. Of the permanent annual grants announced for the University Fund, the Durbar of Touk sent early in May its second instalment of Rs. 4,800. His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Janjira's annual grant of Rs. 1,200 has also been realised up to date. The total expenses incurred in collection since the Committee was formed amount to Rs. 54,091-13-10. Details of expenditure were submitted, and the Auditor's report, which was satisfactory, was also read. A general meeting of the Moslem University Foundation Com-

mittee will shortly be convened, date and place to be notified next month.

The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, published a summary of
Indian Prisoners the communication addressed by Dr Abdul
in Kabul Ghani, at present in confinement at Kabul, to the Moslem public in India. In this statement of his case, writes the paper,

Dr Abdul Ghani reviews the whole past history of his connection with Afghanistan. He says that when he was returning on leave to India in 1904 he was detained by the Governor of Jelalabad and had his belongings searched. Subsequently, however, he was allowed to proceed, the incident ending in the censure of the Governor by the Amir. Feeling some resentment at the treatment which had been accorded to him he was reluctant to go back to Afghanistan, but having received an assurance of the Amir's goodwill and kindly feelings towards him, he returned to Kabul in October 1906. In the course of the next two and a half years he keenly interested himself in promoting the educational progress of the people, drawing up various schemes, including one for a University. In this period he declares that he succeeded in establishing more than fifty primary schools in the capital, and induced His Majesty to sanction proposals for compulsory education throughout the country. Feeling, however, that something more than compulsory education was necessary if education was really to progress he set about to secure the assistance of individuals of weight and influence in the country, hoping that this body of lay helpers might serve the double purpose of persuading the people to welcome education and also of breaking down the "barrier of corruption" which separated the sovereign from his subjects and was the chief obstacle to the cause of progress in Afghanistan. Dr Abdul Ghani says he submitted these ideas of his in outline to His Majesty, but unfortunately for himself his objects were misrepresented by certain interested parties and the result was his sudden arrest and imprisonment. Dr. Abdul Ghani goes on to protest his innocence of the charges brought against him and to point out the impossibility of his ever having taken part in such a conspiracy as he is alleged to have engineered. He has always been and still is loyal to the Amir. Finally he asks for justice both for himself and in regard to the murder of his son, Abdul Jabbar, a child of thirteen years of age, who was killed, he says, at night a fortnight after the last month of Ramadan, in the streets of Kabul. It will be remembered that Dr Abdul Ghani is not alone in his sufferings, but there are other Indian Moslems as well, including Mr. Muhammad Husain Khan, B. A. (Alig.), who have been the victims of some cruel misunderstanding and are now rotting in jail. We can only hope that His Majesty the Amir may soon restore them to freedom after realising that the sufferings of these unfortunate men have been unjust, and that their only crime has perhaps, been their impatient zeal for the good of his people.

A CORRESPONDENT signing himself "I. M. S." writes to us
Indians and the from Lahore:—"Will you grant me
Medical Service permission to reply shortly to the letter of Dr. S. M. Varis in the *Comrade* of 19th April? I am sure that most members

of the I. M. S. will agree with Dr. Varis that the medical services of India are in urgent need of revision, but whether or not any kind of reform is going to improve the standard of the non-official practitioner, as Dr. Varis seems to think possible, is a very debatable point. That the highest standard of Indian medical men (official or non-official) is not equal to the highest standard of their European colleagues is a point which is beyond dispute, and Dr. Varis lays the blame for this upon the I. M. S. from which, Dr. Varis says, the teaching staff of the medical colleges in India is solely drawn. In this point Dr. Varis is not strictly correct. A fairly large proportion of the teachers in most medical colleges in India and by far the largest proportion in some, are Indians. Further, many of these Indians as well as many who are not attached to medical colleges are Graduates of English and Scotch Universities and, therefore, not in any way indebted to the I. M. S. for what they do or do not know. The question before us is surely something to this effect: why is it that Indians can attain to positions of great eminence as lawyers, teachers and administrators but fail to attain a similar degree of distinction as doctors? To say that it is due to incompetency in teaching displayed by the professors at the medical colleges or to the jealousy of the European doctors in India is utter nonsense, for, even supposing that the professorial chairs at our medical colleges were invariably filled by incompetents, which is manifestly absurd, there are as I have already said, heaps of Indians with a purely British training who might have risen to great eminence in their profession even if the I. M. S. were a thousand times more jealous than it is. No—there is a great riddle here which I want some one to solve. To cut a long story short let me say with all possible humility

that my own opinion is that at present the absence of first rate Indian doctors—and by first-rate I mean men whose reputations reach beyond India—is due to the fact that Indians have not as yet the morale necessary for the production of a great physician or a great surgeon. That this want of morale (I use the word in the widest possible sense) is not peculiar to all Asiatics is amply evidenced by the fact that Japan has already produced several medical men of world-wide reputation and this too without half the advantages of becoming acquainted with European medicine that are enjoyed by natives of India. No doubt it needs a better and finer type of man to make a great physician than to make a great lawyer, for among lawyers of the first rank one meets men possessed of an liberality of mind that, were it possessed by a doctor, would inevitably entail his relegation to the third or even fourth rank. The tyranny and glamour of the law must appeal very strongly to Indians who as a race (if one may speak very loosely) are singularly deficient in pity and enormously impressed by ceremony. Now there is nothing ceremonial in the practice of medicine, on the contrary, it often has to be practised under the most unimprising conditions, and of pity there is no end to the need. Again, the medical calling is not a very highly thought-of one in India; there is a Tamil proverb which runs: 'Hell for the doctor and Heaven for the schoolmaster,' consequently the best Indian brains do not take it up, whereas in England to find a lawyer with the same intellectual power as a doctor is as rare as it is unexpected. Lust for power and the love of self assertion is common to all men, and so long as the Law and the Church are allowed to take precedence over all other callings, that is to say, so long as we continue to cherish our medieval superstitions, so long will clever men in India be tempted to pursue a calling rather than prosecute an Art, for a true doctor is an artist in every sense of the word. I am sure Dr. Varis will see, if he does me the honour of reading my letter and reflecting on it, that the theory and practice of Western medicine by Indians is as yet only partially understood and the genius for it is at most only nascent in this country. India will produce great doctors one day, as it has produced them in the past, and I am sure that if the I. M. S. is still here it will rise to a man to do him all honour for inspite of what Dr. Varis thinks, it contains many noble and generous hearted men only too anxious to honour or learn from a colleague, be he white, brown, or yellow."

A CORRESPONDENT writes to us from Meshed: "Will you very kindly give some space to the following few lines regarding 'Red Crescent Movement in Northern Persia.' The small Indian community residing at the

holy Meshed, moved by the general intimation as to the non-combatant Moslems—old men, children and women without distinction, numbering about 250 thousand souls, with almost savageness which has surpassed all records of the so-called early savage periods perpetrated by the so-called civilised Christians of the present day in Europe—blinded with religious fanaticism of which even the barbarous semi-savage Tartar of Central Asia is ashamed—opened a Red Crescent Subscription List under the presidency of Khatun Sahib Fatiz Muhammad, a leading merchant of India. The first instalment, amounting to £12-13-10, was sent by a Bank Draft to the President of the Red Crescent Society at Constantinople. The acknowledgement received under the signature of Edendi Bessim Bey appeals very directly to the inward feelings of the Moslems. He writes: 'Dear Sir and Honourable Brother in Faith, We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th nitim with a Draft for £12-13-10 sent to us as a subscription for the Turkish Relief Fund, collected from the Indian merchants at Meshed. We have no terms to express our deepest thanks for your encouragement and sympathy, which you show for the Ottoman Red Crescent. We have the pleasure of stating that I should be in favour with us in these sad circumstances. Trusting you will favour us with the continuation of your sympathy, we thank you and the subscribers again and again, and remain, Dear Sir, and Honourable Brother in Faith, Yours very faithfully Bessim Bey.'

We publish elsewhere under the title "Islam in Serbia" the first of a series of articles contributed by a valued correspondent—an Old Boy of

Aligarh, now in Europe—which were sent to us for publication on the eve of the Balkan war. But by the time we could publish them, the war had broken out, and we thought it better to wait for its result before publishing them. Now they provide food for grim reflection as to the fate of the much-reduced Moslem population of European Turkey transferred by the war—and the Powers—to the subjection of the Christian Confederates.

The Comrade.

Hindu-Moslem Relations.

THE most reassuring, as indeed the most impressive, feature of the Indian situation to-day is a general desire for some organised movement towards the growth of better relations between Hindus and Mussalmans. The subject has, for some time past, been the chief topic of discussion in the press and on a variety of platforms in the country. Men of light and leading in both the communities have, perhaps for the first time in recent Indian history, shown a desire for active co-operation in public affairs and seem to feel their responsibilities in a manner that is altogether refreshing. Several methods have been proposed with a view to crystallise the undoubted feelings of goodwill and aspirations for unity, that have happily come to birth to-day, into some permanent movement which would evoke harmony in political work and create the sense of genuine, generous and self-sacrificing patriotism. Efforts are being earnestly made for the establishment of "Hindu-Moslem Leagues." The Hon. Secretary of the All-India Moslem League has thrown out a suggestion for the holding of a conference composed of prominent Hindu and Moslem leaders from every province. What would drive away the last shred of doubt as to the existence of a genuine desire for the growth of cordial relations between the two communities is the viable perturbation of a certain class of Anglo Indian and British journals at this happy sign of the times. The fact is that a rare combination of circumstances has brought the Mussalmans and the Hindus into a frame of mind when they are eager to grasp at all suggestions towards mutual understanding and the peaceful adjustment of mutual differences. The opportunity is as rare as it is welcome. We trust it will be seized with promptitude, and efforts will be made to get out of it the utmost benefit that it can yield. No such opportunity would recur for another generation! it is wasted in sheer talk. And because there are enormous risks that it may be wasted away, that we propose to briefly examine the situation and warn some thoughtless enthusiasts of the dangers that lie ahead.

Let us, in the first place, assume that the 'peace-makers' on either side realise the magnitude of their task. The problem is not merely one of creed antagonism. It is in its most far-reaching aspect a problem of political rivalry to which history has lent its maddest passions. In the early days of British rule the outer aspect of affairs was tranquil with what might be called the tolerance of accepted things. Soon, however, the spirit of the British administration began to affect the lives and thoughts of the people. Western education has been a great blessing for India, but its benefits have not been without their price. It evoked in its earliest phase the race egotisms of the various Indian communities. A Hindu began to feel as if history had played him false. His race was once great and gifted. It was a humiliation to have to own that a more virile race entered India and left the impress of its strength and culture on her later history. The race egotism of the Hindu cried for reparation. A Mussalmán felt as if he had been disinherited by some malign fate. He turned round and saw with resentment the races over which he had once held sway rising to importance and power. The whole spectacle seemed to him to be a one long, deliberate betrayal of his. He swore hard at things in general and conceived an unending aversion towards the progressive Hindu community. The clash of interests in daily life and the fierce antagonisms and incentives to which it has given rise are more matters of detail. The broad features of the problem should be faced unflinchingly if the future of India is to be rescued from the dead and paralysing hand of the past and the compounded follies of the present.

The mood of the two rival communities was never more favourable to the growth of a lasting unity of aim and purpose than it is to-day. Apart from some fortuitous circumstances which have temporarily accentuated the mood, the latent, deep-lying and more permanent forces, which are evolving a political personality out of the diverse Indian races, have been rapidly gaining in strength. But the danger is lest by mistaking the accidental for the essential efforts might be made to force the pace. An artificial union fed on no vital sentiment but on mere rhetoric—a make-believe studiously maintained to inflate platform perorations and press paragraphs and perhaps to humbug the Bureaucracy—is bound to end in disaster. Ours is as robust a faith in the future of Indian nationalism as any of the most ardent nationalists can have. But we know perfectly well that many an arduous step remains to be taken to ensure the growth of Indian unity. And it is for this reason that we wish the leaders on both sides to be on their guard lest they drown the problem in a deluge of words and mistake aspiration for achievement.

It is undoubtedly necessary to seize by the forelock the existing opportunity which a rare combination of circumstances has offered. But in doing so it is not necessary to take away at one sweep the

entire symbols that stand for different communal standpoints. Any such attempt is bound to create suspicions. The supreme need of the situation is to foster confidence in mutual goodwill and sincerity of motive. This can best be done by multiplying points of contact in daily life and increasing opportunities for political co-operation. The joint Hindu-Moslem meeting held recently at Lahore on the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions—perhaps the first of its kind in the Panjab—has a real significance and should point the way for future efforts. Some impatient and tactless persons in the Hindu press have asked the Mussalmans to give up their adhesion to the principle of communal representation as a mark of their goodwill towards the Hindus. Nothing can be more calculated to sow suspicion at this stage than such demands. We have never concealed our opinion that separate electorates are at present an undesirable necessity in the political evolution of the country. It is in the power of the Hindus alone to convince the Mussalmans that the necessity no longer exists. Let the feeling take root in the country that the patriotism of the Hindu patriot has ceased to be communal and exclusive and the safeguards of the minorities will fall away as useless encumbrances. It is for the strong to cultivate forbearance and convince the weak that the latter can trust him. To ask him to throw off his protecting armour at the first friendly encounter would surely be disastrous to the ultimate interests of both.

Mixed leagues and conferences may do some good and clear the ground for a correct estimate of the position. But to confess we distrust the spirit of bargain that sometimes invades such formal gatherings. Real good will only come out of a genuine conversion to a true political faith. In the meantime much can be done by self-restraint exercised by both sides in the Press, on the platform and in the intercourse of daily life. Private personal relations are the real key to the problem. They alone furnish the motive to conduct in public affairs. Every effort should, therefore, be made to increase opportunities for social contact between Hindus and Mussalmans. Joint social clubs have been tried, but have often failed in the past. That is no reason why they should not be tried again. But whatever device may be adopted to bring Hindus and Moslems together socially, we trust every clear-sighted advocate of Hindu-Moslem union will realise that all loud and importunate talk on the subject must absolutely cease. Senseless volubility is not an exclusive weakness of either Hindus or Mussalmans. But it is certain that it can seldom promote a good cause while it often succeeds in becoming a fertile source of friction. We trust the Mussalmans at any rate will show their genuine desire for the promotion of goodwill and cordial relations between the two communities by sincere, straightforward acts in daily life. For at least a period of six months they should impose absolute silence on themselves. Let the bickering about trifles cease on their part. Even if they feel they have a genuine grievance, let them keep it up without uttering a word. Let their Press note with approval the acts of mutual goodwill and leave alone the petty incidents that merely tend to divide. If they are capable of this degree of self-control even for a short period they would make a great moral conquest of themselves, free the atmosphere from strife and disunion. If the ideas of self-government and nationality are worth striving for, much will have to be sacrificed, including the pride and egotism of race, the glory of self assertion, the greed of selfishness and the joy of racial battle. It is glorious to die for the sake of these ideals, but it is still more glorious to live worthily up to them and bring them nearer to realisation by silent, ceaseless and patient toil. Those of the Hindus and the Mussalmans who by some word or deed lose but one heart from the trammels of racial hate and emancipate but one mind from the grip of prejudice and standing convention would not have deserved well of their country.

"Servants of the Ka'ba."

[We who are living to-day have witnessed perhaps one of the most decisive wars of any period in history. Forgetting "the determination of the Powers to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans," and also forgetting the agreement of England to Austria's proposal, with regard to the Note presented in the capital of the Balkan Confederacy, "for the addition of words making it clear that the Powers were determined to secure respect for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire," Mr. Asquith announced even before the war was over that "things can never be again as they were," that "the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear," and that "the map of Eastern Europe has to be recast." But if to Europe it means something strange and startling to have to recast the map of Eastern Europe, can it mean nothing to the Moslems of the world to entirely recast the map of the Moslem world?

In its history of thirteen centuries, Islam had gone forth into the world as a conquering force, and for many centuries practically everywhere, except in China, a Moslem was a unit of the ruling community. In Europe itself, in spite of the battle of Tours, Mussalmans had not only conquered and ruled over Spain, but had also overrun Southern Italy and dominated and established a kingdom in Sicily. Their

rule over Sicily and Southern Italy did not last so long as their Spanish kingdom, which had from every point of view a most brilliant history extending over eight centuries. But before Granada fell and the Moors were driven out of Western Europe, as only Christians can drive out those of another faith who have surrendered to them, Providence had decreed that forty years earlier Islam should hoist the Crescent flag over Eastern Europe, and that the voice of the Muezzin should go forth from the minarets of the City of Constantine to reverberate in its hills, if the Empire of Islam was to be no more over Western Europe, and the voice of the Muezzin was to be hushed in Cordova, Toledo and Granada. It is true that the Crescent still shines over the dome of St. Sophia, and the One and Only God of Islam is still worshipped there. But for all practical purposes Islam has ceased to be a temporal power in Europe. Those who foretold a future for the Turk only in Asia have occasion to rejoice as the true prophets of evil. But even some of them, such as His Highness the Aga Khan, who could not but feel distressed at this result, cannot foretell with anything like the same certainty whether Turkey's control over her Asiatic Empire would be allowed to remain adequate and effective. Her robe of power is tattered in rags and tatters, and even these are being pulled at and torn by grasping hands on every side. Russia is openly casting greedy eyes over Armenia. France is fomenting disturbances in Syria and rousing the Arabs against the Turks, just as Russia is encouraging Armenians to entice the Kurds into acts of violence in order to make the excuse of intervention plausible. Trouble is also brewing in Bagdad and Basra, and one may be sure that every effort will be made to make the differences of Arabs and Turks in the Hedjaz and Yemen as dangerously acute as possible. The future of Turkey is, therefore, no less dark and gloomy than her recent past. But the ways of Providence are inscrutable, and whatever materialists like Mr. Asquith may say, no Mussalman who believes in the Word of God: "Thou humonest whomsoever thou wiltest, and Thou degradest whomsoever Thou wiltest in Thy hand is good," can assert like Mr. Asquith that "things can never be again as they were."

In respect, however, "things can never be again as they were." The Mussalmans of the world who have seen marked before their very eyes the tragedy of Turkey in Europe, who have watched the strangling of Persia, who have witnessed the independent kingdoms of Africa being one by one practically lost to Islam, cannot now find the same colour in their past achievements or present temporal power when they are minded to think of the future of their Sacred Places. Islam is no longer a conquering power. It does not rule any more over a large part of Europe. In Africa too the days of its dominion are over, and even Iqbal's dream of a new Islamic power rising from the sand in the heart of Tripoli which have been watered by the blood of Islamic Turk warriors, is yet no better than a dream in spite of the clair-vision of the poet. For, in his own words, like millions of stars whose light, according to modern astronomers, has not yet reached the earth, the builders of a new empire of Islam in Africa are yet in the womb of the future. With the realization of all these depressing facts even the Moslems of the world seek solace in indifference and indifference to the fate of their Holy Places. Can they sit with folded hands unmingled over the past or fretting against the stern and inexorable decrees of fate? No, Mr. Asquith is right. "things can never be again as they were;" and if those Moslems who have hitherto formed part of the ruling races of mankind cannot safeguard the effective sovereignty of some Moslem State over the Holy Places of Islam, the hundreds of millions of Mussalmans who are numbered among subject races must now make up their minds to do so.

When we in India received a London wire, dated November 1, saying that "the Bulgarians are now only 25 miles from the Capital," and that "they declare their resolve to make peace in Constantinople and nowhere else," we know what Indian Mussalmans felt and what terrible apprehensions penetrated their bosoms and brains. It was then that for the first time they began to think anxiously of the safety of their Holy Places. But the war was still going on, and all hope was not lost, because it was not realised at the time that the Turkish disasters at Kirk Kisseh and Lule Burgas had involved the loss of practically all the guns required for an offensive movement and had thus paralysed the arm of Turkey. Besides, it was apprehended that at such a time any reminders to the Mussalmans of the situation of their Holy Places may possibly excite them to acts of desperation. It is certainly not by acts of desperation that the Ka'ba of Islam could be safeguarded, and it was resolved that when the war was over, and there was no further fear of any violence of thought and feeling, the Mussalmans should be invited to deliberate over this question and arrive at a carefully determined conclusion concerning ways and means.

To-day the preliminary Treaty of Peace has been signed between the Turks and the Balkan Allies, and in course of time the necessary conventions and protocols would be agreed upon, and for some time at least peace would reign in what is left of the Empire of the House of Osman. It is at such a season that, freed, at least partially, from the

troubles of the day, the Mussalmans must think of the cares of the morrow. Three weeks ago a few Mussalmans met at Lucknow to discuss a scheme for safeguarding Moslem sovereignty over the Holy Places of Islam, and after a careful consideration of the Constitution, the provisional scheme of "The Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba" was passed, the Society was brought into being, and a Provisional Committee composed of six members, with powers to add to its number, was formed. On this were formally administered to a few who were then present, the first to take the oath being Majid Ali Saheb of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, who is to be the provisional President.

The Provisional Constitution, published in Urdu, states the need of the Society in the following words:—

As we do not feel the same security about the preservation of the sanctity and respect of the Ka'ba from violation as we felt before, an association of the Mussalmans to be called 'The Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba' is formed to preserve the sanctity of the Ka'ba from violation.

The objects of the Society are stated to be "the preservation of the sanctity of the Sacred Places from violation; serving in every way the first centre of the Unity of Godhead in the world, namely, the House of God built by Abraham, the 'Friend of God' and safeguarding it from non-Moslem usurpation." The Society proposes to adopt the following methods for this purpose:—

- (a) The organisation of a number of the devotees of Ka'ba and upholders of the Unity of Godhead who may sincerely be prepared to sacrifice their life and property for the Ka'ba.
- (b) The organisation in a regular manner of the preaching of Islam, which is the true service of the Ka'ba, and the sending out of the message-bearers of Islam, whenever necessary and suitable for the propagation of the Unity of Godhead in all parts of the world.
- (c) The establishment in different places of Moslem primary schools and Moslem orphanages, and
- (d) The establishment of a closer connection between Mussalmans and the Ka'ba, and increasing the means of communication and facilities for the pilgrimage.

Every Muhammadan, man or woman can become a "Servant of the Ka'ba." Every Servant of the Ka'ba is required to take the following oath:—

I, son (or daughter) of _____, believing God to be Omnipotent and Omnipresent, asking forgiveness for my sins and reciting the 'Formulas of Testimony,' I bear witness that there is no god but God, and I bear witness that Muhammad is His Servant and His Messenger, and standing with my face towards the Ka'ba, sincerely affirm that I will heartily endeavour to preserve the sanctity of this Ka'ba (pointing towards it) from violation, and, in the event of a non-Moslem attack on the Ka'ba will not spare my life or property and will, in all particulars, follow the orders and rules of the Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba, till God will it."

These Servants of the Ka'ba, whether rich or poor, will be required ordinarily to pay one rupee per year to the Society. But there will be a class of associates known as the "Votaries of the Ka'ba," who shall devote their whole life or a specified period of their life, to the work of the Society, and shall be required to take an oath stating as follows:—

I have now devoted my life (or a specified period thereof) to God for the service of the sacred Ka'ba, and hereonward my life is dedicated to the service of the Ka'ba, and the preservation of its sanctity from violation. The orders of the Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba will now be the most urgent and the most important of my duties. I am ready to carry out these orders without any objection and without any delay with all my heart and my life. Wherever I am sent, I shall immediately and without delay go there. No difficulty will prevent me from doing so.

The expenses of the Votaries of the Ka'ba and their families will be paid by the Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba according to a reasonable and moderate scale. A distinctive colour and badge will indicate the position of Servants of the Ka'ba and the Votaries, the latter being required at all times to wear them.

The organization of the Society will be as follows. Every city, town and village would have its local Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba. The Societies of the cities, towns and groups of villages will return delegates from among the Servants and the Votaries to the District Society, which shall be composed of fifteen to twenty members. There would be for the present, twenty-two circles or provinces, including well-defined territories in British India, the principal Moslem Native States and the Hindu States of Kashmir and Mysore, each of which would have a Society consisting of fifteen to twenty members returned as delegates by the Societies of districts or groups of districts which comprise the province or circle. In addition to one Votary from every such Society, who shall live at the headquarters of the Provincial Society during his term of delegation, there shall be an "Adviser" elected from among the Servants, who will not be required to stay at the headquarters, though he shall attend the meetings of the Provincial Society. The Provincial Societies shall similarly elect one Votary each from among their members, and one "Adviser" each from among the Servants and these shall constitute the Central Society of India. The Votaries thus elected shall stay at the headquarters, but the "Advisers" would not be required to do so. They will, however, be privileged to exercise the same powers as the Votaries delegated by the Provincial Societies to the Central Society, whenever they attend its meetings. The Central Society shall be the supreme governing body of the entire organisation, and its decisions shall be final. The Provincial

Societies shall be subordinate to the Central Society; the District Societies shall be subordinate to the Provincial Societies, and so on.

The elections of delegates shall be for two years, and every Society shall elect from among its members a "Servant of Servants," who shall be the President of the Society, and two Assistants who shall work under the "Servant of Servants."

The present headquarters of the Central Society shall be at Delhi.

The Funds of the Society shall consist of the subscription of one rupee per annum charged from every Servant and Votary, whether rich or poor, without any distinction whatever. The amount thus realized will be divided into three equal parts. A third shall be sent every year to the independent Moslem Government that is the Guardian of the Sacred Places, on the strict condition that it shall be spent only on the service of such places, on the preservation of their sanctity and respect from violation, and on maintaining the freedom of the Sacred Lands. A similar amount would be spent on the management of the Society, the propagation of Islam, Moslem primary schools and orphanages, and such other beneficial works, and, so far as possible, the proceeds of each District and Province shall, after deducting the expenses of the organisation, be expended over the needs of that District or Province. The balance would be kept as a Reserve Fund to be spent in great emergencies for the protection of the Sacred Places. But a reasonable proportion of the Reserve Fund would be utilized for such commercial undertakings as are connected with the service of the Ka'ba and other religious duties, such for instance, as the provision of ships for purposes of pilgrimage to the Hedjaz and other sacred places.

Tommy Ramdyal.

"IMPOSSIBLE," I remarked, on gazing at a photograph of an individual whose features resembled those of a sporting butcher, with short bushy whiskers of the "mutton chop" variety. It was an exact picture of the type of person who is an honoured, and frequent, visitor at the Saloon Bars of genteel "pubs" dotted at convenient intervals in the suburban area of Maida Vale, Sutherland Avenue, and Westbourne Grove. Yet it was meant as a likeness of an Ahir—the herdsmen caste—difficult though it was to credit that being the case. The Native Inspector noticed my surprised expression and intuitively guessed the cause. Quietly he handed me a small magnifying glass, and—Hey—Presto—a metamorphosis occurred. The Oriental cast of features became apparent and the Ahir was made manifest, an incongruous figure with his short "reefer" coat, rolling collar, and neck-tie fastened in sailor-knot fashion.

Before proceeding with the following episode in the life history of Mr "Tommy" Ramdyal, I must relate how the said photograph, a permit entitling its owner to land on Australian soil, and a couple of letters in English, happened to come into my possession as District Superintendent of Police, and now lay on the table awaiting my scrutiny.

An Ahir had been murdered some six or seven miles from the little Public Works bungalow whither I had hastened from district headquarters on hearing of the crime, and "Tommy" Ramdyal was strongly suspected of having been the murderer. The likelihood of his arrest was not encouraging to my subordinates or myself, for he had cleverly arranged matters so as to get a clear start and must have been a couple of hundred miles distant before the crime was discovered. When the Station Officer reported that an European figured in the case, I scarcely believed my ears and made the Reader twice repeat the passage in the Special Diary before I was sure no mistake had occurred. The Diary was, of course, written in *Shikasta*—a flowing style of Urdu calligraphy that lends itself to errors in the perusal. The photograph and permit mentioned above were not much in the way of clues, but I at once had copies taken of the former for circulation through the Criminal Investigation Department to the Police of other Provinces, as well as to all districts in the United Provinces, the part of India where my lot as a Police officer was cast. It seems that "Tommy" had stayed about three years in Australia, after paying five pounds for the privilege of landing in that country, and only returned to his home—the village to which the murdered man belonged—a few months previously. The last "exhibit" was the correspondence between his late master in N. S. Wales and Ramdyal. These letters were full of affection for the gentle Ahir, but did not disclose the capacity in which he had been employed. I read that he was missed by his Sydney friends, the wife of the writer specially regretting happy evenings spent by the fireside, with true Thomas spitting yarns about his native land. It is to be feared that pleasing intercourse will never again be enjoyed, since I lost no time in informing the Sydney police who would be prepared to accord him a sincere, if less cordial, welcome should he re-visit the regions under the Southern Cross. The circumstances attending the murder must now be described, also the reason why suspicion attached itself to "Tommy" Ramdyal—which I gathered was the name of the Ahir from Australia from its being written on the back of the photograph alluded to.

The chankidars of a hamlet near the village where the murdered man resided were roused one night by hearing their names called out. Wrapping their tattered *rezaia* (cotton quilts) round them—it was the end of October and nights had grown rather chilly—they emerged from their houses to find a man—dressed in European style and having a “swagger” cane in his hand—who peremptorily bade them accompany him to the village where the deceased Ahir had his abode. The stranger stated that he had been sent from headquarters by order of the Deputy Commissioner who required the presence of the said Ahir next morning, on what grounds was not mentioned. The village watchman, modern representative of Dogberry and Verges, is not the most intelligent of mortals, so the orders of the Sahib, whom they probably imagined to be some newcomer to the District, a Reserve Inspector who must have been received on transfer, were readily obeyed. Their destination reached, the chankidars were told to fetch out the person wanted, after securing his arms with a piece of rope, which they were sure to find lying somewhere in the house. Meanwhile the “Sahib” posted himself in the friendly shade of a big *neem* tree, which grew a few paces distant from the main entrance. Paying scant attention to the protestations of the alarmed Ahir, who was at a loss to conjecture why he was being led away captive from his home at that unseemly hour the chankidars led forth that luckless individual. They were then commanded to take him in the direction of a main road leading to headquarters that was nearly two miles from the village. The party started in the direction of that thoroughfare, the “Sahib” walking some paces in rear of the chankidars and their prisoner. A wide stretch of open plain had to be traversed, on the borders of which were some sugarcane fields, watered by means of *kachcha* wells. Half way across the plain the chankidars were dismissed, the “Sahib” saying that he had a conveyance waiting on the road and could look after the prisoner without other assistance for the short remaining distance he had to go. Since he was a fine strong looking man, and the captive somewhat advanced in years and of poor physique, the watchmen joyfully availed themselves of permission to depart, went back to their houses and resumed their disturbed slumbers.

It happened to be the turn of one of these chankidars to go to the *Thana* next day to make his usual report, and he mentioned the adventure of the previous night, rightly deeming it as coming under the head of “unusual occurrences.” The Station Officer thought some silly mistake must have been made—just as I had done on hearing the entry in the Special Diary—knowing that it was not the custom of Sahibs, either in or out of the Police, to indulge in nocturnal strolls over the countryside. Some hours later, the other chankidar came hot haste to report the discovery of a corpse in one of the wells on the plain where the chankidars had parted company with the pseudo-European. Since the body was identified as that of the Ahir hailed forth to proceed to headquarters, the Station Officer found himself confronted with an important case, so immediately set out for the scene of the crime. Arrived at the village where the murdered man had resided, the officer began inquiries from the neighbours and relatives of the murdered Ahir, with the result of soon learning the motive leading to his sudden demise, as well as the undoubted responsibility of “Tommy” Ramdial in the case.

The facts ascertained in the course of the Police investigation can be briefly stated as follows.

Ramdial had returned home from a long stay in “furrin” parts, well provided with funds and intending to settle down with his relatives, of whom an uncle—the person murdered—was the chief survivor. “Tommy” was known to have a suit of English garments in his room—part of the homestead occupied by the rest of the Ahir’s family—and had worn those clothes till the fire of the Brahmin and Rajput neighbours had been roused by his doing so, they strongly objecting to the fable of the man in a lion’s skin being struck in their village.

Like all Hindus, Ramdial had become a Benedict when yet in his “teens,” so next proceeded to seek out his wife, who during his absence had gone to live with her parents—as is the custom—in another part of the district. Prior to resuming connubial relations with that dame, he cautiously made secret enquiry as to her conduct during his stay abroad. Soon he learnt that it was a case of absence making the heart grow fonder—of somebody else, that “somebody” being no other than the uncle with whom he had taken up his abode. His wits sharpened by travelling in distant lands, his scheme of revenge was planned with great ingenuity. Donning his foreign apparel, he easily deceived the simple, sleepy, chankidars into believing him to be a Sahib and thus avoided the necessity for hauling his victim out of the house and slaying him by *lathi* blows, in the approved, if brutal, manner practised by the gentle Indian rustic in disposing of a personal enemy. As I have shown, he cleverly avoided all risk of being recognised by his victim, and it was not until the chankidars handed the

latter over to his sole care that “Tommy” made himself known to his (too) amorous uncle. What then passed between the two men—the aged Lothario and the injured husband—will never be known, but little time, I expect, was lost in altercation. The *kachcha* wells were handy, and the murderer could not have experienced much difficulty in dragging his helpless relative, whose arms it will be remembered were securely fastened, to one of those safe hiding places and throwing him into its depths. To hurry across country to the nearest railway station was the next move, there to book for a distant Native State over a thousand miles from his home and in a different Province, all the details of his flight having been thought out beforehand. Men watching the sugarcane crops stated later on that they heard—or fancied they heard—cries for help, but with true Oriental indifference made no attempt to verify the reality, or otherwise, of that impression, so, before the discovery of the corpse, “Tommy” Ramdial was hundreds of miles on his journey. One error in judgment he made—and without slips of this kind, the neglect by criminals of some little bit of necessary precaution, fewer crimes would be detected than are at present—namely, he ought to have taken a ticket, in the first instance, for some big town, where trace of him would be probably very hard to discover, and thence booked afresh for the Native State chosen for his harbour of refuge. Inquiry at the roadside station soon revealed the destination of the murderer, and a constable who knew “Tommy” by sight was forthwith despatched to the State in question to arrest the fugitive and hand him over to the custody of the local authorities, pending the completion of the customary extradition formalities. Inability to recognise the necessity for prompt action, and a total disregard of the value of time, are among the many difficulties to be faced by European officials where most Native subordinates are concerned. The wretched constable saw fit to waste nearly a day en route, stopping to purchase some warm cloth at a town noted for the manufacture of that commodity. Consequently he reached the Native State to learn that Ramdial had come there, got a job as a trainway conductor, but resigned almost directly, on the plea of having received news from his home that made his instant departure imperative. It transpired afterwards that the sons of the murdered man chanced to hear that Tommy’s whereabouts were known to the Police and at once sent him warning to seek concealment elsewhere. Evidently he had told his cousins of his intention of going to that State to obtain employment. This deliberate shielding of the man who had killed their father was—one regrets to remark—typical of most Indians of the lower orders. One death in the family, they argued, was enough, and Ramdial could not safely return home, so his property and share of the family lands would fall into their hands as next of kin. It is the fashion with some people to talk of the bloodthirsty Pathan of the Borderland. But for solid callousness and lack of natural feeling commend me to the Hindu cultivator class. Under similar circumstances, the Afrikan or Afghan would have carried on a blood feud for generations, acting on the comprehensible theory of an eye for an eye, a life for a life. The Ahirs, however, calmly suffered the death of their father to go unavenged, partly from motives of greed, partly from disinclination to move in a matter apparently settled once and for all; and if the murderer is ever caught and condemned to the gallows, that desirable termination to his career will be effected by the much-maligned Police, not by any effort on the part of the dead man’s family kin to bring the shedder of blood to the doom he richly deserves. Revolting as apathy of this nature will appear to most people, the Ahir community did not view matters in that light, rather commending the conduct of the sons in helping the murderer of their parent to escape arrest. What Ramdial thinks of his midnight exploit is hard to say. Should he ever return to Sydney it is not likely to form the subject of a tale “by the fireside,” with a kind master and mistress as listeners, nor could these simple folk imagine their “beloved servant” guilty of so foul a crime. It is two years since the events I have narrated took place and—so far—no clue to the habitat of the criminal has been obtained, so it might be said of “Tommy” Ramdial, as of a famous namesake of his, the Rhymer of Erolldown:

“But ne’er in haunts of living men

“Again was Thomas seen.”

A. N. G.



Islam in Servia.

I have read with great interest the articles on the Muhammadans of China and Russia in the *Comrade* and was inspired through them to enquire about the condition of the Muhammadans of Servia and Bulgaria on my way to Constantinople. I was able to stay in these States for about two weeks, and I am glad to say that ample opportunities were afforded to me to gain true and authentic information.

In Serbia I was in Nische and in the capital. In Belgrade had the honour of being a guest of the Sheikh-ul-Muftian who is, for a great part, the source of my information. Muhammad Ramzi Bey is a young *adim* of about thirty years, but one can have no idea of him from our own *adims* in India. For his prototype one must look to an Aligarh Old Boy. He is working, as far as he has a most limited liberty to do so, for the amelioration of the condition of his co-religionists in Serbia. We had together many and repeated discussions about the present state of the Moslem world, but for the sake of relevancy I would write here only about the present condition of the Serbian Muhammadans.

The number of the Muhammadans in the whole of Serbia who are the subjects of the Serbian Government is twenty thousand. This estimate is based on Government records and is corroborated by the Muftis. Besides these there are always living in Belgrade between one and two thousand non-Serbian Muhammadans all the year round who come for purposes of trade of an insignificant kind. These outsiders are mostly Albanians and Bosnians, and when coming to Serbia almost always leave their families behind in their native countries, for there is little personal security for Muhammadans there.

Although Serbia was not so long ago a part of the Ottoman Empire, no evidence of Ottoman occupation or rule is to be found now. All that remains to remind of them are the ruins of a Turkish fort in Belgrade, a Hammam and the tomb of a *mushid* (Mustafa Pasha), besides a few Turkish guns. All the rest has suffered utter destruction at the hands of the Government and the Christians. The head-stone of the grave of Mustafa Pasha is lying broken outside the mausoleum, and the inscription on the archway entrance has been all effaced except the word Mustafa. This was done a few years ago when one of the periodically recurring outbreaks of Christian fanaticisms had occurred. There are no Turks in Serbia now except six families living in Nische and Belgrade. In Belgrade I had the chance of seeing an old man of 77 who is one of the few survivors of the time of the Turkish rule. When I asked him what change had taken place in general since then in the country, he replied "Effandam, only this much. Where there are houses now there were roads, and where there are roads now there were houses. Where there were mosques then, there are cafés now. In Belgrade and everywhere the Christians have left nothing." In Serbia I learnt for the first time what Christian Europe has done and is doing to the Muhammadan peoples in the Balkans, and I feel a shudder when I think what it will do to them in future if its cruel hand is not checked, as it will be, by Turkey.* If I continue this subject any further I will be going beyond the scope of the article, though what I have heard and seen has made me mad.

The material condition of the Muhammadans is very bad, and it could not be otherwise under the political, economic and social pressure which is brought to bear upon them. There is not one rich Muhammadan in the whole of the country. All belong to the agricultural labouring class, with the exception of about a few hundred who can earn a decent livelihood or are well-to-do. The whole trend of Serbian politics is that the Muhammadans should be systematically impoverished so that, being obliged through want, they may either die out or may accept the Christian faith and be merged among the Christians. But, though poor in the possessions of the world, the Muhammadans are rich in the possession of great moral and social virtues innate in Islam. They are known everywhere for living a simpler and purer life than any other people in the country. The vices of drink, gambling and immorality are comparatively unknown among them. Their family life is more patriarchal than that of the Christians. Women go about with freedom, but observe the *pardah* in covering the whole figure and a great part of the face. Polygamy is seldom or never practised. Among the poor class the dress of both men and women is different from that of the Christians, and this, I believe, is the result of the special requirements of a life different from other communities, of the *pardah* among women and of a desire to keep themselves distinct from the Christians. But the easiest sign of their recognition is the Fes which slowly and surely is becoming the head dress of the Muhammadans of the world. Although they are Serbs the Muhammadans differ even in their features from their non-Moslem fellow-countrymen. The cause of this, I think, is only the reflexive effect of a different environment. I would not be very wrong if I say that the Muhammadan Serbs are like the Baluchis and Afghans in their general appearance. Those who are well-to-do or Turks wear European or Turkish clothes, and in their life are not much different from the Turks.

The Muhammadans suffer under disabilities of all kinds. There is neither toleration nor justice for them. They are one and all the victims of Christian oppression and official repression. The position of the Serbs working on lands is that of Helots and slaves, and the treatment meted out to them is often cruel and barbarous. The

Government is always a willing accomplice in all criminal and unlawful attempts for their extirpation or forcible conversion. It is only since a few years that they have been allowed, through the intervention of the Turkish Government, to offer prayers in their mosques and to say the Azan. Even now there are very few mosques in Serbia as the Government hinders their erection. In Belgrade there is only one mosque. Not long ago there were eleven; but they were all, one after another, destroyed by the Christians. But the Muhammadans do not grow less. The conserving virtues of Islam have saved them, or else they would have succumbed to such unfavourable surroundings. They are very religious, and all have the love of Islam at heart. Under no promise of reward or threat of punishment do they waver in their faith. Even when it comes to the breaking point they prefer death to renunciation of Islam.

But the power of religion in the present environment in which the Muhammadans find themselves all over the world is only a weapon of defence, and alone it will not avail for long against the joint and combined forces which threaten their existence. It is necessary that they should undergo a voluntary process of variation to bring themselves in harmony with the surroundings that have been forced upon them, so as to fight through to victory in the struggle for existence. This can only be done through education that may adapt them to these new conditions. The Muhammadans of Serbia lack education here most hopelessly. The fault is not entirely their own. The Muhammadans like all other subjects are taxed by the State for educational purposes, but they do not receive back even a small part of what they pay for the support and maintenance of the State schools and colleges. The Muhammadan educational institutions are limited to the Makatib-i-ibtidai which are nominally supported by the Government. As the Muhammadans are poor they are not able to do more. In most of the Muhammadan schools there is only one teacher, and in not a few places the same teacher has to travel from village to village to give lessons in each. Instruction is, to a large extent, confined to Theology and is given in the Serbian language, but the Muhammadans write in the Turkish or Arabic characters. Besides Mathematics, Geography and History, a little of the Turkish language is taught as well, but its teaching or study is looked upon with great suspicion and disfavour by the Government. In Belgrade there is a State University, but there are only two Muhammadans studying in it, and none of them is a Serbian. They are from Bosnia. One is studying Mathematics and the other Philology. Next year about 20 more students are expected from Bosnia. I mention this because if, after finishing their education, some of them are inclined and permitted to live in Serbia, they would in time be able to help the Serbian Muhammadans in their educational needs. But I must not forget to mention that there are also two Europe-retained Serbians belonging to two of the above-mentioned Turk families, one of whom is in Nische and the other in Belgrade. Both of them are professors in High Schools.

In the eyes of the State the Muhammadans seem to have no status. The laws exist for them only in name. They are excluded from military service. There is not one Muhammadan holding any responsible civil appointment. In all there are about 100 Muhammadans in Government employment, all of whom are in minor and insignificant posts. The legal position of a Muhammadan is the same as that of a Christian, but a Muhammadan can never hope to get justice done in his case if the other party happens to be a Christian. In marriage and inheritance, the law of the *shari'at* is recognised. The contract of *nikaḥ* is solemnized by the Mufti, and they constitute the matrimonial courts in cases of applications for devolution of marriage or disputes about dower. The cases concerning the devolution of property and inheritance are heard by the Sheikh-ul-Muftian, but any party has the right to renounce the *shari'at* and to place himself under the Civil Law. In these Muhammadan courts, the Law of Evidence and Procedure is also Muhammadan.

The idea of a Union of the Moslem world is not absent from the minds of the Serbian Muhammadans. *Khalifa* is read in the name of the Caliph who is known as Muhammad Khalifa-i-Muhammad-ur-Rasulullah. The Turco-Italian war has aroused feelings of deep concern, and I have myself seen a crowd of Muhammadans coming to the Sheikh-ul-Muftian every evening to ask about the latest news about the *mushideen* in Tripoli. Prayers are daily offered for the victory of the Ottoman arms, and an appreciable sum of money is contributed nearly every month towards the Funds of the Red Crescent Society.

About the future of these twenty thousand Muhammadans I can say that it is the same as the future of the Muhammadans in all other parts of the world. There is a movement in Islam and it is forward, progressive and towards ordered development. But as yet it is only a life-seeking blind instinct waiting for the evolution of a self-conscious will which is sure to come in time. All must work for it.

ABDULRAHMAN SHOHANVI.

* As has been stated elsewhere, these articles were written for us just before the outbreak of the war.—Ed., Comrade.

The Haj Question.

We publish below all the papers, including two circular letters issued by the Government of India, relating to the proposal of the Bombay Government to issue compulsory return tickets to the Hedjaz pilgrims and to give the monopoly of the traffic to a English Company.

Urgent

Pilgrims —

Proposal to establish a system of compulsory return tickets for—to the Hedjaz

No 3542

GENERAL DEPARTMENT

Bombay Castle, 6th May 1913.

Resolution of Government.

THE correspondence* printed, as an accompaniment to this Resolution deals with the important and pressing question of the improvement of the deplorable conditions which at present characterize some features of the pilgrim traffic between India and Jeddah. The aim of Government is to devise means by establishing a system of compulsory return tickets combined with fixity of rates of passage money to avert the suffering which is incidental to the stranding of pilgrims, in a state of absolute indigence, at Jeddah on the return journey. As will be seen from paragraph 6 of the letter to the Government of India, No 2896, dated the 11th April 1913, it is essential, if the arrangements proposed in paragraph 4 of the same letter are to be brought into force during the impending pilgrim season, that early orders should issue for their introduction.

2. Copies of the correspondence above referred to should accordingly be sent to all Collectors of districts, including the Collectors in Sind and the Deputy Commissioner, Upper Sind Frontier, and to all Political Agents, with a request that they will take immediate steps to ascertain the views of the Mussalman Anjuman and Associations within their respective charges with regard to the proposals in question, and will communicate the expression of such views direct to Government on or before the 22nd instant. In the case of districts in which no recognized Associations exist, the views of leading individual members of the community should be similarly ascertained and reported.

3. The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and President of the Haj Committee should be requested to communicate the views of that body and of the Muhammadan Anjuman and Associations in the City of Bombay by the same date.

J. L. RICE,
Secretary to Government.

To

The Commissioner in Sind,
The Commissioner, N. D.,
The Commissioner, C. D.,
The Commissioner, S. D.,
All Collectors, including the Collectors and the Deputy Commissioner in Sind.
The Political Resident, Aden,
All Political Agents,
The President, Haj Committee, Bombay,
The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,
The Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium and Akbari,
The Chief Collector of Customs in Sind,
The Health Officer of the Port of Bombay,
The Collector of Customs, Bombay,
The Port Officer, Bombay,
The Chemical Analyst, Sind, and Health Officer of the Port of Karachi,
The Political Department.

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No. of 1913.

Copy forwarded for information and guidance to

Accompaniments to Government Resolution. General Department, No. 3542, dated the 6th May 1913.

Extract Paragraph 8 of the letter from the Government of India, Home Department (Sanitary), No. 1586, dated the 18th August 1910.

The Vice-Consul has referred in his report to a combine among the Shipping Companies at Jeddah which raised the rate of passages

* Printed as accompaniments to this Resolution.

for returning pilgrims, and has revived the question of introducing a system of compulsory return tickets for Indian pilgrims. As the Government of Bombay are aware, this question was discussed in the correspondence ending with the Home Department letter No. 734, dated the 18th May 1907, and it was then decided, in view of the opposition of the Muhammadan communities, not to introduce any such system. In view, however, of the Vice-Consul's report and of the despatch from the Secretary of State noted on the margin (a copy of which is forwarded herewith), I am to enquire whether the Government of Bombay can make any suggestions for remedying the defects in the existing arrangements for the conveyance of Indian pilgrims to Jeddah and back, which are brought to notice in the report.

Extract from the Haj Report by the Vice-Consul at Jeddah for the year 1908-10

The pilgrims returning to India had to face a formidable combination of three steamship companies —

(1) Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company, who had also chartered four steamers belonging to Bombay and Hedjaz Company.

(2) Ghulam Ali Jivanji with s.s. *Budrie*.

(3) A German company with s.s. *Markgraph*.

The monopoly was in the hands of Bombay and Persia who had the largest number of steamers, and the deck passage was fixed at Rs 60 — a rate never heard of before, at least not in recent years and in former years only for short and exceptional periods. Even in ordinary season, that is not in the pilgrimage season, the passage to Bombay is not more than Rs 15.

The pilgrims were not at all prepared for these unheard of rates. Representations to the Agents of the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company who had the monopoly on the strength of the pool—combination against pilgrims—were of no avail, and the pilgrims had to manage as best as they could, most of them had to pay all what they had to reach Bombay, and hundreds were left here to wait month after month for the cheap rates.

Plague in addition to the usual diseases like small-pox, diarrhoea, dysentery, etc., appeared in January 1910 and the pilgrims were in great trouble. They made several demonstrations and more than once a crowd of 1,500 surrounded the Consulate. The matter was wired to the Government of India. By that time the rate came down to Rs. 30, but again to rise to Rs 60 with the pilgrims returning from Medina.

Jeddah is the last place for such a combination of steamship companies against pilgrims returning to their homes from this country, where every penny is taken from the pilgrims by some fair or foul means. Even the richest pilgrim on the eve of his departure has nothing more than bare expenses to reach home. With the painful experience of this year, it is the right time to make an attempt to protect the pilgrims from the repetition of such a combination of steamship companies. I beg to suggest that—

(1) Either the question of return tickets should again be considered. The leaders of the Muhammadan community in India and the various Muhammadan Anjuman and societies should be well informed of the hardships and losses of life which are caused for want of return ticket system. Pilgrims from Java and Malay Peninsula and Egypt come with return tickets and have no difficulty in going back to their countries. Even pilgrims sent by His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, about 400 in number, come with return tickets every year.

(2) Or, failing return ticket system, which in my humble opinion is the only solution of this difficulty, it should be made compulsory for every pilgrim to deposit a sum sufficient to cover expenses for return journey.

(8) Or, as an alternative of some doubtful utility, the steamship companies carrying pilgrims from India should be forced to carry a certain percentage of poor pilgrims free of charge, in every steamer, so that there be not crowds of pilgrims waiting for the steamer till the end of the season, which delay is a source of trouble and danger to public security, and a cause of mortality in the town and of reiterated demands for repatriation of these destitute pilgrims from the Local Government as was the case this year when several such demands were addressed by the Local Government to this Consulate.

Extract paragraphs 1—4 of the letter from the Government of Bombay, No. 1769, dated the 15th March 1912, to the Government of India, Department of Education (Sanitary).

I am directed to address you with reference to your letter No. 1586, dated the 18th August 1910, calling for suggestions for remedying the defects in the existing arrangements for the conveyance of Indian pilgrims to Jeddah and back which were brought to notice in the report of the Vice-Consul at Jeddah on the Haj of 1909-10.

2. I am to state that the question of introducing a system of compulsory return tickets for Indian pilgrims has been considered by the Haj Committee, Bombay, who are generally of opinion that no such system can be effectively introduced unless and until the fares for passages to and from Jeddah are fixed. In view of the enormous fluctuations in rates which prevail at present and the excessive rates which are often demanded, the Haj Committee feel very strongly that some action, legislative or otherwise, should be taken by Government to fix a maximum rate for the voyage to and from Jeddah. They suggest that after fixing such a rate tenders should annually be invited from the shipping companies engaged in the pilgrim traffic and that the company whose tender is accepted by Government should be given the exclusive right of carrying all pilgrims.

3. His Excellency the Governor in Council after carefully considering the views of the Haj Committee has arrived at the conclusion that the system of return tickets cannot be worked unless Government fix the rate of fares, but that if they endeavoured to do this, it is possible that the steamship companies, if they disapproved of the rates so fixed, might stand out of the business altogether and refuse to provide any steamers. In these circumstances the only solution of the question would be to invite tenders and give the monopoly of the conveyance of all pilgrims for a single season to one firm. The Governor in Council, however, doubts whether there is any one firm in Bombay who could undertake the contract. The British India Steam Navigation Company, who might perhaps be in a position to do so, would in all probability not tender, for they sent one ship with pilgrims in recent years, but this class of passenger traffic did not apparently commend itself to them, and the experiment was not repeated.

4. I am to say that the Governor in Council has consulted the authorities of the Straits Settlement in the matter, as it was understood that the system of compulsory return tickets was in force there. I am now to forward a copy of letter No. 5885, dated the 21st November 1911, from the Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, and to observe that as the beneficial effects of the new Ordinance referred to therein do not seem to be assured, the Governor in Council would prefer to watch the results of its working for at least a year before taking action on similar lines. Further, if the proposal made in my letter No. 1170, dated the 21st February 1912, to open Karachi as a port for the embarkation of pilgrims for the embarkation of pilgrims from the next outgoing season is sanctioned by the Government of India, the Governor in Council hopes that some improvement in the general conditions of the pilgrim traffic may result from its distribution over two ports. Having regard to these considerations the Governor in Council is disposed to await the development of events for another season before taking action in the direction of giving a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to a single firm which appears to him, as at present advised, to be the only system under which the compulsory purchase of return tickets could reasonably be enforced.

Extract paragraph 1—3 of the Government of India's letter No. 1403-14, dated the 5th August 1912.

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Government of Bombay, copies of the marginally noted letters from the India Office on the subject of indigent Indian pilgrims in the Hedjaz and the representation made by His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople as to the necessity for taking steps to ensure their repatriation.

2. The Government of India desire that effective measures should, if possible, ultimately be adopted to prevent, as far as may be, the annual recurrence of this scandal in regard to destitute Indian pilgrims who are stranded year after year in Jeddah in large numbers, and who cause the British authorities there an amount of trouble out of proportion to their numbers. As an immediate step in this direction I am to refer to the correspondence noted in the margin and to ask that, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, intending pilgrims may be reminded widely and urgently of the extreme desirability in their own interests of either securing return steamer tickets before leaving Bombay or other port of departure, or depositing money sufficient to cover the cost of the return

1. Home Department letter Nos. 783—741, dated the 18th May 1907.
2. Home Department telegram Nos. 1356—62, dated the 22nd July 1910.

journey at the British Consulate in Jeddah on their way to the holy places of Islam, that their attention may be drawn to Nos. 5 and 6 of the instructions for pilgrims to the Hedjaz printed on page 2 of the Pilgrim Traffic Manual, and finally that Muhammedan Anjumanas and Associations may be requested to warn pilgrims and to impress upon them the necessity of making sufficient provision for the return journey.

3. I am to invite attention in this connection to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 1769, dated the 15th March, 1912, in which the Government of Bombay suggested that it might be possible to enforce a system of return tickets for pilgrims by giving a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to one shipping company in a season, but thought that it would be preferable to await the developments of events for another season before taking action in this direction, and to forward a copy of a telegram from the Secretary of State, dated the 1st July 1912, in which His Lordship desires that any unnecessary delay should be avoided in dealing with the question. The Government of India will be glad if, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, the further consideration of the question is expedited and they are furnished with the views of the Government of Bombay. They consider it especially important, however, that arrangements should be made in order to mitigate so far as possible, during the ensuing pilgrimage, the scandals and miseries referred to in the correspondence received from the India Office, and I am to request that they may be favoured with the early opinion of the Government of Bombay as to what immediate measures can suitably be taken for the purpose, other than those referred to in paragraph 2.

Letter from the Acting British Consul at Jeddah, No. 24, dated the 15th May 1912, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

With reference to your Excellency's cypher telegram, No. 6 of the 5th of May 1912, received on the 10th instant, regarding the repatriations of destitute Indian pilgrims, I have the honour to report as follows.

The question of repatriation of destitute Indian pilgrims is becoming very serious and every year there is an increasing number of these destitutes who apply for repatriation.

The Government of India refuses to take any responsibility in the matter, and the reiterated representations from this Consulate for the introduction of compulsory return tickets for Indian pilgrims have not met with the approval of the Government at all.

As a warning to pilgrims, on passports issued to them from India, it is printed that the British Government does not undertake to bring back pauper pilgrims from the Hedjaz. This warning falls on deaf ears, so to speak, and every year there are 1,000 to 1,500, or even more, destitute pilgrims who surround this Consulate every now and then and ask for repatriation, and hundreds of them die here in the hope of getting a free passage to India.

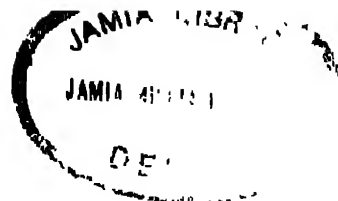
There is an Indian Pilgrims' Jubilee Relief Fund in the Consulate, the existence of which is mainly due to the unclaimed estates of deceased Indian pilgrims who die here without leaving the address of their relatives or who have no relatives at all. Income from this source is not much. The fund does not receive any regular substantial aid from India or elsewhere and the total amount in the fund will not suffice to procure passages for the destitute pilgrims of one year, and in fact no fund will be enough, if all these destitutes were to be shipped every year.

This fund is utilised to provide food for destitute pilgrims on board of the ship when some company gives them free passage or for providing passage to some deserving pilgrims who are stranded here on account of some special unforeseen circumstances.

(To be Continued in the next issue.)

31st May.

The Comrade.



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The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

[London, May 20.

Reuter learns that Dr. Danoff, the Bulgarian delegate, had a long conference with Sir Edward Grey yesterday. The Bulgarian view is that if the Allies will not sign the preliminary treaty of peace, it is the duty of the Powers to take steps to secure their signature. The Turkish delegates take the same view. Sir Edward Grey has declared that he will advise the Allies not to question matters which are within the competence of the Powers. It is the view of Europe that if the signature of peace is delayed, the Allies stand every chance of losing what they would otherwise gain.

The Greek peace delegate, M. Skuludis, ridicules the newspaper statement recently made with regard to the treaty between Greece and Servia.

An Athens wire says: It is announced that in view of the uncertain situation, neither King Constantine nor the Crown Prince will be able to attend the wedding in Berlin.

[London, May 21.

Reuter states that the Conference of Ambassadors yesterday were unanimous with regard to the necessity of the Allies signing the preliminaries of peace which will be submitted to the Powers to-day. Dr. Danoff, the Bulgarian delegate, did not suggest any modifications. He urged the necessity for the immediate signature of peace.

Reuter is informed that Servia's view is that the decisions of the Ambassadors on matters vitally important to Servia are not sufficiently binding. She desires guarantees before signing the peace preliminaries that the decision to give her a port on the Adriatic, with railway communications through Albania, will be effective. It is understood that Sir Edward Grey has given satisfactory assurances on this point.

The Servian delegate, on behalf of the Balkan Allies, communicated this evening to Sir Edward Grey the modifications in the draft Peace treaty. The Allies feel that the modifications ought not to encounter any objection and they are prepared to sign the preliminary treaty if the modifications are accepted. The Allies ask that their delegates at the Financial Conference in Paris shall have the same status as the Representatives of the Powers and they suggest that all treaties in force before the war shall remain in operation after peace is signed, until superseded by agreements forming part of the final comprehensive treaty.

[London, May 22.

The Foreign Consuls at Scutari will probably take over the local administration of Scutari, under the control of International commanders.

A Basra message says: The steamer *John Scott* arrived at Bahrain on the 17th instant with the entire Turkish garrison of El Katiff and the Province of El Hassa, which surrendered to the Arab chief Bin Saoud, offering but little resistance. Bin Saoud has reduced the duty locally collected from 11 per cent to 4 per cent.

[London, May 23.

A Salonica telegram states that on the 20th instant a Bulgarian force entered the neutral zone which has been established as result of the recent incident between Voultaista and Koteaki, and sought to enter the territories occupied by the Greeks. The latter opposed them and a serious fight ensued, which still continues.

The Bulgarians version of the recent fighting is that the Greeks fired on the Bulgarian posts, which held their ground. The firing was brief. There were no Bulgarian casualties.

[Later.

An Athens wire says: King Constantine has gone to Salonica to arrange an extensive neutral zone, with a view to preventing fresh conflicts between Greek and Bulgarian troops in future.

Apart from actual local hostilities between the Bulgarians and Greeks, feeling in all three countries—Bulgaria, Servia and Greece—is growing in intensity. Bulgaria insists that Servia must abandon Monastir and Ochrida, otherwise, according to semi-official declarations, war is inevitable.

Bulgarian officers have already been ordered to rejoin their regiments, and fresh hospital supplies have been ordered.

In spite of denials of the treaty, there is good reason to believe that Greece and Servia have agreed to resist Bulgarian encroach-

ment beyond certain fixed lines, and Salonica remains the bone of fierce contention.

Italy's absolutely stiff attitude with regard to the Southern frontier of Albania and the Aegean Islands also causes anxiety. Italy will not listen to any concession which will risk the establishment of a Greek naval base which will dominate the Adriatic, or which, in certain contingencies, might be utilised by the Powers forming the Triple Entente.

The Greek Government has protested against the violation of the agreement and has demanded the withdrawal of the Bulgarian troops.

[London, May 25.

The Berlin semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the simultaneous sojourn of the rulers of Great Britain and Russia in Berlin and their friendly intercourse with the Kaiser, even though politics have played no part in bringing this about, is still a remarkable sign that Europe may rely on a progressive, tranquil clearing-up of Eastern question and on the Powers doing their utmost to hasten the signature of peace preliminaries. The Conference of Ambassadors, says this paper, is unanimously of opinion that this discussion of modifications, in such preliminaries would involve further delay.

A Salonica message says: Fighting at Voultaista ceased in the evening of the 22nd instant. On the afternoon of the 23rd instant, two companies of Bulgarians attacked a company of Greeks at Semalton, but were repulsed. Since then tranquillity has prevailed. The Greeks lost 250 killed and wounded in the recent fights.

[London, May 26.

At a meeting of the Balkan and Turkish delegates yesterday evening, the latter received assurances that none of the Allies intended asking for further modifications of the peace terms. This is regarded as a most important step in the direction of settlement, as the Turks feared that any modification would open the door to further demands by the Allies.

Assurances, explanations and contradictions are so frequent from the different missions of belligerents now in London, that the situation is becoming hopelessly wearying and perplexing. Even the highest quarters are confused by the conflicting declarations of one side and another, while it is clear that no progress is being made. Nobody understands who is actually responsible for the delays, and intrigues of various kinds are obscuring the issues.

[Latest.

The ambassadors met to-day and adjourned, after a conference lasting two and half hours. They meet again on Friday. It is understood that there was general wish that the draft of the peace terms should be signed quickly, and without modification. The Greek and Servian delegates also met and decided to ask Sir Edward Grey to summon a General Conference immediately.

[London, May 26.

Reuter learns that Turkey recently approached the Foreign Office with a request for loan of the services of several British officials to assist in the execution of reforms in Asia Minor. The choice of men was left entirely to Great Britain, which acceded to the request. No officials have so far been mentioned or selected.

Reuter learns from an authoritative source that the report that Turkey had ceded Cyprus to Great Britain is without foundation.

A Constantinople wire says: It is persistently reported here that a fight has occurred among the troops at Tchataldja, on account of dissensions with the officers.

A Sofia telegram says. The situation arising out of the difference between the Allies is regarded as most critical. The existence of a treaty for common action against Bulgaria between Greece and Servia is no longer doubted. It is feared that unless Russia intervenes, matters will go from bad to worse, until ultimately there will be no hopes of settlement.

A telegram to the *Times* from Sofia says that eighty thousand troops who were formerly at Tchataldja are at present concentrated at Sofia. The military authorities have completed plans for a possible campaign.

A Salonica message says: The Bulgarians fired on the Greek squadron cruising off Kavalla. The Greeks were out of range and they did not reply.

[London, May 27.

A Paris wire says M. Pichon, the Foreign Minister, in a speech in the Senate yesterday, said that the difficulties in connexion with

the preliminary conditions of peace in the Balkans had been narrowed down to the objections of Greece to a delimitation of the southern frontier of Albania, which would put Greece and Italy in opposition. M. Pichon said there were serious difficulties between the Allies whose antagonism was becoming accentuated. He hoped this painful spectacle would cease. "We will interpose, if necessary, to play the part of arbiter." M. Pichon concluded by declaring that France would not allow the questions of Asiatic Turkey to be settled without her.

An Athens wire says: It is officially stated that the Greek losses in the recent fighting between the Bulgarians and Greeks at Panghion were 59 killed and 187 wounded. A Belgrade wire says: The Greek Minister has requested the Serbian Government to protest in Sofia in connexion with the Greco-Bulgarian incident at Nigrita.

The Serbian Minister in Sofia has communicated to M. Guechoff, the Bulgarian Premier, the demand of Serbia for a revision of the Bulgaro-Serbian Treaty.

A Sofia wire says. The semi-official *Mir* says that Serbia's demand for a revision of the treaty of alliance is equivalent to a demand for the abrogation of the treaty. There is good reason to believe that Russia, supported by the Powers, will do her utmost to prevent than armed conflict among the Allies.

London, May 28.

Sir Edward Grey received the Balkan delegates separately this morning and informed them that there was no further room for discussion of the Peace treaty. It should be signed forthwith, as it stood, whether all the belligerents were ready to sign or not. This was the decision of the Ambassadors.

Dr. Danoff, the Bulgarian delegate, expressed his willingness to sign forthwith. The Greek delegates said they must communicate with their Government and await instructions.

Sir Edward Grey used equally emphatic language to the Serbian delegate, who replied that in view of this unexpected attitude of the Powers he must ask his Government for further instructions.

The Turkish delegate also saw Sir Edward and informed him that he had been ready to sign from the first day he landed in England.

The unexpected firmness of Sir Edward Grey's language surprised the delegates and caused a sensation among the public, who were thus made aware of the gravity of the situation in the Balkans. The papers are unanimous in condemning the attitude of Serbia and Greece and trust they will now accept the inevitable and bow to the will of Europe, which cannot be accused of precipitate action. It is understood that Sir Edward Grey to-day plainly intimated to the Balkan delegates that it appeared useless for those not prepared to sign the preliminary peace treaty to remain in England.

It is understood that both Greece and Serbia have received assurances that they will be admitted to the Councils of Europe to defend their special claims when the details come to be examined. Hence it is expected that they will make no further difficulties in connexion with signature of the treaty of peace.

Bulgaria's readiness to sign is interpreted in some quarters as dictated by a desire to free herself, by peace with Turkey, to deal with the Serbian and Greek situation, and in that respect it is regarded with much anxiety. The military party in Bulgaria is very strong and is confident of the ability of Bulgaria to overthrow the remaining Allies combined.

(FROM THE "PIONEER'S" CORRESPONDENT.)

London, May 28.

The *Times* referring to the discussions among the Allies mentions that some of them have been making advances to the Turks, and says "Contingencies are conceivable in which Turkish politicians of a certain school might hearken to these solicitations and again go to war as the allies of some of their lately confederated foes against one or more of the rest."

Albania as a State.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, May 8.

THE reports hitherto received of to-day's meeting of the Montenegrin Skupstina state only that the national representatives assembled in the court-yard of the Royal residence to hear a statement by King Nicholas of the reasons for the evacuation of Scutari. No debate seems to have taken place, nor is the adoption of any resolution yet reported.

The *Nous Freis Presse* publishes an alleged sketch of the draft Constitution for Albania submitted to-day by Austria-Hungary

and Italy to the meeting of Ambassadors in London. The choice of a ruler is left temporarily in abeyance. The most urgent question is considered to be the creation of a national Gendarmerie, either with the help of Austro-Hungarian and Italian officers, or of officers drawn from minor States like Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden, or of officers supplied by all the Great Powers in accordance with the precedent of the Murzateg programme. The next question is the raising of funds for the Gendarmerie and other initial requirements of the new State. It is suggested that a loan should be granted either by Austria-Hungary and Italy or internationally with an Austro-Italian guarantee. The difficulty of accustoming the Albanians to the payment of taxes is expected to impede for some years to come the financial organization of the country. It is proposed that the administration of justice be organized on the Egyptian model, with special tribunals competent only to try cases involving native litigants, and Consular tribunals for cases between natives and foreigners, or between foreigners alone. An international Court of Appeal would act as Court of second instance. The Austro-Italian project is stated, further, to treat the question of schools, roads, harbours and railways.

It is, perhaps, opportune to point out that in approaching the practical settlement of the Albanian question the Powers need to keep two main considerations in mind. The first is that any tendency to delegate either financial burdens or the work of organization to Austria-Hungary and Italy as the two "most interested Powers" will probably be fatal to the new State. The precedent of the Macedonian reforms under the programmes of February and October (Murzateg), 1903, shows clearly that satisfactory results can only be attained when such work is thoroughly internationalized. The signal services rendered by the International Financial Commission at Salonica under the Murzateg programme were entirely due to the steadfastness with which Lord Lansdowne opposed the renewal in 1905 of the mandate given by implication to Austria-Hungary and Russia in 1903 as the Powers "most interested" in Macedonia. This principle holds good in regard to Albania. If the country is allowed to become an Austro-Italian administrative preserve it will end by being a bone of contention between the two countries. The Albanians themselves will feel no confidence in foreign efforts unless they be made by and under the supervision of all the Powers.

The second consideration is that the Albanians, though wild tribesmen, are by no means lawless. They have their own strict code of honour, and, especially in the North, their own oral code of law, the canon or law of Lek Dukajin. The tribes are accustomed publicly to debate points of law, and have a highly developed sense of equity. If lasting results are to be achieved, it can only be by developing gradually what exists and correcting abuses as occasion offers. Legal pundits from Austria-Hungary, Italy, or any lawyer-ridden European community can only do harm in Albania. Half a dozen experienced district officers from the North-West Frontier of India would be more valuable in Albania than all the legal Scribes and constitutional Pharisees of Europe.

The *New Freis Presse* publishes an obviously coloured account of a conversation between Essad Pasha and his brother-in-law, Sureya Bey Vlora, who recently went, or was sent, from Vienna to confer with him. Incidentally it confirms, however, the information I was recently enabled to transmit in regard to the attitude of Essad Pasha. Sureya Bey Vlora is an Austrophil Albanian who is stated on good Albanian authority to have discharged, albeit unsuccessfully, a mission entrusted to him last autumn when, before the constitution of the Provisional Government, he laid before an Assembly of Notables at Avlona a pro-Austrian scheme which the Assembly promptly rejected. In the account of his conversation with Essad Pasha he is careful to state what Essad said to him, but refrains from mentioning what he said to Essad.

Turkish Unconcern.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 4.

THE future of Albania seems to arouse no interest whatever in Turkish circles. Committee organs find it hard to conceal satisfaction at what they describe as the impending division of Albania by Austria-Hungary and Italy, and express the hope that Djavid Pasha's forces will avenge the death of Nizri Bey. Otherwise no one seems to care what becomes of Albania, the interest aroused by recent events in that country being inspired solely by their bearing on the general European situation.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 2.

Essad Pasha as King of Albania does not altogether convince Constantinople, which knows the Tirana Bey too well.

as a hard, grasping, ruthless, but able and bold man, and does not see in him a King. The reported murder of Niaz Bey does not seem to be absolutely confirmed, and comment thereon must, therefore, be suspended. Mahmud Kiamil Bey, the Chief of Staff to Hassan Riza Pasha, was not killed at the time his chief was murdered, but is alive and well, and has sent a full report concerning Hassan Riza's fate to the Turkish War Office. When this is published we shall know something of the relations between the two commanders at Scutari, and perhaps be able to guess the motives which finally induced Essad Pasha to make terms with the Montenegrin King.

The Turkish Troops in Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, May 6.

The Powers having made inquiries of the Greek Government whether it would permit the transport of the Turkish Troops from Albania to Asia Minor, the Government has replied that it would raise no objection, but called the attention of the Powers to the danger of anarchy or of international complications which might result from the departure of the troops. In view of these possibilities the Government suggests the occupation of Albania by contingents of all the Powers.

The "Hamidiyeh's" Captain.

In our issue of April 11 we published some particulars, sent us by our Haifa correspondent, of the raid of the Turkish cruiser *Hamidiyeh* in the Adriatic. These particulars, as our readers may remember, were kindly given to our correspondent by Raouf Bey, the *Hamidiyeh's* gallant commander, who incidentally referred to the many rumours current to the effect that the credit for the cruiser's feats must be given to foreign officers, and stated that no foreigners are on board. The following communication, which reaches us from another correspondent in Turkey, whose information may be relied upon, at once endorses Raouf Bey's statement and explains how the rumours in question probably originated—

So many reports have been circulated as to the actual commander of the famous Turkish cruiser *Hamidiyeh* that considerable doubt exists generally as to whether Raouf Bey is actually the officer responsible for her exploits. It has been repeatedly stated that German officers are on board, and the Constantinople correspondents of certain European newspapers have reported that it is Captain Bucknam who is commanding the vessel. As the entire credit of the daring move of the *Hamidiyeh* in issuing from the safety of the Dardanelles and in becoming the terror of the Greeks is due to Commander Hussein Raouf Bey, of the Imperial Ottoman Navy, it is but fair to him that these false rumours should be dispelled.

"We are told from Constantinople that Captain Bucknam received £15,000 from the Turkish Government on taking out the *Hamidiyeh* and sinking so many Greek merchantmen, that this is not the first time he has led a forlorn hope for the Turks, that he conducted an extensive contraband service in arms and ammunition with Tripoli during the Italian-Turkish War, and that he made in all twelve trips in running the blockade. These reports do more credit to the said correspondents' imagination than to their love of truth. Captain Bucknam, formerly a captain in the American Mercantile Navy, was in the employment of the well-known firm of American ship-builders Messrs Cramp, of Philadelphia. He was charged by his firm to deliver the cruiser *Hamidiyeh* to Turkey and, finding favour with the Sultan through his frank, outspoken manner, was engaged by his Majesty as an instructor for his navy. He soon rose to the rank of Admiral, but on the advent of the Young Turks he was paid off, and commenced business as agent in Constantinople for several important American manufacturers. Being a genuine lover of the Turkish naval man, as all Europeans are who know him well, he volunteered to take out a ship full of arms, ammunition, and saddles for the Turkish forces in Tripoli. A British-owned ship was chartered for this purpose and Raouf Bey, the present commander of the *Hamidiyeh* accompanied Captain Bucknam. Unfortunately for the Turks, an Italian warship came across them off the coast of Tripoli, and the entire contraband cargo was dumped overboard during the night. No other voyages were made, but Captain Bucknam recently volunteered again to assist the Turks with their ships. Raouf Bey was his aide-de-camp for a few years, and having previously studied English at the Turkish Naval College at Halki, his daily intercourse with his American chief has given him an excellent knowledge of both English and American. He also accompanied the jolly captain to Kiel, and on one occasion nearly lost his life there. The Germans were patching up the old *Assar-i-Taufik* recently wrecked on a rock in the Black Sea, and, as usual with anything they make for Turkey, a good deal of bad material was being supplied. Bucknam and Raouf discovered this, and the inquiry held resulted in some of the workmen attacking them in a quiet place near

the docks, and nearly finishing off Raouf Bey. The knowledge of German that Raouf Bey then gained may account for his having been taken for a German.

"Raouf Bey has on several occasions stated that there is not a single foreign naval officer on board the *Hamidiyeh* and the writer, who has followed his career for many years, is of the opinion that this is not only so, but that Raouf Bey is as capable of handling the *Hamidiyeh* as any naval officer of his years in any European Navy. Admiral Gamble, during his period of service with the Turkish Navy, had many faults to find with its officers, but he always had a good word for both Raouf Bey and his friend Hamdi Bey. And Admiral Gamble is no mean judge of naval officers."—The Near East.

Nazim Bey on Turkey's Future.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, May 4.

NAZIM BEY KIBRIZLI, formerly chief of the Ottoman staff, who was reported to have been murdered with Nazim Pasha at the Porte, but was only wounded, arrived here the other day from Constantinople, where he has been in hiding since the *coup d'état*. He does not believe that a coalition between the old and the present Young Turk régime is possible, and he is convinced that the days of the former are numbered. He is also of opinion that there is no danger whatever of any popular outbreak and fanatic excesses after the formal and final conclusion of peace. Nazim Bey, who is a man of superior education and intelligence, and a good linguist, speaks optimistically of the future of his country as an Asiatic Power with a foothold in Europe. He says, too, that it was known in Constantinople to a limited number of highly placed personages that secret *pourparlers* were proceeding between King Nicholas of Montenegro and Essad Pasha, the Commandant of Scutari, for some three weeks before the amazing *dénouement* came, and, he adds, it was suspected at the Porte that St. Petersburg was privy to the machinations of "Nikita" and Essad Pasha. The Ottoman Government had lately no interest whatever in Scutari, and was perfectly indifferent to the fate of the fortress and the garrison. There was certainly no desire, under any circumstances, to see Essad Pasha back again in Constantinople. Nazim Bey says that Essad Pasha could undoubtedly show a long and stubborn resistance to any external force attacking him in the hill fastnesses of Albania, but the loyalty of the Ottoman force under his command is not to be depended upon.

Turkey and Europe.

An article entitled "The Turkish Point of View," by Mr. E. N. Bennett, appears in the current number of the *Edinburgh Review*. After commenting on the apathy of England with regard to Turkey, the writer proceeds to give a critical survey of the course of the war. In the following passage Mr. Bennett declares that there is a widespread impression among the Turks that the Ottoman Empire is being slowly sacrificed on the altar of European diplomacy—

"All Moslems and many of the Sultan's Christian subjects are convinced that the Turks are the victims of a gigantic European conspiracy to rob them of their territory by fair means or foul. They maintain that successive attempts to establish good government in Macedonia have been deliberately frustrated by Russia and the Balkan States, and that a well-governed and tranquil Turkey was the very last thing really desired by the Powers, who, on their side, never hesitated to violate the most solemn treaty engagements for their own ends when any safe opportunity arose. Russia rode rough-shod over her pledges with reference to Batumi, Italy's duplicity was especially discreditable, for, according to Turkish statements, a few weeks before the Tripolitan War broke out the King of Italy welcomed Prince Yussuf Edin to Rome, and, after embracing him three times, gave him a definite assurance that no war would take place over Tripoli. Austria's case was worse, for she tore up treaties without even troubling to put forward a pretext. Great Britain undertook in 1878, as a special condition of her occupation of Cyprus, to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

According to Mr. Bennett, the Turks were not unprepared for the loss of their European possessions. "For years past," he says, "many of the better class Ottomans, mindful of their coming doom in Europe, have sent their dead across the Sea of Marmora for sepulture among the cypresses of Scutari and Haida Pasha." They are content to write "Kismet" over their unparalleled misfortunes, and, "no cry of *révanche* will ever turn the hearts of the coming generation towards the surrendered provinces. The blood and treasure of Anatolia has been poured into Macedonia to little

purpose and small profit, and few Turks waste useless regrets upon the loss of Albania, Tripoli, or Crete."

In The Wake of the War.

(FROM THE "PIONEER'S" CORRESPONDENT IN THE BALKANS.)

It is a little more than sixteen years ago that I made the acquaintance of the two Essad Pashas, Essad Bey as one of them then was. Since then both have sprung into fame, the one by his brilliant defence of Janina, the other by an equally gallant defence of Scutari. The two Essads have caused a considerable amount of confusion in the newspaper world where Turkish names are apt to cause confusion. In this case the confusion was but natural. A telegram would arrive describing the actions of Essad, the Albanian General at Janina in the south, and on the following day would come news of the doings of Essad Pasha, the Albanian General at Scutari in the north. May I try to differentiate them and to recall at the same time recollections of the Turco-Greek War of 1897, when I first came across the two Albanian Chiefs. For both are Albanians, both are leaders of Albanian clans and both after serving in the war of 1897, where he of Janina fame gave full promise of his more recent career, have now stamped their names on the history of the Turkish War of 1912-13, and it is more than possible that both will identify themselves with the future of their own little country.

As I have before explained in the columns of the *Pioneer*, Albania is sharply divided into two distinct nationalities, different in speech, in appearance and in characteristics. All south of the Skumbi River are Tosks fair-haired, mild-mannered, speaking Greek among themselves, and fairly equally divided between the Greek Church and Islam. Janina is the capital of the Tosks and Essad Pasha, the defender of Janina, owns large estates near the fortress he so bravely held.

North of Skumbi River the Ghegs hold sway, tall, dark, and owing allegiance to no man. The Ghegs are for the most part Moslems, but in the extreme north a clan has joined the Catholic faith, and His Apostolic Majesty of Vienna has for this reason thrown the mantle of his protection over Albania. The Ghegs are robbers to a man, and for the most part murderers as well. Nice, cheery brigands, I own, and as body servants faithful unto death, honest as the day, for no Albanian servant has yet been known to betray his trust. Travellers in Constantinople have been often struck with the sight of those gorgeously dressed domestics who stand at the gates of Embassies and Banks. These are Ghegs, and loyal servants they are. Essad Pasha, the defender of Scutari and the self-proclaimed King of Albania, is a Gheg from the neighbourhood of Durazzo where he too owns large estates.

Between Gheg and Tokk lurks or rather stalks in open day memories of many a bitter feud. As soon expect a Kuki Khel to live peacefully with a Hindu Bunnia as for Gheg and Tokk to live amicably together. The two Essads then represent the two great Albanian clans, (Gheg and Tokk; but there are other points of difference between them. Essad Pasha of Janina is a soldier born and bred. His father held high rank in the Ottoman Army and fought by our side in the Crimean War. He is a man of good education, and after passing through the junior military school in his native town, where he learnt fluent French and German, he was sent to the Military College at Pancaldi in the suburbs of Pera, and thence to the Staff College where he passed a brilliant first. He was then selected by the Sultan Abdul Hamid as one of the officers destined to finish his education in Germany, and he proceeded to Berlin where he spent two years in the same regiment with the present King of Greece, and Mahmoud Mukhtar Pasha, the hero of the battle of Lule Dargaz. At the expiry of two years' regimental duty Essad Pasha was selected by the German authorities for a further course of instruction in staff duties and on passing the necessary examination was detached to Metz, where he passed another period of five years. On his return to Turkey he was made professor of staff duties at the Staff College, and here he remained for three years, but on the relations between Greece and Turkey becoming strained in 1896 he was detached to Janina in order to take up the duties of chief of the staff to the General Commanding the troops in the Epirus. With characteristic energy Essad Bey, then only a Major, set to work to survey the neighbourhood, and soon had turned out a set of maps which would have done credit to Chatham or Rorke. The General Commanding at Janina was Turk of the old school, and a very bad specimen of that school, too. His troops were ill-clad, months and months in arrears with their pay, and at Louri on the immediate frontier was stationed a regiment rotten to the core, drawn from the gypsies of Lekeovats. In vain Essad Bey urged upon his General to replace these Redifs half-trained, half-starved and wholly undisciplined, by some men on whom reliance could be placed, but the General

was obstinate, and when war did break out the Lekeovats Regiment turned tail and never showed their faces to the Greeks until they were safe behind the earthworks that Essad Bey had thrown up to the South of Janina. The General, a confirmed opium smoker, left all in the hands of the chief of the staff and he took upon himself to telegraph the truth to Zeki Pasha, the Grand Master of Artillery, and at the same time Director-General of Military Education. Zeki Pasha had been Essad Bey's immediate chief at the Military College and had great confidence in his pupil. He too possessed the confidence of the Sultan and the result of the telegram was that a certain Tartar Osman Pasha was sent off hot foot to Janina and that Zeki told me, the writer of these lines, that he thought I should find Epirus more interesting than Pera if I cared to accompany an Ottoman Army through a third campaign. Needless to say I rose to the bait and on the following evening set out with a Maltese cook and general servant for Monastir by train. There I purchased a couple of sturdy country-breda with a show of Arab blood from the Vali and in three days covered the 180 miles which intervenes between Monastir and the capital of the Epirus.

There I found everything at six and seven. The town was barricaded at every street, Jews, for there are 20,000 Spanish speaking Jews in Janina, had painted a red cross on their doors, as had the Christians; for the Greek had advanced unmolested as far as Pente Pegadia, twenty miles from the town and the Consulate anticipated its entry any day. But Tartar Osman Pasha was a man of very different kidney to his opium-smoking predecessor. He too had passed five years in the German army (in that of Hannover, prior to the disastrous war of 1866), and he and his chief of the staff were of the same mould, strict disciplinarians both of them. Osman used to hold an informal general summary court-martial outside his tent every morning hearing the evidence himself and verbally passing the sentence which, so far as I was able to judge, was invariably the same, twenty lashes on the bare back with a threat of hanging the next time. I had met Osman Pasha when he was a Major at Batoum in the campaign of 1877, and so found two friends in the camp, and as I happened to be the only foreigner with army, I was allowed to do pretty much as I pleased, to go where I liked, and had a permanent escort, of a corporal and four Albanian gendarmes given me by Essad Pasha the commandant of the gendarmerie and now sovereign of Albania. On the slopes to the south of Janina did my acquaintance with the Essads begin.

I remember the evening of my arrival in camp. Osman Pasha invited me to dinner and informed me that immediately after dinner Essad Bey was to take out a couple of battalions and reconnoitre the Greek position at Pente Pegadia and see if it was possible to turn them out. To my request to be allowed to see the fun a cordial assent was given, and at about nine Essad Bey with another staff officer whose name I forget cantered out to where the two battalions bivouacked some ten miles on the road to Louri. During the ride Essad held forth to me on the characteristics of the Turkish soldier. Some races, he argued, were utterly worthless, others valuable under all circumstances, others well enough when things were going well, but prone to panic. The two battalions he had chosen I remember were men in whom he had every trust, one was a battalion from Angora, the other Albanian from Ochrida.

Pente Pegadia lies on the crest of the hills separating the plain of Janina from that of Louri, and as its name implies is the place of five fountains. On the summit of the crest stands an old Genoese fortress partly in ruins, but from its crenelated walls we might have been exposed to a very nasty fire had the Greeks been commanded by a man of the calibre of their present King. The crest of the hill was held by five battalions one hailing from Corfu and a battalion, of the famous Ethniki Hotiria, men sworn to die rather than to yield. It was dawn before we reached the upper spur of the hill and could make out a formidable show of shelter trophies crowning the heights. Two spurs jut out from the castle and between them runs a little stream which finds its way eventually into the lake of Janina. Up the left spur Essad Bey sent a column of Albanian volunteers, whilst he with the Ochrida regiment pushed up to the right or westernmost spur, leaving the Angora regiment in reserve in the valley between. Both the Turkish regiments were armed with the old Martini Henry rifle, the Greeks had the obsolete Gram, they, however, had a battery of mountain guns which opened fire on us when we were about a mile off, well within range, but somehow they never managed to do any damage. Some shells burst far short, some fell far beyond, and the Albanians who as a rule do not care for artillery fire pushed on laughingly as soon as they found the guns barked louder than they bit.

When we got within about six hundred yards of the crest the Greeks gave us a volley, this too flew harmlessly overhead and then our two leading companies which were in loose order opened fire, breaking into a double at the same time. I was a little afraid that they would arrive at the crest blown and that the Greeks

would then turn the tables upon us, but Essad knows the Greeks well and seemed to have a profound contempt for their Commanding Officer, for he observed on his men and being in the heyday of youth barely in the thirties and as hard as nails, he kept well up with the leading companies. I don't quite know how it came about but suddenly the Greek fire ceased, and with a wild cheer, or as near an approach to the cheer as the Albanian can produce, we were over the ridge to see the Greeks streaming down the narrow paths into the plains which end in the town of Janina. But there was sternly frowning Genoa's castle to be faced, and Essad Bey quietly walked up to the massive gate, which was closed, and hammered with the hilt of his sword calling on the garrison to surrender. At once the gates were thrown open and a Greek officer sprang and span appeared, and speaking in Greek, which is almost Essad Bey's mother tongue, begged that officer to inspect his rifles and assure himself that they had never fired a round on the advancing Turks. With a gesture of scorn Essad Bey ordered the garrison which consisted of about 80 men to ground their arms and he then gave orders that they should be conducted to Janina under the escort of the Angora regiment. "Were I to send a company of the Albanians it is ten to one that not one would ever reach the place," said Essad Bey.

We halted about a couple of hours on the crest of the hill to let the men get a meal, and then to my astonishment Essad Bey gave the order to continue the march down to the plains beyond where we knew the Greeks had a complete division with at least two field batteries. It was a mere zig-zag goat track that I followed and I soon found it more comfortable to lead my horse than to ride it. At every turn we came across well constructed shelter trenches, but the Greeks made no effort to defend them. "They will make their stand if they ever mean to stand at Karavan Sarai," said Essad Bey, and he was right. As we cleared the hills we saw the old Karavan Sarai looming up about four miles distant and on its left was drawn up the Greek division with its artillery two field batteries, one on either flank. Now thought I Essad Bey is sure to halt until Osman Pasha comes up with the rest of the division, for he had told me that the General was taking the old road which ran under and to the west of the Pente Pegadis position. So far as I remember we were advancing in line on company columns with about half a mile between the two battalions—the Albanian Irregulars under a brother of Essad Pasha (the present King of Albania) in a swarm of "snipers" in our front. For some time I rode with these gentry. Their Commander was one Ghani Bey, an A.-D.-C. of the Sultan of whom more anon. My helmet afforded these gentlemen much amusement, and when the first Greek gun opened on us they at once accused me of being the target and incessantly swept round safely to the rear of the Angora Battalion followed by the imprecations of Ghani Bey. Every now and then one of them bolder than his fellows would dash out from the rear and loose off his rifle at God knows what and this game went on despite all the efforts of Essad Bey and Ghani Bey to stop it. As soon as the Greek artillery opened fire Essad deployed his men and threw out a company from each regiment to cover the advance. All this was done at the march, no halt took place nor did the men even commence to fire. They merely slouched along at that long swinging shamble which looks so slack and yet which carried the Turk from the Marmora to the walls of Vienna. The Greek Field Batteries made no better marksmanship than did their mountain guns. A few, very few men were hit by the splinters of one shell which by some accident burst just in front of the Angora Battalion, and just then Essad gave the orders for the skirmishers to open fire. It was as if he had also ordered the Greeks to fall back, for simultaneously with almost our first round the Greek batteries limbered up and went off at the gallop. The infantry which till now had not been visible streamed off to the rear in an undignified dole. Our men never broke that long loose shamble. Another hour passed when we came upon the Greek second position. Here the artillery favoured us with a couple of rounds when they limbered up long before we got within range and disappeared over the brow of the plateau beyond which Essad told me had no intention of following them. The day was far spent, it was if I remember rightly about the 23rd of April and our men had been on the move since nine the preceding evening. "The Greeks won't feel themselves safe until they get to Arta," was Essad Bey's comment. "Thank God," he added, "we had that old fool. . . . and got my friend the Crown Prince or we should have met with a very different reception. It will be a bad day for us and a good one for Greece, when Prince Constantine comes to the Thess and puts an end, as he will, to all these political meetings at which voluble officers ruin their country."

I naturally saw a good deal of Essad Pasha during the rest of the four weeks war and shortly after my return to Constantinople was delighted to hear that he had been promoted Lieutenant-Colonel and recalled to the Military College as Director of Studies. From time to time I came across him, but the surveillance was

too strict for him to dare to visit me without permission, but I recall a little party I gave at the Hotel Bristol on New Year's Day, when Essad obtained leave to dine with me. We sang the old year out and the new one in to "Old Lang Syne," Essad Pasha, for he had been promoted Major-General, thoroughly enjoying the fun. Essad Pasha soon became suspect—not that he ever joined the Committee, indeed he was suspect by both parties—by the Sultan because he took in a number of Foreign military organs, by the Young Turks because he refused to abjure his oath of allegiance and join the "Revolutionnaires." He had a staunch friend in Zeki Pasha and through his influence he was made Commander of the Third Army Corps at Salonica where he had his old Commander Tartar Osman Pasha under him as a Divisional General. This post was not to his liking, Salonica was the nursery of the Committee of Union and Progress and Essad was being constantly ordered by the Camarilla at Yildiz to arrest this or that officer to report on the conduct and associates of so and so. He applied to be relieved and was then sent as Chief of the 4th Corps on the Russian Asiatic Frontier where he remained until last year when he was given the post for which he was most suited the Command of the Independent Division at Janina. How well he held his native town is a matter of history. He was defeated by his old comrade the Crown Prince of Greece. Janina will, it is understood, pass now into the hands of Greece and in all probability Essad Pasha will become a Greek subject. If so the Greek army will gain a good soldier and King Constantine a devoted follower. Moslem though he be Essad was never a warm adherent of Abdul Hamid nor was he an admirer of the Committee of Union and Progress. "Officers should never meddle with politics," he more than once said to me, "the Committee will be the ruin of our unhappy country." He has in this also proved a true prophet.

KING ESSAD PASHA OF ALBANIA.

As I write these words I can scarce refrain from laughing. How many Kings I wonder will reign at Brestford? I can well remember being asked to a loan being raised by the genial scamp Prince () Albert Ghika, the said loan to be repaid when he became King of Albania. Then we have Ismail Kemal prowling round Europe as head of the Provisional Government borrowing money right and left at Vienna and trying to do so in London and Paris. King Essad (let me give him his title as long as possible), was Commandant of the Gendarmerie in the Epirus during the Turco-Greek war. A bright-eyed good-looking man of about forty, perhaps less, with fair hair and close-cropped beard. He had never received any education beyond that given by the family Mollah, knew not a word of any language but Turkish and Albanian, and a cheery genial manner which attracted every one. His brother Ghani Bey had gone to Constantinople and entered the personal Body-Guard of the Sultan Abdul Hamid as a simple private. Learning that he was the younger son of one of the chief Albanian families the Sultan soon promoted Ghani and in less than a year he was given the rank of Colonel and made an A.-D.-C. to His Majesty. At the same time his brother was raised to the dignity of Pasha, and placed at the head of the Gendarmerie in Southern Albania. I saw him almost daily during the campaign, for I had on more than one occasion to go to him about the men of my escort. One, a smiling ruffian of well nigh sixty summers, took upon himself to assume command of the quintette for the Corporal was a quiet unassuming man, very different from the usual type of Albanians.

One little peccadillo on the part of this ruffian brought me into close contact with King Essad. There was a lull in the operations after we had driven the Greeks across the frontier, and I took the opportunity to ride about the country and try to correct our War Office maps which were more than usually inaccurate.

One morning on leaving a village I noticed my friend riding an uncommonly nice looking little mare with a foal at foot. On my questioning him he unblushingly asserted that he had purchased the beast. A struggle on the faces of the other Zapties led me to doubt the truth of this statement, so I determined to ride back to the village and enquire. Needless to say that the ruffian's views of what constituted a purchase and those I held on the same subject were totally at variance and I made him restore the mare to its owner. However, he was not going to be done, for on the following morning he again appeared riding the same mare and again swore by all his gods that this time he had really bought her. She was such a beauty he felt he could never be happy without her. On reaching camp I sought out Essad Pasha and put the matter before him. His method was summary; he had the man tied up and gave him a couple of dozen lashes and made him take the mare back to its owner. Naturally I thought I had done with the horse thief, but when next I took my rides abroad there he was smiling as ever with his fox at a little more rakish angle than usual. I had heard and read a great deal about Albanian blood feuds,

and I did not know quite how far 'he blood taken from that man's back might not constitute a read, so I took counsel with Essad, the King of Albania. "Oh he's all right, he told me he wanted to stay with you as long as possible for you fed your men so well;—a sheep in every village, and bought at his price too—but just for a day or two I would not let him ride behind you. Not that I think he would dare touch you as he knows you are my friend, still accidents might happen." Needless to say I kept a sharp eye on the scamp until I found some opportunity of changing him for a man whose aching back did not remind him of a lost mare and a gained flogging.

It was not until the battle of Grelbo on the 18th of May, 1897, that I really got to know Essad Pasha well. A somewhat rugged hill intervened between the right of the Turkish position and the left where the Greeks were making what at first appeared only a feigned attack, the mass of their forces being thrown against our right. On the afternoon of the 18th this feigned attack developed rather seriously and as there was but one mountain battery with a couple of Redif battalions holding the left I rode over the rugged hill to see what was going on. In front of me were the Albanian volunteers Ghani Bey full of life at their head. They were singing cheerily despite the pelting rain, and he told me that he had been ordered by Osman Pasha to support the troops on the far side of the hill and hoped I would see him through. He had sent off to his brother who was in camp to come out and bring some food and a tent for he had no mind to sleep in the rain even for the sake of Tartar Osman Pasha. There is no need for me to enter into the details of that fight but I well remember Ghani Bey, pale with passion, coming to me and saying "you have heard of the bravery of the Turks, come now and see how cowardly they can be, and I saw him rush forward and seize man after man by the scruff of the neck and kick him out of some cover until he had absolutely thrust him into the fighting line. The Turks did not fight well that day, and had the Greeks really pressed home that attack we should have been defeated, but wave after wave of Kevzones, the pick of the Greek army, Albanians be it minded, like unto Ghani Bey and Essad Pasha, dashed forward only to spend their force in louder cries when they arrived within about 400 yards out of our position. So the day wore on, and that night I slept the sleep of the just drenched to the skin in the tent that Ghani Bey had thoughtfully ordered up and ate hearty meal prepared by the servant of the newly self-elected King of Albania. The next day we heard that a suspension of hostilities had been declared and the war was over.

Now let me follow Essad Pasha's career a little further. Ghani Bey returned to Constantinople and to favour, but like many another good man, he could not carry his own corn. He was known to enjoy the favouritism of the Sultan and many came to him with their petitions. I do not know whether he ever accepted bribes, but this I do know: that he dispensed justice in his own fashion and that such a fashion did not commend itself to some of the Embassies. Of the many tales I heard of him at this time I will recount but two. A Turk came to Ghani Bey and complained that he had placed £200 in deposit with a Greek banker, that the banker had become bankrupt and that the Turk could not get his money though it was known the banker was as wealthy as Croesus. Ghani Bey ordered his carriage and drove across to Stamboul. The Greek banker was all suavity. Yes, he certainly owed the man the money, the affair was before the Courts and he would receive his dividend as soon as the Courts had given their decision. "Do you owe the man the money or not?" demanded Ghani Bey.

"Most certainly I do."

"Then open that safe and let us see if we can't settle this affair without the intervention of the courts." The banker demurred, but Ghani drawing a pistol gave him two alternatives. The safe was opened and £200 taken from a bag of gold, whereupon Ghani handed over the money to his delighted friend and drove back conscious of having executed justice in his own primeval fashion.

Another story is well worth repeating, but I could spin yarns about Ghani Bey by the dozen. Gambling is forbidden by Ottoman Law. Nevertheless more than one roulette table can be found without difficulty within a stone's throw of the Grande Rue de Pera. A friend of Ghani came to him with the usual story, he had been beguiled into one of these dens and had lost some £80 or £90 to the bad. Ghani at once promised to put the matter right, he drove to the house, asked to see the landlord, and then and there demanded the money. The man who enjoyed the protection of the Minister of Police demurred, but Ghani's arguments were unanswerable and he left the room with £90 in his pockets and the rule of a roulette table on the floor. The man in this case was a Greek subject and the matter came to the ears of Mr. Gryparis, who made the usual representations without, however, obtaining any satisfaction. I am afraid that Ghani Bey's peccadilloes went further than demanding justice for

his friends. Complaint was made to the Sultan, and at last Abdul Hamid said, like another monarch before him: "Will no one rid me of this man?" And so it came about one fine spring afternoon that Ghani Bey and a fellow A. D. C. were sitting in a café in the Grande Rue de Pera when a quarrel broke out between them. Such a pitiful pretext, the one accused the other of not having paid for a shilling box of cigarettes. Suddenly Hassan Pasha for the brother A. D. C. was a Major-General, drew his pistol and shot Ghani Bey dead, then walking to the door of the café he told the terrified servants to warn the Minister of Police and to say that Hassan Pasha had done this thing. He then drove up to Yildiz, the gates closed on his brougham and Hassan Pasha was never seen again.

Essad Pasha on hearing of his brother's death was inconsolable for there was much love between the two. The Sultan wrote offering him his most sincere condolences and nominated him Vali of Broussa, but Essad refused the post and vowed that he would never serve the Sultan again nor would he slack rein until he had avenged his brother's death. It is said that when the son of the late Grand Vizier Hauli Rifat Pasha was shot dead on the Galata Bridge that a card was affixed to his body with the words "the work of Essad Pasha." This, however, is I am firmly convinced apocryphal. What is the undoubted truth, however, is that Essad Pasha now joined the Young Turks and brought his great influence to bear on the Albanian plans. He it was who arranged that the troops led into the hills of Reana by Enver Bey should be fed and paid by the Ghegs of Bitolia. He it was who extorted from the Committee the promise of an autonomous Albania in return for that help without which the revolution of 1908 would have been impossible.

Essad Pasha was elected member for Durazzo in the first Parliament and was much perturbed when he found that the Committee did not judge it expedient for the moment to carry out their promise to the Albanians. Then came the second revolution of April, 1908, and the dethronement of Abdul Hamid and now Essad Pasha claims his reward. "Who will go to the Sultan and tell him that he is deposed?" and all the deputies hung back. None dare face their Caliph with such a message! Whereupon Essad Pasha rose and said "I will go, he slew my brother, let me have the satisfaction of showing I am more merciful." And Essad, accompanied by an Armenian, "drove up to Yildiz and demanded audience of His Majesty. The Chamberlain in waiting refused, but Essad said the time for talk is past now is the time for action, stand by or I will do to you what he did to my brother Ghani." He then strode into the haremlik and again demanded audience. The eunuchs would have opposed him, but word was brought that the palace was surrounded and the days of eunuchs past, then they brought Essad Pasha to the inner hall of audience where, huddled in a corner, shrunk the Caliph of Islam, the Shadow of God upon the Earth, the Dispenser of Thrones, the Master of two Seas and of both Continents, and before him stood a fair-haired, bright-eyed man with set visage and stern features and Essad with a military salute briefly gave the message, and bade the monarch prepare to depart within an hour for Salonica. "And my life," he mourned? "Your life," retorted the Albanian, "we give it to you, though God knows how I have thirsted for your blood."

The five years since then have passed quietly enough. Essad's hairs are gradually whitening now and his distrust of the Turks is more pronounced than ever. The autonomous Albania which was promised to him by the Committee of Union and Progress when they were ready to promise anything will materialise in due time, but it will be many long years before Albania is fit for self-government. Nor in my humble opinion is Essad Pasha (much as I like him) the man to rule a constitutional country.

It does not often happen in this world's history that a tribal chieftain dethrones his own monarch and then proclaims himself a king. Though the wish I know is futile, for the sake of old times I cry

Long live Essad, King of Albania

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had been printed in India and copies were now on their way for presentation to Parliament. The House could discuss the Committee's recommendations on the East Indian revenue accounts.

Public Services Commission.

The Public Services Commission has opened its proceedings under the presidency of Lord Islington. The proceedings are formal, and it is not expected that real work will begin before next week. It will be previously decided whether the Press is to be admitted.

Indian Appeals

In the House of Commons, Sir Rufus Isaacs moved the second reading of the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill. He emphasized the urgency of the measure in view of the growing number of important appeals from India and the Dominions, and declared that it was impossible for the work of the Empire to be carried on properly unless the House authorised the creation of two new Lords of Appeal. The measure was opposed by a small body of administrativeists who prevented it from being read a second time. The debate was adjourned.

The Appellate Jurisdiction Bill has passed the second reading in the House of Commons by 296 to 20.

The Week.

Peria.

SALAR-ED-DOWLEH has seized the Customs House at Meshed-i-Ser. The Russian Consul at Astrabad has been instructed to employ Russian troops to protect the customs at Bander Gez and Meshed-i-Ser. Four hundred Bakhtiariis will be sent against Salar-ed-Dowleh.

The Foreign Minister has started for Peria. He hopes that, as a result of his visit, the Regent, whose presence in Teheran is considered highly desirable by the British and the Russian Governments and by the Cabinet, will return immediately.

It is reported that the six hundred gendarmes under Swedish officers, who left for Shiraz in April, have easily defeated, near Meshed, to the north of Shiraz, a force of Arabs who have long been terrorizing that neighbourhood and have brought various villages, which for a time have not recognised the authority of Teheran, again under control. They have further recovered some bales of goods of which Messrs. Ziegler and Co. were robbed last March.

The New Delhi.

Replying to Mr. King in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu said that the Delhi Town-Planning Committee had submitted three reports. The first was on the selection of the site, and had been submitted after their first visit to India. The second was a special report on the possibility of using the northern site. The third was on the town-planning of the new Capital. All three

The Medina University.

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE "COMRADE.")

The 'Iradah' of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey and the Khalifa of the Mussalmans of the World granting the Charter of the Medina University.

1 By the Grace of God and the spiritual help of His Prophet a University by the name of

الجامعة

is established. It is a Residential Institution of the Ministry of Evkaf in Medina.

2 The aim of establishing this University is to prepare students for the spread of the noble truths and teachings of Islam.

3 The University shall have several sections as circumstances permit, and a primary and secondary school shall be added to it.

4 The subjects of study shall be settled by the Central Council.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL

5. The Central Council shall manage all affairs relating to the University. The Principal shall manage all matters relating to the Executive Council.

The Central Council shall be composed of ten members under the presidency of the Minister of Evkaf. Members for the time being shall be chosen by the Minister and appointed by *Imdad-i-Sanyya*. If any member subsequently resigns or dies, his place shall be filled by a member who shall be chosen by the votes of two-thirds of the members of the Central Council, and he shall be appointed by *Imdad-i-Sanyya*. The meetings of the Central Council shall be held in Constantinople, and its resolutions shall be carried by a simple majority of votes.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Executive Council shall consist of the Shaikh-ul-Haram-i-Sabari; the Governor of Medina; the Manager of the Holy Haram; the Principal of the University; the Head of the secondary school; three members from the local Ulama, who shall be chosen by the Central Council; one or more of the staff whose presence may be necessary for discussions. Its resolutions shall be carried by a simple majority of votes.

6. The management and the composition of the different departments of the University shall be according to the internal rules and regulations of the University.

7. The functions of the Central Council are making the internal regulations; preparing the curricula; making the necessary alterations and additions in the curricula; managing the financial affairs of the University, increasing or decreasing its annual expenses according to circumstances; devising necessary means for carrying out its own directions and decisions in the best possible way, supervising and auditing the accounts of revenue and expenditure of the University and spending the revenue in the most useful manner, and giving its sanction to these accounts; doing all that is possible to safeguard the continuance of the work of the University; settling all the differences that may arise between the Principal and Executive Council; appointing and dismissing, if necessary, professors and managers of the University; increasing the officials and staff of the University according to circumstances, and defining the duties and functions of these officials, and increasing or limiting their powers, accepting all contributions given in the name of the University, doing all that is necessary for the progress and improvement of the University and fulfilling all functions relative to the University.

8. The functions of the Executive Council are carrying on the internal management of the University, carrying out the decisions of the Central Council, supervision and enforcement of the orders and directions issued by the Central Council; inspection of the work of the University and sending a report every three months to the Central Council showing the result of their inspection; proposing all necessary reforms for the good order and progress of the University and discussing any proposal of this nature made by the Principal, and, in case of any protest or complaint arising out of the Principal's appointing or dismissing any member of the staff other than the professors and their assistants, inquiring into the matter and settling the differences.

9. If any proposal sent by the Executive Council to the Central Council is not decided upon and the decision communicated to the Executive Council within three months from the date of its receipt, it shall be deemed to have received the sanction and acceptance of the Central Council.

10. The Professors of the University shall be specialists in the subjects which they have to teach and shall have all the necessary qualifications required for carrying out the objects of the University.

11. The conditions of admission and acceptance of students in the University shall be in accordance with the rules framed by the Central Council.

12. The certificate granted to any student finishing his course of studies in any department of the University shall be equivalent to the certificate granted by the Government Schools and Colleges of the same standard of studies.

13. The medium of instruction shall be Arabic.

14. The revenues of the University shall consist of the million piastres (£T 10,000) granted annually by the Ministry of Evkaf and of subscriptions, contributions, gifts and endowments.

15. The Council has the right of appointing such persons as Honorary Members whose presence is likely to help the progress of the University.

16. The Ministry of Evkaf is to enforce this Act.

Here I have issued my *hukm* for enforcing and carrying out this Act and adding it to the laws of the Ottoman Empire.
12th Jamadiul Awwal, 1331
6th Nisan, 1922

MUHAMMAD RESHAD	...	Grand Vizier and Minister of War.
AS'AD	...	Shaikh-ul-Islam
SAID	...	President of the Council of State.
MUHAMMAD SARI	...	Minister of Foreign Affairs.
A'DIL	...	Minister of the Interior.
MAHMUD	...	Minister of the Navy.
IBRAHIM	...	Minister of Justice and acting Minister of Evkaf.
RIF'AT	...	Minister of Finance.
ARMED BAKUR	...	Minister of Public Instruction.
JALAL	...	Minister of Commerce and Agriculture.
BASARIA	...	Minister of Public Works.
OSMAN	...	Minister of Post Offices, Telegraphs and Telephones.

TETE A TETE



DR. ANSARI sends us the following letter from Constantinople on the 30th May:—"Thanks to the efforts of Taalat Bey and Dr. Esmad Pasha, the 'Society for the colonisation of the Macedonian Refugees' has been officially

recognised by the Government, and a Committee of four persons, including Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and myself, are leaving next Friday for Anatolia where we would choose the site for the colonization of the villages with due regard to sanitary, agricultural and economic conditions. We are awaiting the draft Constitution from India, Egypt and England for the drawing up of the final Constitution of the Medina University. In the meantime, the Constitution Committee has been busy in doing a lot of spade work and have drawn up a provisional syllabus for the two faculties of Divinity and Science. The most difficult question would be the finding of suitable professors and assistant professors who would be able to teach the Sciences in Arabic. Once the University has started on its career, even in a modest way, it is sure to pave its way to success. I have no doubt that every Mussalman would hail this University as the beginning of the great renaissance in the Islamic world. I am getting letters from private individuals requesting me to bring some Turkish orphans to India for them. I have no doubt these people are actuated by the most human desire to help in bringing up these poor, homeless, fatherless, children, but it is impossible to accede to their wishes, as these orphans are at once sent to the Government orphanages and cannot be secured. I have decided to close both the Mission Hospitals by the end of May and sail for India by the middle of June with all the members of the Mission except such as will remain here for colonization work."

ANOTHER member of the Mission, Mr. Qasim Bashiruddin Ahmed, writes to us from Dardanelles on the 13th of May as follows:—"We are working as usual, but the routine work has had considerable effect on our health, nearly all of us having fallen ill one after the other. But the illness passes away in three or four days, and we return to work again. I hear the Mission will leave Turkey in the beginning of June. It will embark on the steamer at Suez on June 26th. By that time the total number of patients out-door and in-door in our hospital will have reached two thousands. The Armenian question is now coming to the front. Backed again by Russia it will give trouble to the Turk. A group of influential Armenians approached Mahmud Sherif Pasha to demand reforms. The reply is not yet known. They say they want safeguards for their honour, life and well-being. They say that the soldiers returning from the war will wreak vengeance on them for what they have suffered from the Allies. My impression of the present position of Turkey is this. That the Turks have been thoroughly beaten goes without saying. They have been overpowered by the Allies in every way. There are some men, for instance Abdullah Pasha, who declared before the commencement of the war that Turkey was not then prepared to fight even the Greeks. In the battlefield they had not much military talent which could be called respectable. Soldiers were collected and dressed in uniforms. In modern warfare it is not merely physical force that wins. That the Turks are brave and patriotic is quite certain. But are their bravery compensate them for the dullness of their brains? I hope they will forgive me for this candid expression of opinion by one who loves and admires them. It was simply a walk-over for the Allies all through the war. The effect of these defects is a corresponding

The Maharaja of Darbhanga had sent a detailed letter to the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler on the 28th April with a view "in the first place to explain our exact financial position, and in the second place to suggest for your consideration and advice the steps we may now take to bring into existence the Hindu University at an early date." The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler has replied indicating certain broad conditions which will have to be satisfied before the scheme comes up for final consideration and approval before the Government of India. The conditions include the provision of a suitable site, the transference of the Hindu College to the University and the collection of a sum of 50 lakhs. It is further laid down that the constitution of the University must be as lines to be indicated hereafter, and that "a committee appointed for the purpose report that the Central Hindu College is fit to be developed into a residential and teaching University." The subscriptions promised towards the University fund go well over 80 lakhs. The amount of money considered already to be in hand, including the capitalised values of annual grants, is about Rs. 58 lakhs. We congratulate the promoters of the scheme on the great success they have so far achieved, and we trust they will have no difficulty in bringing their great task to a successful conclusion. They have already accepted the decision of the Secretary of State that the proposed universities at Aligarh and Benares should have no powers of affiliation. Under the circumstances, there would seem to be few difficulties which the promoters of the Hindu University may have to overcome in bringing their scheme to fruition. The Mussalmans, however, have not yet made up their minds in regard to certain cardinal points on which the whole scheme of Moslem University depends. Can we reasonably expect that they will waste no more time in shillyshallying

meeting of the Committee was to be held at Naini Tal on the 4th June. It is needless to say that the views and recommendations of the Committee will be awaited with great interest not only in the United Provinces, but also in several other parts of the country which stand in chronic need of the guidance and stimulus of a wholesome example. We trust the Committee will discharge its labours with patience and consider every aspect of the question with care and absolute freedom from political prejudice or doctrinaire bias. We may, however, admit here frankly that the *personnel* of the Committee is not calculated to inspire extraordinary enthusiasm. Moslem standpoint in particular could have been much better represented, and we wish Sir James Meeson had made his choice from amongst such Mussalman who have studied the educational needs of their community and have gained practical experience of the difficulties that lie in the path of Moslem progress. We do not know what standard has been observed in the selection of the two Moslem members of the Committee. Whatever their other qualifications may be, they have certainly never distinguished themselves as men who take active and intelligent interest in the educational progress of their community. We wonder why men like Habibzada Akbar Ahmad Khan, the Hon. Khwaja Ghalam-ud-Daqlan and the Hon. Syed Raza Ali have not been selected. We will not be much surprised if under the circumstances the Moslem standpoint in regard to primary education is largely represented and the inquiry of the Committee results in suggestions injurious to Moslem interests. If the Minister of the Government of India on the subject of Moslem education is not to remain a dead letter, the best course for our local Government would be to convene special committee consisting of Mussalman of real worth and capacity that would work out useful suggestions and suggestions in collaboration with the authorities. It has been officially recognised that Moslem boys in some cases require special treatment in every stage of education. The need of separate schools under special circumstances has also been freely admitted. We, however, doubt very much if the Committee now sitting in Naini Tal will rise above the stock generalities so beloved of a certain school of Indian politicians, especially when we see the Committee deprived of the help of the best qualified and most experienced Mussalman in the province. We still hope that Sir James Meeson may see the advisability of appointing a separate Moslem Committee to formulate its view on the subject of Moslem primary education. There is another matter calling for a brief notice. Efforts are being made by some Hindu papers to rake up

with the question, but strive earnestly and without further delay to come to some decision one way or the other?

Thanks to the impotence to which the Persian Government has been reduced, the affairs of the country have reached a stage when even chaos has lost its vitality. Men of spirit and patriotism were long ago either hanged or hounded out of the country, and the forces of progress have been ruthlessly crushed under iron heels. A puppet Ministry holds office in Teheran and dances to the Muscovite tunes with the mechanical obedience of a lifeless thing. A kindly shroud has fallen over all that is going on in the provinces, and if the people still live and pursue their daily round of common tasks it is but one more illustration of the fact that the bases of social stability in Persia are solid enough to withstand even severe political shocks. The administration has fallen to pieces, foreign aggression has paralysed the hands of the State, the deepest and most sacred national instincts have been trampled under foot, but the people are uncommonly calm and there are few of the horrors that are ordinarily inseparable from political chaos. And yet it is these people whom the pseudo-philosophers of the English Press set down as absolutely unfit to stand the heady wine of Western democracy. It is, however, useless to hope that Persia can expect any justice at the hands of the Powers that hold her in their grip. Her recent past has been one long dismal tragedy, and despair is writ large on her future. Here has been the sorriest plight known to history. Faith, ideal, inspiration of effort are not for her. She has ceased even to paint a moral and adorn a journalist's paragraph. The chronicler of small beer would disdain to take up her parable as worthy of his recording zeal. Renter, however, seems to have conceived some peculiar passion for the exploits of Nalar-ud-Dawleh,—that madcap who has been harassing his own helpless people and his down-trodden country. We have often heard of his having been defeated here, repulsed there, of his headlong flights and ignominious submissions with the result that he still contrives to brag about the Persian frontiers. One could linger in wild excitement over the melodrama if one had not slipped full of dire woe and stark tragedies in the life of an expiring race.

A MEMBER of the All-India Medical Mission writes from Constantinople as follows:—“Some months back I remember having read in some Urdu journal an article about establishing a factory in India for making Turkish caps. Before we succeed in training Indian gentlemen in this branch of industry I do not think it will be inadvisable if the Muhammadan Fellah merchants of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore and other places began to import caps made in the Imperial Horeka Factory of Constantinople. The foundation of this great factory was laid by Sultan Abdul Aziz, and it was primarily intended to give employment to the unemployed and the orphans of Constantinople. It is still doing that. All the capital has come from the Palace, and the proceeds are used in enlarging the factory from time to time. In this factory they prepare excellent Turkish caps, carpets and silks. I am chiefly concerned with caps. I shall write about them only. The best caps could be obtained for 20 piastres, i.e., Rs. 2-8-0, in Bombay. But this cap would be better than any at present obtainable in the Indian market. There are cheaper qualities also. I had a conversation with their Chief Agent for India and America. He is ready to send goods to Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi at his own cost. The Indian merchant will have to pay the duty only. Over and above this he is ready to share half the expenses of cablegrams if orders are sent by cable, and he is also ready to share half the expenses of advertisement. Under these circumstances I would strongly advise Indian Cap Merchants to take advantage of this unique opportunity and help themselves as well as a purely Islamic factory. Merchants who wish to obtain information in detail can correspond with the Manager of the Horeka Factory, at their office in Rue Yoni Posta, Stamboul.”

FOURTEEN more Municipalities in the United Provinces have been allowed the luxury of having non-official chairmen. We need hardly say that Sir James Meeson has deserved fully the grateful thanks with which the concession has been hailed. He considers the experiment justifies a further advance along the lines that Sir John Hewett laid down with deliberate caution. We hope it will not take long before the Government thinks it desirable to make another advance till the goal is reached. The success of the experiment will, of course, depend on the manner in which the responsibilities of the office are met by the Indian chairman. True civic spirit, freedom from racial and religious prejudice, sustained zeal and single-minded devotion to duty will ultimately determine the fitness of Indians to administer their own affairs even on a much larger scale.

The Comrade.

Imperialism, Indian Settlers and the Colonies.

THE British Empire is, in its various aspects, a wonderful and imposing achievement. Those who look upon it as something unique in history have abundant reasons to mark their sense of this great political fact thus superlatively. There are various stand-points from which modern Britons can glory in their magnificent heritage. For the majority of them the mere vastness, variety and physical bulk of the Empire are themes of perpetual pride and wonder. The professional politician has, however, deliberately moved out of the common groove of feeling and raised his emotions and impressions about the Empire to the dignity of a creed. He now possesses a vast literature on the subject which teems with gorgeous phrases and idyllic fancies about the might and majesty of the Empire. He loves to deck himself in these phrases and move in their glimmer as a giant on the world's stage. His Imperialism, however, is an aggressive creed based on personal vanity, and the Empire is to him a temple in which he worships his own image as the member of a dominant and divinely gifted race. Only the elect few amongst men of light and purpose in England to-day realise that the Empire is a great and solemn trust. They alone feel the weight of its manifold responsibilities and are anxious to create the right spirit amongst the responsible statesmen of Great Britain that the responsibilities may be manfully and fairly met. It is only just to remark that the political forces at work in Europe in the last two decades have not rendered Imperialist doctrine a conception of right and duty. One of the most vigorous exponents of British Imperialism is undoubtedly Lord Milner, who has recently issued a collection of his speeches with a long introduction under the title “The Nation and the Empire.” He defines the meaning of Imperialism and applies it to the leading problems of both Imperial and domestic affairs. Imperialism, Lord Milner points out, has suffered as a name from the connotations of the past, with the result that no “great movement of the human spirit” has ever been more completely misunderstood. According to his Lordship “Imperialism as a political doctrine has often been represented as something tawdry and superficial. In reality it has all the depth and comprehensiveness of a religious faith. Its significance is moral even more than material. It is a mistake to think of it as principally concerned with extension of territory, ‘with painting the map red.’ There is quite enough painted red already. It is not a question of a couple of hundred thousand square miles more or less. It is a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue to fulfil its distinctive mission in the world.”

Such is the meaning and purpose of the creed that inspires a great Imperialist whom the *Times* holds up to the admiration of his compatriots, and who in training, capacity and force of character is certainly above the general run of politicians in Great Britain. According to the *Times*, Lord Milner's volume will make a special appeal to all those who are capable of taking long views in British politics. “It amounts to a statement, in the clearest possible form, of what is ultimately the only successful basis for British Imperialism. . . . If ever the organic union to which Lord Milner looks forward is accomplished, it will be largely due to those who like him are determined to be ‘citizens of the Empire,’ and who are making the idea of Empire citizenship and all that it implies more widely understood both in the Mother Country and outside it.” It is thus manifest that Lord Milner's creed represents the political ideal of the most influential Imperialists in Great Britain. It is held as an adequate and honourable conception of duty for those who are fit by wholesome ambition and capacity to share in the vast burdens of their race. Its cardinal purpose is to preserve the unity of a great people that they may fulfil their distinctive mission in the world.

Such an ideal of Imperialism may be adequate and do no great violence to the broad ethical conceptions of mankind if it simply aims at the free development of the British race “on its own lines.” But the method that Lord Milner has in view for its realisation is essentially opposed to the spirit of true democracy. Our quarrel, however, is not with the method, but with the motive that underlies the ideal and its psychology. Even in its mildest form the Milner ideal is an expression of race egotism and race ascendancy. Its first postulate is that the British race represents the supreme triumph of the Law of Natural Selection. British character and institutions are, therefore, the last words in human development and should be the sole standards of conduct in international relations.

One could ignore the self-sufficiency of such a temper if it did not lead to anything beyond a mere harmless gratification of racial vanity. But, as a matter of fact, this temper has bred some of the worst evils that may come to imperil the existence of the British Empire. To Imperialists of Lord Milner's stamp the Empire means nothing more than an embodiment of the strength and energy of the British race. The conception does not go beyond the perpetration of racial glory and prestige. Yet this Empire comprising about 400 million of human beings contains only about 60 millions of the British race. The rest are made up of diverse races, creeds and nationalities that have little in common with the British race in history, tradition, culture and blood. "India is your Lordship's only Empire," said Lord Morley on a famous occasion in the House of Lords, and his reminder is well worth pondering to every British Imperialist. But curiously enough, "the only Empire" is seldom allowed a place in their schemes of Imperialism. Lord Milner is obviously concerned with preaching the ideal of Empire citizenship. Is the ideal meant to convey any sort of appeal to the teeming millions in India? Has the Empire any significance for them beyond an instrument to enforce the will of the dominant race? Lord Milner leaves these questions entirely out of account just because he deliberately holds the subject-races of the Empire unfit for free partnership in its responsibilities and its rights. His only alternative to keep the Empire together is in the last resort to the application of force, which he wants to create by organising the will and energy of the dominant race on an efficient basis. The necessary will and energy will, according to his notions, be always forthcoming as long as the instincts of racial dominance remain alive and alive. This creed of Imperialism at its best postulates an insolent assumption of the rôle of Providence. The subject-races must be maintained in subjection, because some modern Britons, drunk with racial pride, have somehow got into their heads the monstrous idea that they are the elect of God's earth and the sole dispensers of blessings to the rest of mankind. If such is the Imperial ideal towards which according to Lord Milner, a general and favourable change of attitude has taken place in recent years, then the Empire has no great attractions for its subject-races, nor will its future inspire much confidence and enthusiasm.

To the British statesman who is really capable of "thinking imperially" there can be no more arduous task for Imperial statesmanship than the determination of the status of the subject races within the Empire. Indeed, he cannot fail to realise that the future of the Empire is, to a very large extent, bound up with the solution of this problem. The present temper of the ordinary British politician is, it may be readily confessed, absolutely averse to attempting any courageous, adequate and equitable solution. The existing position of Indians in the British Colonies furnishes a key to the capacity and foresight of men who are entrusted with the conduct of Imperial affairs. The question has been on every occasion thrust aside as if it were a mere trifle not worth troubling about. Yet this is the one question that rankles sore in the Indian mind, and it is absolutely certain that the Indian attitude towards the Empire will be mainly determined by the manner in which this question is solved. As matters stand no hopeful solution is likely to be attempted in the immediate future. We need not set about to define the Indian standpoint in the matter. The only thing certain is that it is not an extravagant or impossible standpoint. What is wanted is simple justice. Indians are exhorted to be loyal to the Empire and share its responsibility. They demand in turn that they should receive equal and fair treatment within the Empire. The Colonies have, however, embarked on a policy of persecution and treat Indian settlers in a manner that is wounding to their self-respect. The painful story of the treatment of Indians in South Africa has not grown stale. The recent legislation permitting only the wife of a monogamous marriage to enter South Africa and leaving the Indians still under various intolerable disabilities gives us a measure of the spirit that inspires British Colonies in regard to Indian emigrants. In every Colony Indians are subject to harassing regulations, which in some cases stand unique in the world. It is idle to say that the Imperial Government is reluctant to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Colonies. What is the meaning of Imperial Unity when it is impossible to ensure equality of treatment to all the races within the Empire? The Secretary of State for the Colonies recently refused to officially receive a deputation of Indians who had come all the way from Canada to lay their grievances before him. This is hardly the way to tackle with a great Imperial problem. We received a brief statement of the case of Indians in Canada, and its perusal leaves no manner of doubt as to the humiliating position they are forced to hold in the Dominion. Till the year 1907 they were unmolested by the Immigration authorities. But ever since restrictions are imposed upon fresh arrivals from India so that "the door was shut to any more of them" to quote the very words of Brigadier General Swayne

who was Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of British Honduras, and who was at one time an officer in the Indian Army. With a view to get rid of Indian Settlers in Canada, a scheme was brought in in 1908 to effect the wholesale transportation of Indians to British Honduras. The inclement climate of Honduras and the almost humiliating terms on which the transportation was to take place, made it imperative on Indians to decline in a body this "tempting offer" of General Swayne. The result was that Government had to drop the Transportation Scheme. Fresh restrictions were then imposed which placed Indians on a lower footing than that occupied by other Oriental Immigrants, Japanese, Chinese, and others, who are not subjects of the British Crown. The most oppressive restriction which needs immediate repeal is the "Continuous Journey Clause" which excludes Indians from landing in the Dominion of Canada. It is physically impossible for Indians to fulfil the terms of this order, for the sufficient reasons (a) that there is no direct steamship service between India and Canada, and (b) that no steamship companies in India will issue through tickets to Canada.

Another unjust restriction which presses heavily upon Indians is contained in the provisions of Order P. O. 926, of May 9th, 1910, that "no immigrant of Asiatic origin shall be permitted to enter Canada unless in actual and personal possession in his or her own right of two hundred dollars, unless such person is a native or subject of an Asiatic country in regard to which special statutory regulations are in force or with which the Government of Canada has made a special treaty, agreement, or convention." Owing to special treaties with Japan and China, 400 Japanese are admitted yearly on showing that they possess fifty dollars in specie or negotiable securities, and Chinese are admitted without any restriction to their number on payment of a head tax of 500 dollars each. In the case of Indians, this Order becomes wholly inoperative on account of the impossibility, as heretofore stated, of complying with the "Continuous Journey Clause." Consequently it was not surprising that a large number of cases of hardship occurred ever since these vexatious regulations were made.

On December 15th, 1911, Indian Delegates waited on the Hon. R. Rogers, Minister of the Interior, at Ottawa, and were formally told by him that part of their representations regarding the admission of their wives and children "shall be immediately attended to, and the other parts also settled in a just and straightforward manner." Over a year has elapsed since then and, in spite of several reminders sent to the Canadian Government, no definite settlement has been made, and the Canadian Immigration Law stands in the same ambiguous and objectionable form as it did before. It is impossible for Indians to comply with this vexatious regulation.

We need not discuss the situation in detail. The position of Indians in Canada is not better nor perhaps worse than that of their compatriots in other Colonies. The people of India have been profoundly touched by the distressing lot of their compatriots abroad and it bodes no good to the best interests of the Empire. We trust Imperialism of which Lord Milner is the exponent may yet be expanded to include the subject-races within its benevolent aims.

"Servants of the Ka'ba."

II.

APART from the work of safeguarding the sanctity of the Ka'ba and other Sacred Places of Islam from violation, and maintaining an independent and effective Moslem sovereignty over these lands, the Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba is destined to do much useful work in connection with the Moslem propaganda, the establishment of Moslem primary schools where Government assistance is not easily available, and saving the lives and faiths of Moslem orphans, and it would be most appropriate for such a society to remove the existing difficulties of pilgrimage to the Heiljazz and other Sacred Places of Islam which have already caused no little trouble to the Government.

As regards the main object of the Society, we wish to point out that in its essence it is a purely religious organization, for the duty of pilgrimage is enforced by the Law of Islam on every Moslem who is not exempted under that Law. In order to free the performance of this duty from all dangers of interference, the prophet had to declare war on the Quresh of Mecca, and at last he forced his way into his birthplace at the head of a victorious army of pilgrims. Since then Mecca has acknowledged none but a Moslem ruler, and it has been the uninterrupted practice of the last thirteen centuries, based on the most clear injunctions in the Quran, that non-Moslems are not allowed to enter the Ka'ba or its precincts. It is, therefore, no new duty which some politically minded zealots have invented for themselves and their co-religionists that this Society is to preach in India. As a matter of fact the

Society disclaims all connection with the politics of any community or country, and it is to assure our own Government that it is sincere in its declarations, and that its constitution is nothing but what has been openly published, that its central organisation is to be located at Delhi, where it shall constantly remain under the eyes of the Government of India. It is for this purpose that Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib of Lucknow, who has a large number of pupils to teach in his well-known school of Khwaja Mahal, has decided to leave Lucknow and to reside in Delhi as long as he is the "Servant of Servants." Government servants are publicly invited to join the Society, and after satisfying themselves in every way that this is no political concern, some have already joined it as Servants. Retired Public Servants are dedicating their services to the great work of the Society in the most open and straightforward manner, and the organisers are prepared to satisfy every questioner that it has no concern with the politics of this or any other country. We are in a position to state that its draft Constitution is also likely to be modified in a manner to make all this clear and to avoid needless suspicion on one side, and needless excitement on the other.

Had the Society aimed at fomenting angry excitement among Indian Mussalmans, it could not have chosen a better time than the first or the second phase of the Balkan war. As we have said before, the work of the Society is such that every violence, whether of feeling, thought, or deed, is more likely to injure it than assist it, and the huge network of local Societies that is the essence of the movement cannot be created and maintained by appealing to the passions of the moment. Nor can such an organization, embracing as it does every town and village of India and every Moslem living therein, remain secret in its aims or actions. There is no revolutionary spirit lurking here which seeks to work underground or in the darkest corners of the country, depending for its success on terrible vows of secrecy and the frenzied activity of a handful of men. Its Servants are expected before very long to number millions, and it is they who will form the rank and file of this Society. But as work at the headquarters of Provincial Societies and the Central Society requires whole-time men who have dedicated their lives or a specified period thereof to this work, the Society shall receive at Provincial headquarters and at the headquarters of the Central Society about twenty Volontaries for each, and it would also entertain the services of other Volontaries for the establishment of Moslem primary schools and orphanages and missionary work in somewhat inaccessible tracts. About 400 Volontaries working at the headquarters of Provincial Societies and the Central Society would form the main-spring of the mechanism. But their work would be done in broad day-light and under the eyes of the Government of India, a Provincial Government or the Administration of a Native State. The organizers of primary schools and orphanages would work no less openly, and the only people who would probably be doing work not equally likely to come under public gaze would be the Missionaries working among the depressed classes in hill tracts and forest areas. But no sane person can suspect these religious workers of such secret machinations among these people as may possibly endanger the safety of the State.

We have stated all this with a view to make it clear that nothing is farther from the minds of the organizers of this movement than to identify themselves with lovers of secret societies, and the only revolution that this organization aims at creating is a revolution which would convert millions of illiterate, indifferent, indolent and unproductive Moslem units into a united and well regulated society of productive workers, true to themselves and therefore false to none. But we need not anticipate. The best proof of the sincerity of the declarations of the Society will be the work that it performs, and we are confident that before long it would achieve a reputation in no way inferior to that of the great and beneficent organization of the Salvation Army. Government, we are confident, has no desire to come in the way of people who combine to perform religious duty, and so long as they conform to the laws of the land we have no manner of doubt that the Government would not interfere in their work. As a matter of fact we look forward to a day—and we hope it would not be distant—when Government would seek assistance from the Society and its hundreds and thousands of branches for the amelioration of the condition of its poor and illiterate subjects, and particularly of criminal tribes and the depressed classes.

We have no desire to dwell on this subject at greater length with a view to prevent suspicions of its motives and its methods, for the organizers of the movement would have been guilty of extreme simplicity if they had not known that suspicions would be likely to hover round about them like gnats over a swamp. The Society is prepared for every suspicion, and the best assurance that it can offer is that it does not fear suspicions. If Government so wills it, it may suspect the movement. But that should only add some zest to the already keen desire of the workers to convince them most who suspect them most by their open and straightforward dealings. But Government should also act in such a manner that it may avoid all

suspicion of prejudices and unreasoned antipathy. Let it not be suspected that it is our own Government that has designs which this Society is created to frustrate. We are confident that it would succeed in avoiding such a suspicion, just as we are confident that the Society would itself brush aside within a few months of its establishment every suspicion of creating disaffection against Government by the open and straightforward nature of its methods and the beneficence of its work.

To the Mussalmans of India we have just one word to say. You know well enough that the protection of the Holy Places of Islam is a religious duty which is as much yours as that of the Turks, and you also know that it is a duty more sacred than any other. You know well enough that the Turk who has for centuries stood as your sentinel at the gate of the Ka'ba is weaker to-day than he has ever been since he planted the Crescent over St. Sophia, and you also know that he has to guard his own hearth and much, if not most, of his vigilance is now needed nearer home. You know well enough that you do not feel the same security about your Holy Places in 1918 that you did even in 1912, and you also know that if any sacrilege did occur before you could organise yourself, as it occurred at Holy Meshed, you could do nothing but suffer in silence. It is true that God is Himself the Protector of His House, but it is also true that He works through what He has created. When the People of the Elephant attacked Mecca, He did not have to crush them with His own Hand. "He sent against them birds in flocks, claystones did they hurl down upon them, and He made them like stubble eaten down." And if the People of armoured cruisers and Dreadnoughts, of guns and magazine rifles, of shots and shrapnels and bombs hurled down from the clouds attack the Holy Places of Islam, may He not "cause their stratagem to miscarry?" But should the means employed be once more birds in flocks that could only hurl claystones down upon the enemies of God, or men in organised society, that could match their weapons with similar weapons, and defeat their stratagems with their own. Shall the honour of the deed go to the birds again, or shall it this time go to you and to us? That is the only question.

Islam in Bulgaria.

From the capital of Serbia I started for the capital of Bulgaria. When we arrived near Sofia my gaze fell from a distance upon a Russo-Byzantine cathedral. Its gold-mounted central dome was shining bright. As we came nearer it began to assume relief and to grow in size and stature till it had dominated the whole of the panorama and stood before us, in the centre, a symbol of its own power. Sofia, like all other Balkan capitals, is a newly re-built town. It is costly, well-planned, uninteresting, die-cast. It is an imitation city. This New-Petersburg is an expression of an unsuccessful revolt of the West from the influence of the East. The population is composed of different elements. But I was disappointed when I saw almost no Muhammadans in this capital of a newly-severed province and dependency of the Ottoman Empire. There are not more than fifty Turks living here. However, I gained information as to where I should go, and this was a great satisfaction. Next day when I was leisurely walking in the Krugetay through a thick crowd of well-dressed men and women among whom were many military officers in uniform, whose swords rattled on the pavement as they went along, and was feeling bored by the monotony of European life which is the same all over, my eyes suddenly met and looked into two black large beautiful eyes of a woman close to mine. Her hair was long, parted in the centre, as black as the pupils of her eyes. Her complexion was brown and dark as mine, and her teeth as she smiled innocently were pearly white in contrast. Her head was covered with a white scarf which hid her long hair and wrapped her form. She was poor. But why of all had she fixed me so with her beautiful mystic eyes? Perhaps like me she felt a mutual recognition. I questioned her in every manner in which I could express myself. She understood not a word of what I said, nor did I understand her speech. Even her gestures appeared strange to me as mine must have appeared to her. All of a sudden I had an idea. I repeated the Kalama and she, pressing my hands with delight with her dainty brown hands, said:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

and laughing with joy went her way. I found she was a gipsy girl, and I think there may be truth in the idea of some philologists and ethnologists that the original home of the gipsies is India. I afterwards learnt that there are between six and seven thousand gipsy Muhammadans in Sofia.

From Sofia I came to Faliba (Philippopolis) which is the centre of the Muhammadans of Bulgaria. The town presented an appearance like Belgrade. It has a mixed population of Christians and Muhammadans; but the Muhammadans, the gipsies included, do not count more than twelve thousand. As I drove from the station I passed along a mosque where I saw a Muhammadan Sherbat-seller

offering cold Turkish drinks to some veiled ladies—the Ramazan had not yet come. Some workmen were digging at a distance wearing close-fitting fezes on their perspiring heads. Now and then passed a Turkish gentleman seen with difficulty through the great number of Christian Bulgars, men and women, around him. It is not such a bright picture, but to me after my disappointment in Sofia it was a pleasing sight.

Next morning I called upon the Editor of the *Bulgan*, the only Muhammadan newspaper in Bulgaria about which I had learnt in Sofia. I had not long to wait and hear the buzz of the press engine throwing out the copies of the paper of that evening, before I was received. Adham Rulu Bey was sitting in his editorial chair. The office was not unlike the office of a good Indian newspaper in India. He is of middle height and inclined to be stout. His face expresses kindness and resolution. He is one of the three leaders of the Muhammadans of Bulgaria, a trio of friends who are devoting their time and energy for the amelioration of the condition of their once powerful but now fallen co-religionists. He speaks English. When I told him that I was from India he had more questions to ask from me than I had to ask from him. He was alternately pleased and grieved to hear what was good or was not good, and I have been entrusted by him and his two friends with a message of goodwill for the Muhammadans of India on behalf of the Muhammadans of Bulgaria.

گھر کے دور میں یاد تو دلچسپ ہے

He told me that he would take me to show me the Jam' Mosque, and laying down his pen which he was still holding he put his hand in the drawers, took out a revolver and slipped it in his side pocket. I afterwards learnt from others that with him it is not a mere precaution, but an absolute necessity. The mosque is a building of Moslem-Byzantine style and is well furnished and tastefully decorated inside. A Quri was reciting the Quran, and a group of young men were listening with rapt attention. Adjoining the mosque is a club where every evening there assemble between fifteen and thirty young Muhammadans to read Turkish newspapers, drink coffee and discuss their own social and political matters. From here we went to the Muhammadan Ecclesiastical Court to see the Mufti. As soon as the first interval occurred we were called in. The Mufti, an elderly gentleman in green robe and white turban with fez, sat with his assistants on a Diwan, and two clerks were sitting on the right and left below. The conversation was naturally about the present fallen state of the Muhammadans of the world. "But what is to be done, Sir?" I asked in the end. This is the answer of the second chief *alim* and jurist of Bulgaria. "The most imperative and instant need is a radical reform of the stereotyped Muhammadan system of education in vogue all over the world. The old seminaries in Asia, in Europe and Africa, which prepare a student for nothing but priesthood—a thing not recognized in Islam—are the chief cause of our backwardness in the world. The Hodja (Munvi) should be a vital and working part of the body of Islam and not a parasite preying upon it." Just then coffee was brought in and we took our leave.

On the following day the Editor introduced me to Halil Zaki Bey, Director of the Muhammadan schools in Bulgaria. He is a Pomak (Bulgarian Muhammadan). He is the second member of the trio. He has done more than anyone else for the promotion of modern education among the Muhammadans. He is a practical dreamer. He has recently established a school of Pedagogy (Normal School) in Fahba (Philipople), and will soon, if possible, put in practical shape his other schemes which fill his head. All that the Muhammadans of Bulgaria require is a few men like him. He took me over to see his school. As it was vacation time I could not see the students. The building was undergoing repairs. Though spacious it is a poor structure. But, as all know, even Aligarh had started with a thatched bungalow. The imperative need of this Normal School was to combat the evil effect of the Bulgarian Laws which do not permit any person who is not a Bulgarian subject to be appointed or allowed to work as a teacher in any Muhammadan school. The school has an efficient staff and a good library and has already turned out some qualified teachers. The Director is also editing and publishing a journal of Pedagogy in Turkish for the promotion of this object.

This afternoon I was introduced to an old Christian gentleman who had expressed a desire to see me. In a long conversation in which he related the whole history of Bulgaria he described the gradual withdrawal of the rule of the Ottomans as a great misfortune. "No," he said, "there is no liberty here. We ruled the country in the reign of Turkey. Now the Government is ours, but others rule over us. We can not even make war or remain at peace by ourselves. We have been sold to Russia. We must fight with Turkey when we are ordered to do so to disable her and to subjugate ourselves. The justice of the Turks was severe, but equal.

Now our judges employ costly European methods to destroy the rights of unfavoured classes and men. The Turks were the protectors of all the religions. Now there is no toleration even for the Christians of a different denomination. All these well-built houses that you see all along, not one belongs to us. They have been built on the ruins of our homes by the foreign capitalist. Oh! where you see these pleasure houses there were once our happy homes—our own."

In the evening we went to the town garden and I was told by Halil Zaki Bey that I was invited for the evening by Ahmad Faq Bey when I would have an opportunity of meeting some of the representative Muhammadans of Bulgaria, who would willingly give me all the information I required. This garden is like a country park. A sheet of still water lay before us. It was twilight time. On the road were passing Christian men and women of Slavish or Greek features, dressed after German or Russian style, military officers in white tunics and blue breeches, half-world women in the latest Parisian modes, forming a picture not much different from what one finds in Northern Europe. Only now and then when a picturesquely dressed Albanian or Kurd passed by, or the red and black of a Fez appeared and disappeared in the distance, or the musical laughter of a group of veiled ladies in black silken hoods and hanging down graceful yashmaks was heard near, one felt himself to be on the borderland of the Orient. On our way back I saw all the mosques illuminated, as the new moon had appeared to announce the advent of the month of Ramazan. The mosques are so illuminated either during the month of Ramazan or on the anniversary of the Sultan, the Khalifa. I was very glad to meet so many representative Bulgarian Muhammadans this evening. Nearly all of them are promising young men who have received their education in Constantinople, and some of them have visited the Universities of France or Switzerland. They are all the hope and the beginning of a new time for Islam in their country. Ahmad Faq Bey, the third member of the trio, is the merchant prince of Bulgaria. He has a very extensive Colonial trade and is the managing proprietor of the largest house in the country. He told me that he would willingly put himself in communication with any houses in Bombay, Calcutta or Hongkong for the extension of Muhammadan trade. The meeting lasted till past midnight. Halil Zaki Bey acted as interpreter translating from Turkish into German for me and from German into Turkish. In spite of a difference of race, country, colour, language and all, we mutually felt ourselves so close and united to one another that if I had been born and bred in Bulgaria it could not have been more. Such is the brotherhood of Islam.

جین و مہربان دوستان مارا * مسلم دین میں وطن می سارا جہان مارا

The result of our conversation and discussions I have briefly summed up in the second part of this article.

On the first of Ramazan the first thing I heard in the morning was the news of a massacre of poor helpless Bulgarian Mussalmans on the border by the Christians in which the gendarmes and the police had taken a prominent part. The Bulgarians, encouraged by their perfidious Government are used to plunder and burn the villages of the Muhammadans and commit most shocking cruelties, killing unarmed men and violating defenceless women. This is done at the encouragement of officials in order that the Muhammadans may either leave the country or may become converts to Christianity. In the afternoon I went to see a Muhammadan village. There were hoary-headed men bent with age, but holding up their heads with pride, and old matrons watching their sons and daughters working in the fields and helping them now and then. The women wore no veils. Some girls close by were talking in a quiet subdued manner resting their hands on their implements. Two gipsy carts were standing at a distance, and women with children in their arms were hurriedly going hither and thither. Fire was being lighted for the cooking of the evening meals. The sun was setting. I thought myself transported to the land of Palestine in the Biblical times of Abraham. What an innocent and simple life it was. And these were the victims of the cruel oppression and atrocious barbarities of a people who professed to be the followers of the Prince of Peace. Only a few years ago thousands of sabres would have leaped forth to avenge a single look of insult to any of those innocent maidens, but now the rule of the Khalifa has passed away. As I was standing in front of one of these patriarchs hearing him half audibly talk of the glories of the Turks and the past of Islam I noticed his lustreless eyes gazing far on vacancy. He seemed to see into the future. "My children," he said to my companion and to me, "wait, God has not forsaken His religion. He shall restore the glory of Islam."

At midnight I left Fahba (Philipople) for Constantinople. I had come here a stranger. On leaving I had to promise that it was not an adieu, but that I shall come again, Inshallah.

ABDURRAHMAN SEGHARVI.

CORRESPONDENCE



Social Intercourse.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—After the very courteous reception you have given my two little contributions to the *Comrade* on the subject of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians, I feel some considerable diffidence in addressing you for a third time.

There are, however, several points raised by you in your comments on my letter published in the *Comrade* of the 17th May that call for some notice from me, because they indicate a slight misapprehension on your part as to the exact nature of my views.

First, let me assure you that my contributions were not written solely as a "defence" of the attitude of Europeans towards Indians, for I feel (and I am sure that many Europeans will agree with me) that certain aspects of the conduct of English people towards their Indian neighbours are indefensible.

My original letter was prompted by a desire to correct what appeared to me, after reading your evidence before the Civil Service Commission, to be an exaggerated description of the exclusiveness of Europeans in India in their relations to the natives of the country.

In spite of your very cogent criticisms of the points I have enumerated in my letters, and in spite of the ignorance that you charge me with as regards the "feelings and habits of Indians," I still maintain that there is more to be said from my point of view than you seem prepared to admit. In other words, I still hold to the view that the majority of Indians are not fully aware of the extent to which very many Europeans are prepared to go to fill up the chasm which no one can deny exists between the two races. In spite of your kindly appreciation of me as a man who appears to be "singularly sympathetic for an Englishman" I am much more inclined to take myself as a very ordinary type of my race and one that may be met all over India to-day in fairly large numbers. Therefore, with your permission, I propose to further illustrate my point of view by a few references to my own experiences in the course of six years during which time I have served in Madras, the Deccan, Burma, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab.

Although a doctor by profession and for this reason (presumably at any rate) quite indifferent to aught but what concerns my calling, i. e., having no connection with trials, lawsuits, municipal or other intrigues, educational or political crises, in fact, away from all circumstances in which I could be in a position to dispense "a favour," I have never, save on two occasions, been asked to any entertainment, other than receptions of a semi-official or official nature, by an Indian of any position or education. On the other hand, I have been invited to partake of food, and even to sleep, in the houses of the poorer classes on several occasions.

I have drunk milk or curds on the doorstep of many a kind-hearted peasant's house, but I have never been given a cup of tea in the house of an Indian of education and rank.

I have known a rough Pathan get down from his horse when he saw me tramping tired along a dusty road and offer it to me to ride, while more than once I have been within an ace of being driven or ridden over by Indian "noble" men who consider it due to their dignity to be utterly careless of the poor pedestrians who are in their road.

Quite lately I was given the most comfortable seat in a very crowded third class railway carriage which I was forced to enter in an emergency, while an Indian "gentleman" with whom I was recently travelling in a first class carriage, made such havoc in the lavatory compartment in the course of his ablutions that I was quite unable to make use of the compartment myself.

At this moment I am wearing a gold tie-ring given me by a retired cook in very poor circumstances for attending his daughter during a comparatively trifling illness, but I have been denied any sort of recompense for restoring to health a "nawab" who believed that he was "sick unto death."

I could go on multiplying instances of this sort, but let these suffice.

Rightly or wrongly, therefore, I am slowly coming to the conclusion that the more the average Indian gets to know of English folk and their customs and habits, and the more he imbibes of their language and literature, the more he dislikes them.

If what I have experienced at the hands of educated Indians with whom I have been acquainted summarises the "concessions" they have made to meet Europeans "half-way," all I can say is that they have calculated the distance in a very remarkable way!

As far as I can see I might remain in this country for fifty more years and never be asked to cross the threshold of an Indian's house even though we were at school or college together and, as boys, on the best of terms, and even though I had made a point of offering him such hospitality as lies at my command.

The chasm between the races is in my opinion not the result of any social habits, but the result of an inherent antipathy of the white man for the brown, whatever "scholars" may say to the contrary. This antipathy is increased by the natural want of sympathy in the Englishman on the one hand, and by the effects of English education on an Indian, on the other.

What is fondly supposed to constitute "education" in an Englishman could only survive among a people whose "esprit" is as extraordinary as it is unique, so that for this reason it is singularly unsuitable for any race, such as the people of India, who are not instinctively imbued with a disregard for all learning and a positive dislike for all art.

This leads me to make one final observation. You say: "If the English only knew to what extent their power to rule long over India rested on their capacity to make themselves more sociable and popular among the ruled, the leopard would change his spots quickly enough." Allow me to say, Sir, that if this is your opinion I sincerely believe it to be an utterly mistaken one, for two reasons. (1) the extraordinary conservatism of the English character is such that if you could demonstrate beyond all possible doubt he would have to "change his spots" or go nine tenths of the race would immediately say, "Then we will go." No student of the psychology of the English people could expect any other reply. (2) No race that has throughout its whole history displayed such a genius for pure empiricism is ever going to be lured into accepting a "policy" of whatever kind nor by whomsoever be it offered. They would not know what to do with a policy if they had one—except perhaps take it out on Feast-days and Celebrations and wave it about and ask others to admire it, and then, when the fun was all over, to put it away till the next time.

"Albion" earned the epithet of "pertide" simply because other nations invariably failed to perceive that, in so far from having any deep laid scheme, the English people never know what they are going to do from one moment to another. The consequence of this is that the nations of the world are being constantly taken in and English history is little else but a series of thrilling adventures and hairbreadth escapes!

All the same, whatever disadvantages this remarkable tendency may bring with it, India may be thankful that it was conquered by a race that depends so much for its success in the struggle for existence upon the personal equation. If India does not see this now she may be made to see it one day, for, when the old Leopard whose whiskers she has tweaked and on whose tail she has so often trodden, eventually slouches off in disgust, there may arise on the horizon an Eagle, whose beak will be sharper, or a Bear, whose claws will be longer, than the teeth of the old Leopard who could not because he would not "change his spots."

I am, Sir, etc.,

OWEN BRACKLEY-HILL,

Lahore, May 29th, 1918.

Captain, I. M. S.

The Haj Question.

We publish below all the papers, including two circular letters issued by the Government of India, relating to the proposal of the Bombay Government to issue compulsory return tickets to the Hedjaz pilgrims and to give the monopoly of the traffic to an English Company.

Extract from the Haj Report by the Vice-Consul at Jeddah for the year 1909-10. —Continued from our last.

Every year the agents of the shipping companies in pilgrim traffic here enter into a combine and on the strength of this combine they make the pilgrims pay very high rates in the beginning and then gradually reduce their rates, and in the end charge only nominal fares and even ship destitute pilgrims free of charge and divide the average of collective income according to the capacity of the steamer of each company in the combine. Thus in fact the rich pilgrim or pilgrims of average means pay for the repatriation of the pauper pilgrims.

This year, the agents of the companies did not enter into the usual combine, although they agreed among themselves not to reduce the rates lower than Rs. 30, and so the rates for deck-passages varied from Rs. 80 to Rs. 50 according to the reputation of the steamer and the number and means of the pilgrims present in Jeddah at the time.

One steamer of the British India S. N. Company made two trips to Bombay and the Arab line and the Bombay and Hedjaz line sent their steamers till they expected to get full complement of well-paying pilgrims. The Bombay and Persia S. N. Company, which is to a certain extent the regular line between Bombay and the Hedjaz, continued to send its steamers once after every month or one month and a half, only to receive well-paying pilgrims if the steamer were to go back to Bombay. In most of these steamers, there were no doctors, and so they took only a limited number of pilgrims, viz., one per every 100 gross tonnage of the steamer and in some cases up to Aden only when that particular steamer was bound for Basrah or Calcutta.

Seeing that the pilgrims were in a great fix and I to remedy this state of affairs, on the 18th March last, a telegram was sent by this Consulate to the Government of Bombay asking for a steamer, and again on the 18th of April in reply to their telegraphic enquiry whether pilgrims will pay for their passage if a steamer were sent. I wired stating that the majority of pilgrims were unable to pay.

Now as a result of this telegraphic correspondence, I am informed by the Commissioner of Police at Bombay, in his letter, No. 453—4—P. P. of 1912, dated April 21st, that the Bombay and Persia S. N. Company has been prevailed upon to send a steamer for the repatriation of the destitute Indian pilgrims, stranded in Jeddah. This steamer was to leave Bombay some time in the second week of the current month and is certified to carry about 800 pilgrims, and it is hoped that all the remaining pilgrims, about 700 or 800, will go by this steamer.

I should mention that on the 29th of March 1912, I received a letter from the Mutessarif of Jeddah, requesting me to call upon the agents of the shipping companies to ship the destitute Indian pilgrims as usual, which I did, and their replies not being hopeful at all I communicated to the Mutessarif of Jeddah on the 8th of April 1912, in reply to his letter mentioned above. As far as this Consulate is concerned, I could give no assurance for the repatriation of such a large number of destitute pilgrims.

Every year these destitute pilgrims have to wait till the end of the season, and hundreds of them as I said above, die of disease, want of shelter and for want of means to protect them from the inclemencies of the weather.

This year the service of steamers, after the bulk of pilgrims had gone, was very irregular and even pilgrims who were able to pay had to wait here for a month or so before they could get a steamer.

The Turco-Italian war possibly may be partly responsible for this irregularity of service, as owing to the news of the blockade of Red Sea ports, the merchants in Bombay hesitated, for some time at least, to ship their goods to this country.

The last steamer with Javanese pilgrims who came with return tickets sailed on the 26th of February, 1912, while the bulk of them

had gone within one month or so after the Haj. And there is never a question of repatriation of Javanese pauper pilgrims at all.

The above statement holds good in the case of Egyptian pilgrims too who also come with return tickets.

It is a real cause for anxiety every year, and especially this year, to see a large number of destitute Indian pilgrims waiting for free or cheap passage till so late in the season.

I beg to urge that Your Excellency may be pleased to approach the Indian Government once more for the introduction of a compulsory return ticket system which is the only solution of this question, and I am sure that no sensible Indian Muhammadan will oppose this act of the Government which will ensure an early return home of the pilgrims and at the same time save them from innumerable hardships which are the sure result of their overstay in this foreign land.

Letter from His Majesty's Consul at Jeddah, No. 41, dated the 19th July 1912, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

In transmitting to Your Excellency herewith Dr. Abdurrahman's Haj Report for the season 1911-12, I have the honour to draw your special attention to the following points which Dr. Abdurrahman emphasizes.

The Haj is not obligatory on the poorer classes of Moslems. The local Anjuman-i-Hind has, in its very interesting report for this year, laid it down that no (Indian) Muhammadan who cannot afford to pay 400 or 500 rupees according to the class by which he intends to travel, without causing distress to himself or his family, should consider himself under the obligation to perform the Haj, and it has communicated in this sense with several Anjuman in India.

Dr. Abdurrahman lays stress on this point, and it is evident that if it could be impressed on the population of India, the vexed question of Haj derelicts would be solved. It is to my mind equally evident that it is a matter rather for the pilgrims' own teachers than for non-Moslems to put before them. But that is no reason why it should not be taken into account in determining the best means of combating the prevailing evil of Indian Moslems embarking on the Haj without the proper means or after raising the necessary means at the cost of crippling themselves financially for long periods of time.

It appears to me that it solves the question of whether or not the system of return tickets should be introduced. As Dr. Abdurrahman points out, the Collector of Customs at Bombay in his letter of December 22nd, 1911, transmitted in despatch No. 504 of January 12th, 1912, from the Secretary to the Government of India, a copy of which was doubtless sent to Your Excellency, writes —

• If faster vessels are to be attracted to this trade, better rates will have to be paid."

I do not pretend to know from what point of view the Government of India regards the question of the pilgrims, whether it considers it advisable to obtain the cheapest possible terms for the pilgrims or only the best. The two are evidently not compatible.

If we can eliminate the obligation for every Moslem to perform the Haj, then the necessity to render it cheap is itself eliminated. And it appears to me, with all respect for opinions based on greater knowledge and longer experience than mine, that the cheap rates insisted on and the endeavour to render them cheaper are at the very root of the whole evil. Moreover, if in addition to their knowledge that they will obtain a cheap passage to Jeddah, the pilgrims can count on a free passage home (on conditions of undergoing a certain amount of hardship and arousing a great amount of anxiety in the authorities by camping in the streets of that port till they do get a free passage) they will come yearly in greater numbers and with greater recklessness, seeing in the pilgrimage not only a religious duty, but also a means of satisfying their curiosity in the matter of the headquarters of their religion.

If once the question of keeping down the rates is eliminated, that of return tickets should become simple. The principal difficulty appears to be the system under which they should be introduced.

It must not be forgotten that there is no trade between the port and India which could be an inducement for a Steamship Company to introduce a regular service. In this the route differs from that from Java and Singapore, the steamers frequenting which touch at Jeddah merely on their way to Europe. The pilgrim trade between Jeddah and India must, therefore, be self-supporting.

There are, it appears to me, three systems on which the business could be worked:—

1. Fixed rates
 2. Maximum rates
- } with competition.

Fixed rates with monopoly.

The objections to the first are that it would leave the question in much the same state of confusion as it is at present, i.e., one year there would be so many ships as to make profit for all impossible; the next there would, in consequence, not be enough.

The pilgrims could not be certain of finding a ship at Bombay to take them, not the ship pilgrims to take.

The second is open to the serious objection, which obtains at the present moment, that it is a matter of chance at what price a pilgrim obtains a passage. This appears to me unfair and unsatisfactory. For one batch of pilgrims, competition decrees, that fares shall be very low for the next attracted perhaps by the previous low fares it decrees that they shall be beyond its means.

The third system appears to me the only practicable one. But evidently not on the conditions * See pages 2 and 3 of mentioned in paragraph 2 of the letter * correspondence in Internal B, of the Government of India to His Majesty's Secretary of State, dated May 30th, 1912, No. 90. 1912, No. 7.

It is therein suggested that the monopoly should be given to one company for one season. It does not appear to me, arguing on general principles, possible for any Steamship Company which is likely to be attracted by the pilgrim trade to guarantee a sufficiency of proper vessels at a fixed rate of, say, £7 return per pilgrim for one season. It should perfectly be possible to establish a basis for a monopoly at a fixed rate to be granted to one company for, say, five years under the present regulations and with sufficient guarantee that these regulations shall be observed, with the corollary that in the said company satisfy all its obligations the contract shall be renewed.

I am convinced that the truth of the matter is, in regard to all the objections to the return ticket system, that there are certain Moslem pilgrim-mongers in whose interests it is to stir up the fanaticism of their co-religionists against it. The feeling in this town among the Indian Muhammadans is so strong against the present system that I trust it will require but a short period of effort on the part of those opposed to the policy of inducing Indians who cannot afford it to make the journey at the expense of their some what more affluent co-religionists, to change the entire system.

In regard to enclosure No. 3 of the abovequoted letter from the Government of India to His Majesty's Secretary of State, it is very satisfactory to note that the Haj Committee has acquiesced in the introduction of the return ticket system, although it makes the impracticable suggestion that the supply of vessels for one year should be put up to auction. If, as I understand is the case, the Committee is not disposed to encourage the present recklessness with which Indian Moslems imperil their welfare in the Haj, the whole question is clarified and an understanding with a Steamship Company should be easily reached. I am assured that the Bombay and Persian local Navigation Company would undertake the pilgrim traffic for a number of years at from £7 to £8 per head return. But I also am convinced that the system would meet with considerable opposition from the local agents, and it is to these that I impute the greater part of the objections which have been encountered hitherto.

In conclusion, I venture to express the opinion that it is not consistent in us to be for ever fighting to prevent the extortion from the pilgrims of a few pence by the Turkish authorities and Mutawils, while we take no effective measures to prevent the extortion from them of many rupees by the British Steamship Companies under the present system.

Extract from the Haj Report by the Vice-Consul at Jeddah for the year 1911-12.

It is greatly to be desired that some means were devised for checking the arrival of Indians in such circumstances and under

such conditions as are a disgrace to Islam as well as to the British community.

In general, it may be stated without fear of contradiction that the Prophet enjoined the Haj only on those who "are able" to do it, that is, those who can afford to provide themselves with the necessities of life, with the means of travelling with a certain measure of decency and comfort. The commentator Baizavi informs us that the Prophet interpreted the words "are able" to mean the possession of food to eat and an animal to ride. He did not intend that Moslems should start on a long journey trusting to obtain a passage at the expense of charitably disposed people or, as an alternative, expose themselves to the misery of remaining in a strange land without the means of subsistence, while their families are in an equal plight at home.

It is a disgrace also to the fair name of the British Government that, long after the Javanese and other pilgrims have left this country, British Indians may be seen mere disease-stricken skeletons, lying about in the streets of Jeddah, begging their bread and filling the town with their ordure and their microbes, and the Governor should have occasion to write to the Consulate to ask it to remove its outcasts, and that it should be left to the charitable generosity of a shipping firm to transport these hundreds of pilgrims back to their country for nothing.

In this year the 26th of February saw the last ship-load of Javanese pilgrims sail from Jeddah while the bulk of them had left within one month of the end of the Haj; and it took nearly to the end of June to get rid of the Indians. To a certain extent the Turco-Italian war was responsible for this delay, but the chief fault lies with the system by which these latter are not obliged to take return tickets, but are allowed to trust to chance for obtaining a passage home, so much so, that it has become a tradition with them, and a great number remained on here late merely in order to obtain a cheap or free passage. So unsuccessful have they been in the last few years in forcing the authorities to provide them free tickets that it is becoming more and more common, and the anxiety to those concerned in their welfare yearly greater. Fortunately a very great number of would-be pilgrims were turned back from Bombay this year owing to there being no ships for them. The confusion in this town, had they all been able to obtain passages for the Haj, would have been undecipherable, when it came to shipping them home.

Even with a considerably small number than was expected, close on a thousand Indians were lying for weeks in this town in the most abject misery. It goes without saying that a great number died. How great cannot be known owing to the ineffectual control exercised by the local medical service.

After this Consulate had by telegraph informed the Government of India of the plight of these hundreds of its subjects and has assured it that the majority was unable to pay for return tickets, in the end the Bombay and Persian Steam Navigation Company were moved with compassion for their ill-fated co-religionists and despatched two vessels to take them home, and that without remuneration. But this cannot be expected of the company every year, on the other hand, it may be taken as precedent, and we may yearly see a greater number of pilgrims sitting on the wharf waiting for a friendly ship to take them off.

It is very natural that the Turkish authorities should object to such a system and that they should demand that provision should be made by the responsible Government for the removal of its subject who are a burden and an offence and a source of danger to the town.

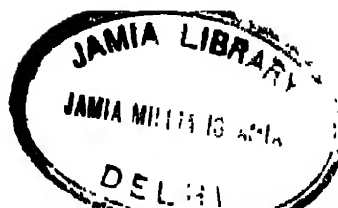
The whole question resolves itself into one of organisation, and I venture to express the opinion that the Government of India should insist on (1) pilgrims taking return tickets, (2) the Haj Committee forming branches throughout the country, (3) the shipping companies engaged in the pilgrim trade supplying a letter class of vessel.

The first suggestion has not met with the approval of the British Indian Government, the objection being the hostile attitude of the Indian Muhammadans when the question was considered in the year 1908. I have had occasion to discuss the question with very respectable members of that community, some of whom were among those who opposed the introduction of the system, and I have come to learn that their objections were mainly based on imaginary grounds due to the ignorance of the situation here, and that they have sincerely regretted their opposition since then. I am sure that if all the facts of the case were clearly laid before Indian Muhammadans they would in a body approach the Government with the request to introduce the system of compulsory return tickets which could in no wise hamper those who "are able" to perform the Haj, while making it much easier and safer for everyone.

I have no doubt that sooner or later the Government of India will adopt the system for Indian pilgrims, as the Javanese, and

7th June.

The Comrade.



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Egyptians, and Straits Settlements Governments, have done, and I only regret that delay in doing so is causing such unnecessary misery to thousands of pilgrims while reflecting also on the Government.

Extract from paragraph 10 of the letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India, No. 978, dated 4th February 1913.

In my letter No 8959—168-Cond1, dated the 28th December 1912, it was reported that there was a possibility of a well-known firm of good standing entering for this pilgrim traffic after buying up or otherwise ousting the two companies which at present absorb the greater part of their traffic. By such an arrangement a superior class of steamers better manned and better found in every way, with fixity of sailings and fixity of rates, would be obtained. The firm referred to, viz., Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, have now approached this Government with their formal offer. I am to enclose herewith a copy of their letter, dated the 25th ultimo, stating the terms on which they signify their willingness to accept a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic. Their offer is under the consideration of this Government and the officers concerned in the pilgrim traffic at Bombay are being consulted. On a suggestion made by His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jeddah, the Governor in Council is also considering the possibility of others steamship companies competing for this traffic. The result of those negotiations which have for their object the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets and the establishment of a more convenient and efficient pilgrim service between Bombay and Jeddah, will in due course be communicated to the Government of India.

Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India, Department of Education (Sanitary) No. 2896, dated the 11th April 1913:—

I am directed to refer to my letter No. 8959—168-Cond1, dated the 28th December 1912, and paragraph 10 of my letter No. 978, dated the 11th February 1913, on the question of entrusting to a single shipping firm the monopoly of the pilgrim traffic between Bombay and Jeddah subject to condition as to fixity of passage rates, the adoption of a system of compulsory return tickets and the introduction of a general improvement in the conditions of the traffic.

2. The Governor in Council has given the most careful consideration to this important question, and he is satisfied that in the interests both of the pilgrims and of Government it is preferable that any arrangement which may be concluded on the line indicated above should be with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, who, as the present controlling Agents of the Bombay Persian Steam Navigation Company and in their capacity of a local firm of high standing, are in a better position to handle satisfactorily the Indian pilgrim traffic than any outside firm. They are moreover the only firm who have approached this Government with a definite offer.

3. The Bombay Government have accordingly discussed with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company the terms of the offer which they originally made in their letter, dated the 25th January last, and are now in a position to place before the Government of India the conditions on which as a result of their discussion the Company are prepared to agree to undertake the monopoly of the pilgrim traffic from the ports of Bombay and Karachi. The Bombay Government recommended the acceptance of the conditions of the agreement as now provisionally arrived at. These are set forth in the following paragraph:—

4. (1) The agreement to be for a period of five years but terminable on the part of Government at one year's notice.

(2) The agreement to extend to Bombay and Karachi at which ports the only ships which will be licensed under the Pilgrim Ships Act will be those put forward by the Company.

(3) Return tickets alone to be issued to pilgrims from these ports.

(4) Maximum rates for tickets to be fixed at present for the first two years; the rates for subsequent years will in no case be lower than these and Government will consider whether the improved conditions of service do not justify an enhancement.

(5) The maximum rates for the next season, in which the last day of sailing will be 10th October, to be stated below (in each subsequent year the dates will be 10 days earlier):—

	Rs
(a) From the 26th September to the 10th October ...	160
(b) From the 27th August to the 25th September ...	140
(c) From the 1st August to the 26th August ...	120
(d) Before the 1st August ...	100

(6) Camaran quarantine dues, * which are at present

* These are a fluctuating item. The present rate is Rs. 6. included in the price of the tickets, to be paid simultaneously with them.

(7) No brokers to be licensed under Bombay Act II of 1887 so that the Company will not have to pay brokerage. But the Company undertake to maintain and be directly responsible for a staff of agents who will perform all the duties including those connected with the vaccination of the pilgrims now carried out by the licensed brokers. Such staff to be approved by the Commissioner of Police and each member of it to be certified by him as authorised in this behalf.

(8) Each ticket to carry a guarantee of a return passage from Jeddah within 8½ months of the last date of the Haj, provided the holder thereof presents the return voucher at Jeddah within 2 months of such date.

(9) The Company to arrange to give return passages to pilgrims as far as possible according to priority of date of outward passage and of arrival at Jeddah on the return journey.

(10) Ships to leave for Jeddah within 7 days of the advertised date of sailing, provided that in the case of ships advertised to sail during the period when maximum rates of not more than Rs 120 are in force, this delay may be extended to 10 days under the authority of the Commissioner of Police and on good cause being shown therefor.

(11) In the case of each holder of a ticket who is certified by the British Consul at Jeddah to have died in the Hedjaz, the Company will on production of the unused return voucher pay Rs 50 to the Commissioner of Police for disbursement to the heirs of the deceased.

(12) Pilgrim ships will before the commencement of the pilgrim season undergo a single annual survey in respect of essentials, the inspection before each voyage being confined to a check on alterations in accommodation and equipment.

(13) The Company undertake to despatch at least two ships from Karachi, one between the 10th and the 25th July, the other between the 10th and 25th August (and between corresponding dates in subsequent years). Such ships will have the option of calling at Bombay after leaving Karachi in order to secure a full complement of passengers.

5. I am to say that the above terms have been provisionally agreed to after careful deliberation between the Bombay Government and the representatives of the Company and have been accepted as satisfactory by the Commissioner of Police. The Governor in Council believes that their acceptance will do much to remove the hardships suffered by Indian pilgrims to the Hedjaz, and will relieve Government and their officers of the embarrassment experienced by them year after year in regulating the traffic on the outward journey and in arranging for the repatriation of the large numbers of indigent pilgrims who remain stranded at Jeddah in the most pitiable circumstances at the close of every pilgrim season.

6. I am accordingly to urge that the Bombay Government may be authorised to enter into a formal agreement with the Company embodying the terms set forth above. In view of the near approach of the first sailings for the coming pilgrim season, it is most desirable that the Company should be in a position to notify at a very early date (it possible not later than the 10th May) to pilgrims throughout India their programme of sailings and their schedule of rates, more especially as the latter is graduated with the object of inducing pilgrims to make an early departure and of so preventing a congestion of traffic later in the season. For the same reasons it is important that this Government should as soon as possible be in a position to inform the other local Government concerned of the alterations of the conditions of the pilgrim traffic and more particularly of the institution of the compulsory return ticket system, so that they in turn may take steps to warn intending pilgrims within their jurisdiction. Failure to take these precautionary measures in time would inevitably result in the arrival in Bombay of large number of pilgrims unprovided with sufficient means to purchase tickets under the new conditions, a contingency which might seriously impair the successful working of the scheme and would certainly cause much inconvenience and anxiety to the police and municipal authorities of the city. I am therefore to express a hope that the Government of India will be pleased to convey their orders regarding the present proposal with the least possible delay and by telegram.

7. I am to add, in conclusion, that the Governor in Council is with a view to immediate action on receipt of the sanction of the Government of India, taking steps to have the terms of the agreement put into legal form.

Telegram from the Government of India No. 680 (Sanitary), dated the 28th April 1913.

Requesting that the Government of Bombay will take steps to ascertain publicly the feeling of the Muhammadan community of the Presidency and especially of the Haj Committee with regard to the proposals contained in their letter No. 2890, dated 11th April 1913.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Belgrade, May 29.

M. Pasic, Serbian Premier, made a statement in the Chamber yesterday on the subject of the relations between Serbia and Bulgaria. Serbia, he said, asked Bulgaria last February to revise the secret treaty between Serbia and Bulgaria in accordance with the unexpected developments of the war, and not allow the Powers to intervene in the division of conquests, but Bulgaria refused to negotiate on the subject. Serbia had recently renewed the overtures and he hoped that these would be received in a friendly spirit. A clause in the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty gave Serbia an outlet on the Adriatic, and her dispossession of this by the Powers entitled her to compensation at the hands of Bulgaria. Moreover, the events of the war had made it desirable for Serbia to have a common frontier with Greece, so as to secure access to Salonica. Bulgaria, further, by demanding Adrianople and the region East of it, had prolonged the war. She had asked for Serbia's help and the latter had sent troops to Thrace, though she was not required to do so by the treaty. Serbia had thus been compelled to raise supplementary forces of a hundred thousand troops, and she had also sent a park of modern siege artillery, which the Bulgarians did not possess. Serbia was offered the whole of the Vardar valley with Salonica if she voluntarily abandoned the claim regarding the Adriatic.

The situation is considered serious in Belgrade. All officers have been recalled from leave and railways have been reserved for military purposes. The general opinion is that Bulgaria will assent to a revision.

Sofia.

The statement of M. Pasic has created a bad impression here, but it is hoped that the meeting between M. Pasic and M. Geshoff, the Bulgarian Premier, on Saturday, will relieve the situation.

Constantinople

It is noteworthy that the *Pasin* and other newspapers are publishing articles recommending the Government to be vigilant and hinting that Turkey may not remain impassive in the event of a war among the Balkan States.

London.

The Bulgarians will sign the Treaty of Peace as it stands to-morrow. The Greeks and Serbians will sign it after approving conventions which are to be embodied in it. The Bulgarians declined to take part in a meeting held by Greeks and Serbians this afternoon to discuss these conventions as the Bulgarians did not desire further differences or delay.

Sir Edward Grey this afternoon told the Balkan Delegates that the Treaty of Peace had to be signed to-morrow, and asked whether they were going to sign. This intimation is regarded as signifying that the question of conventions or protocols will have to remain in abeyance till the Treaty is signed. The Turks agree with the Bulgarians not to consider extraneous matters until they have signed the Treaty.

Sir Edward Grey this evening sent a formal invitation to all the Balkan delegates to meet at St. James at half past twelve to-morrow to sign the Peace Treaty. Sir Edward Grey hoped himself to attend and address the delegates.

London, May 30.

A meeting of the Greek and Serbian delegates in London to-day decided to sign the Peace Treaty.

Istanbul.

Peace between the Balkan States and Turkey has been signed.

Latent.

Peace was signed at St. James' Palace.

Sir Edward Grey, addressing the delegates subsequently, expressed the King's satisfaction and congratulations, and said he trusted the step would be regarded by them all with satisfaction and relief. This feeling was shared by the Powers who had remained neutral, but who desired to see peace restored in the interest of the tranquillity of Europe.

"We are all aware that questions still remain to be discussed before a complete settlement can be reached, but we trust that the conclusion of peace will facilitate these matters. It will certainly increase the good-will of the Powers towards you. As one who has had frequent friendly communication with you, and whose sympathy has been quickened by the knowledge of your difficulties and anxieties, I earnestly hope that peace will result in complete tranquillity, and enable each to repair its resources and develop its territory, and secure the welfare and happiness of its people."

During the debate on the Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons yesterday, many complimentary remarks were made to Sir Edward Grey.

Mr. Bonar Law said that Sir Edward Grey's conduct of the Balkan negotiations entitled him to be regarded as the representative of the nation, not of a party.

Sir Edward Grey, expressing his thanks, said he did not dwell on the subject because, while the tension and anxiety were diminished and the prospects of peace improved, there were many difficulties of which the end was not in sight.

The Serbian Crown Prince yesterday reviewed a hundred thousand Serbian troops which have been freshly concentrated at Velea. Large forces of Bulgarians from Adrianople and Tchataldja are concentrating at Nigrita and Lachana, it is believed, with a view to an attack on Salonica.

The semi-official journal *Mir* says that, as the statement of M. Pasic on the 29th ins and leaves little hope of a friendly agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria, the projected meeting of the Bulgarian and Serbian Premiers on the frontier, fixed for Saturday, will probably not be held.

Dr. Daneff and M. Theodoroff, the Bulgarian delegates in London and Paris, respectively, have been ordered to return to Sofia as soon as possible.

Colonel Dousmanis, Chief of the Greek General Staff, has been instructed to confer with the Bulgarian General Ivanoff regarding the line of demarcation between the respective forces.

Competent observers in Turkey do not take seriously the newspapers' advocacy of Turkey taking part in a fresh war, but regard it as a Party move.

All the roads inland are blocked. The Beni Aouf tribe, seven hundred strong is reported to be between Jeddah and Mecca.

London, May 31.

The actual signature of the Peace Treaty only took a few minutes, but the discussion regarding various appendices and protocols lasted half an hour. A proposal of Dr. Daneff that the Treaty should apply immediately without waiting for its ratification was rejected by the other Allies, but the Bulgarians and Turks signed an annexé, to that effect.

In an interview with Reuter's representative Dr. Daneff anticipated that commercial development would be such that the foes of yesterday would enjoy a friendship resting on more solid foundation than was generally supposed.

A Greek delegate, M. Skuludis, in an interview, said that so many questions had been left open that commercial development expected as the result of the war would be delayed.

A more hopeful feeling prevails here regarding the settlement of Serbo-Bulgarian differences. A meeting between the Bulgarian and Serbian Premiers on the frontier to-day has been definitely arranged.

M. Venizelos, the Premier, conferred with M. Sarafoff, Bulgarian delegate, yesterday. The former urged that it was time for the Allies to settle differences by means of mutual concession. If agreement were impossible they should resort to arbitration.

The general consensus of opinion of European newspapers is that now that peace is signed the Powers must exert their utmost endeavours to avert a conflict between the three Balkan States.

The Conference of Ambassadors met yesterday. Though nothing definite was decided it is understood that the Conference favoured the appointment of a High Commissioner for Albania. The progress of the settlement of the Albanian and Aegean questions is so hopeful that the Ambassadors expect that their labours will finish in June.

London, June 1

In the Italian Chamber yesterday, congratulatory speeches were delivered on the conclusion of peace. A proposal to telegraph congratulations to Sir Edward Grey for his indefatigable efforts was received with cheers.

The president asked the Foreign Minister to convey to the British Government the Chamber's admiration for the work of that eminent statesman.

At the conclusion of a series of secret sittings, the Roumanian Chamber authorised the Government to carry out the terms of the agreement with Bulgaria.

The semi-official journal *Mir* says that Bulgaria's duty in future will be to act as zealous defender of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The Greek Minister at Belgrade, and the Servian Minister at Athens, with many high Servian officers arrived here yesterday and conferred for a lengthy period with M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier. Great importance is attached to the conference in view of the recent prolonged *pourparlers* between Greece and Servia with regard to Bulgarian claims. The Servians are concentrating a large force at Piro, a Servian town near the Bulgarian frontier.

M. Guechaft starts to-night for the frontier to meet the Servian Premier, M. Pasios.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* pays tribute to Sir Edward Grey's handling of the laborious peace negotiations. It says the Powers will derive from the result encouragement to further united co-operation. The paper adds that every reasonable consideration tells against the outbreak of a fresh war, and that all the danger of a conflict between the Powers seems averted.

London, June 2

As the result of an urgent summons, Dr. Danoff suddenly left London last night for Sofia.

The Servian and Bulgarian Premiers met at Tzaribrod last night and held a conference. They agreed in principle to a meeting between the Premiers of the Allies with a view to reaching a mutual understanding.

Kiamal Pasha, ex Grand Vizier, left here by Russian mail steamer yesterday on his way to Smyrna. It is understood that M. Nachevitch, former Bulgarian representative in Constantinople, is coming here on a special mission, the object of which it is believed is to secure Turkey's neutrality in the event of war between Bulgaria, Servia and Greece.

The cabinet has decided to postpone the disbanding of troops in view of the serious situation.

London, June 3.

It is believed that the Premiers of the four Allies will meet at St. Petersburg.

It is now believed that danger of an armed conflict between the Balkan Allies is entirely removed. Servia is willing to demobilise on condition that Bulgaria does likewise, and that the conference of the Premiers of the Allies be held in St. Petersburg within a fortnight.

London, June 4

A Salonica cable says that an agreement has been reached between Greece and Bulgaria establishing a neutral zone, with a view to further averting conflicts.

It is reported in Vienna, that the Bulgarian Cabinet has resigned, in connexion with Servia's attitude, but a crisis is not expected before Dr. Danoff's return.

The Baghdad Railway.

London, May 29.

IN HOUSE OF COMMONS this evening, during the debates on the Foreign Estimates, Sir Edward Grey said that the Baghdad Railway negotiations had not been finally ratified or concluded, though the Government had a draft of certain agreements with the Turkish Government which they hoped would finally be concluded. It was difficult to enter into details without disclosing the whole, lest some one detail might be fixed upon and given undue importance and prejudice public feeling. He was not so much afraid of public opinion here as that of some other countries. He would therefore deal on large lines with the agreement the Government hoped to make. The central point of our agreements with Turkey was the Baghdad Railway. It would not proceed beyond Basra, without an agreement with the British Government. The latter were making no agreement that it should proceed further. They were contemplating Basra becoming the terminus. With regard to the construction of the Baghdad-Basra section, there had been so many difficulties concerning participation that the Government had thought it best to waive the question of participation, and that matter would be left in the position that if the Government got a clear understanding that the railway would not go beyond Basra without their consent, it ceased to be of any interest to his Majesty's Government to oppose the construction of the Baghdad-Basra section.

Then they wanted two Directors on the Board of the Baghdad Railway. This question was intimately connected with the question of differential rates. It was true that the Government were making it as clear as possible in the agreement that there were to be no differential rates, but they wanted to be safe that there would be no differentiation in actual practice. Our two Directors would be too few to control the rates, or in any way to impede the management, but they would be able to keep us informed and enable us to bring up the question of rates through diplomatic channels under the agreement, which prohibits differentiation. Our agreement had been

or would be, made with Turkey. Germany would not be a party thereto, but it was essential that Germany should be satisfied that there was nothing in the agreement inconsistent with her agreement with Turkey. He hoped there would be a complete understanding that the Baghdad Railway was not to be made beyond Basra without the agreement with us, and on the other hand that no opposition was to be offered to the extension of the railway to Basra on the conditions he had mentioned.

With regard to the Persian Gulf, Sir Edward Grey said that our agreement with Turkey would recognise her suzerainty over Kuwait. Turkey agreeing that the authority of the Sheikh should be continued in the future as in the past, thus preserving the *status quo*. Our agreements with the Sheikh were not going to be disturbed. He hoped also to make arrangements that the longstanding British interest in the navigation up to Baghdad would be not only unimpaired, but extended and consolidated that navigation would be developed and that in the development, there would always be a substantial British interest. If these agreements were concluded, we would assent to the increase of the Turkish Customs duties when the other Powers did. The Anglo-Russian Agreement with regard to Persia had been attacked on the ground that British interest had suffered, but what of the lurid picture that would have been drawn had there been no agreement. In Russia too, there was a party which complained that Russia would have had a much freer hand without the agreement. He hoped the Russian Government would not forget these criticisms from the British side.

He could say little without regard to the important question of reforms in Armenia. It was one which concerned all the Powers interested in Asiatic Turkey, and must form the subject of discussion among them, and between them and the Turkish Government. The Powers and Turkey alike were anxious to avoid any cause for anxiety there. He believed there was every disposition on the part of Turkey to avail herself of European assistance, and the Powers were ready to give that assistance in a way calculated to establish the authority of Turkey in her Asiatic provinces. The real strength of Turkey and the position of the Government itself after peace had been signed would depend on two things, the establishment of justice and sound finance. He trusted all the Powers would co-operate in assisting Turkey in this matter.

Herr von Jagow, replying to an interpellation in the Reichstag, repeated Sir Edward Grey's statement regarding the Baghdad Railway. He added that the provision of the Anglo-Turkish Agreement making Basra the end of the railway, depended on the condition that the Shat El Arab from Basra to the Gulf be made navigable, and kept navigable permanently.

Armenian Grievances.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 9.

FOUR Armenian delegates, two clerics and two laymen, representing the Ecclesiastical and Lay Councils, accompanied by the Armenian Patriarch will lay the memorandum, the terms of which have already been published, before the Grand Vizier on Monday.

Circumstantial rumours of the impending resignation of the Minister of the Interior are current to-day. It is certain that Hadji Adil Bey's health lately has been the reverse of good, but it is suggested in some quarters that the appearance of an article in the *Tanin* severely criticizing the slowness of the central and local authorities in Cilicia is indicative of a change in the Cabinet. Should Hadji Adil Bey retire his place will probably be taken by Djemal Bey but as yet it is uncertain whether a definite decision has been reached.

Declaration by the Patriarch.

Constantinople, May 9.

La Turque to-day publishes an interesting account of an interview granted to one of its representatives by the Armenian Patriarch Mgr Arsharouni. The demands of the Armenian community, according to the Patriarch, were extremely simple. It asked for nothing more than the protection of the honour, lives, and property of its members. Equality before the law was all it needed. To-day the local authorities made a point of closing their eyes to the misdeeds of the Kurds, but if an Armenian was foolish enough to kill a Kurd, even in self-defence, scores of Armenians were promptly imprisoned. A recent attack by some Kurd malefactors on an Armenian village was repulsed and two of the riders killed. The local Kurds promptly attacked and pillaged two Armenian villages under the eyes of the authorities. The excuse that the Armenian community was disloyal and desired autonomy was false. The Armenians had done their duty to the State as well as the Turks and better than the Kurds, and had no separatist ambitions.

The Government, continued the Patriarch, was said to be preparing a large scheme of administrative reform which was to be

applied to the Eastern Anatolian provinces—Bitlis, Diarbekr, Erzerum, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Sivas, and Van. A commission was said to be about to leave for the provinces in question, but many a commission had left Constantinople for the interior and returned in due course without having accomplished anything. A commission that was accompanied by an expeditionary force might have some effect on the turbulent elements, but permanent results could be attained only by the application of administrative reforms under the strict and permanent surveillance of foreign specialists, or, in other words, "by the control of European specialists over the administration of the provinces in question." The *Gendarmes* must also be strengthened and placed under the surveillance of foreign officers, failing which it could not be described as a trustworthy force. Communications must be improved throughout Inner Asia Minor, and the Government ought to encourage education in the interest, not only of the Armenians, but of the Kurds, whose taste for brigandage and lawlessness was partly due to their crass ignorance and lack of civilization.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

The Patriarch then discussed the land question in Eastern Anatolia. It had arisen out of the fact that during the period of Armenian massacres large numbers of Armenian peasants had been driven from their holdings, which were then occupied by Kurd squatters. They now demanded the restitution of their lands. The Government proposed to indemnify them for their losses and had allotted a sum of £100,000 for this purpose. The Patriarch expressed the opinion that a policy of restitution would be more suitable than one of reparation and the fear that the sum allotted would prove insufficient, the best and therefore most valuable areas having been seized by the Kurds.

All unprejudiced observers who have studied the situation in the Armeno Kurdish districts will agree that the Patriarch's *exposé* of the grievances of the Armenians is by no means exaggerated. The Armenians have stood by the Ottoman Government in spite of constant Kurdish outrages and the massacres in Cilicia, and have done their duty on the battlefield as well as the Turks and better than the Kurds, a large proportion of whom notoriously shirk military service in the Regular Army. Occurrences such as the violation and forced conversion to Islam of the wives of Armenian soldiers absent in Thrace are not calculated to encourage this virtue, especially when local Courts refuse to intervene on behalf of the victims.

The Turks do not seem to understand that Armenian discontent is ascribed by them in most cases to the inevitable "ednebi paravaghy" (the finger of the foreigner), which is dragged in to explain every trouble from which their Empire was labouring.

As far as the writer has been able to judge, the Armenians of Turkey would infinitely prefer to remain under direct Ottoman rule if the Turk would grant decent conditions of existence to the up-country Armenian peasants, a steady-going conservative race who are neither revolutionaries nor money lenders.

Constantinople, May 11.

There is reason to believe that the Armenian committee delegated by the Catholics of Etchmudzin, which represents the Armenians of Russia, Egypt, and other countries outside the Ottoman Empire, and of which Nubar Pasha is president, has suggested to the Patriarch that instead of demanding that reform of the administration of the six Anatolian provinces inhabited by a large Armenian element should be guaranteed by the six Great Powers, it would be more expedient to request the Powers to concede the surveillance of the reforms to one of their number. The Armenian Patriarch is believed to have consented to the proposal, which finds favour with many Armenians on the ground that six Powers are hardly to be expected to draw up a programme of reform with the necessary rapidity.

The Turkish Press, on the whole, admits the justice of the Armenian demands, but is obviously opposed to the idea of placing executive power in the hands of the foreign officials whom the Government proposes to employ with the object of settling the administration of the provinces in question on a sound footing.

Deputation to the Grand Vizier.

Constantinople, May 12.

The delegates of the Armenian National Assembly, under the presidency of the Patriarch, to-day laid their memorandum respecting Armenian grievances before the Grand Vizier. After Mahmud Shevket Pasha had received the delegates in a very friendly manner, the Patriarch made a verbal protest couched in energetic terms against the excesses from which Armenians in Asia Minor continued to suffer, and the apathy of the Government which encouraged Kurdish and other marauders to persist in their evil courses. Bishop Himmayan and Stepan Effendi Karayan also spoke, the former protesting against the attitude of a part of the Turkish Press, while the latter gave details concerning the ill-treatment of Armenians in the interior.

The Grand Vizier stated that the war had prevented reforms, but now that the war was virtually over the Government as a first step had sent gendarmes from Roumeli to Anatolia. He eulogized the courage and devotion shown by Armenian soldiers during the war, and expressed the hope that in time it would be possible to apply a thoroughgoing scheme of reform to Eastern Anatolia. The attitude of the Armenian community, he said, had been correct. He could assure Armenians that the rumours that the Government proposed to send refugees from Macedonia to Armenian districts as colonists were false. The Grand Vizier concluded by informing the deputation that the Government would within a week issue a proclamation assuring the Moslem population that the Armenian community had not provoked the Balkan war and were in no way responsible for the Turkish reverses. He urged Armenians not to lose faith in the Government's good intentions and the prospect of the speedy application of reforms.

The Patriarch replied—"Do all you can and will; only, do not let there be massacres." He then took leave of the Grand Vizier.

The Turk's Gratitude.

WHATEVER his faults may be, the Turk cannot justly be accused of lacking gratitude. And his gratitude is not "a lively sense of favours to come." He has a better memory for a friend than for a foe; and though he has often been deceived with high-flown protestations of friendship and "protection" which have failed to bear fruit in season, the process of disillusionment does not seem to have soured his character. So, while the late war can hardly have raised his estimation of Europe as a whole, it is certain that those friends in need whom his coming has revealed to him are not likely soon to pass from his memory. In his letter of May 2 (published in our last week's issue) our Constantinople correspondent bore witness to the lively gratitude felt by the Turkish population for the help so freely, and at the same time so wisely given by Lady Lowther and her band of hard-working helpers. And, judging by other letters received from the city, he has by no means exaggerated the local feeling.

One of these correspondents send us the following lines, which will, we think, prove interesting to all those who have in any way assisted Lady Lowther's good work.—

Fair lady from a distant land,
Who heard the call of our tearless grief
And came with loving outstretched hand
To help us in our desperate need
Thy sisters of an alien creed,
Though stricken dumb with loss and pain
Dut their thoughts in prayer when freed
Did bless thee for thy ready aid
Mothers left with the world to fight,
And little mouths that called for food,
Saw in the dark a ray of light,
And so gained strength to struggle on
To those that helped thee with their wealth,
To those who fought 'gainst dread disease
Thousands to-day give thanks for health,
For life, for hope, for pain relieved
We lay, full humbly, at thy feet,
The only gift thou wouldst accept,
The promise that thy memory sweet
Will live with us till life be spent

SHUKRIE
(The Arab East)

British Relief Work in Constantinople.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 9.

LADY LOWTHER, the wife of the British Ambassador, has received a letter of thanks from Mahmud Shevket Pasha.

The compliment paid by the Grand Vizier to Lady Lowther and her helpers is right well deserved. The Relief Committee over which she has presided with rare energy, self-sacrifice, and tact has done extraordinarily good work in a thoroughly businesslike spirit. Working expenses have been cut down to a minimum; accounts have been regularly kept and published; relief in kind has only been given after personal investigation, often at the risk of infection, by members of the various sub-committees. In fine, the British and Indian, Egyptian, and other Moslem subscribers to Lady Lowther's relief fund may be satisfied that their generous donations have been administered in a thoroughly practical and efficient manner.

Up to the end of April the War Relief Fund had received roughly £129,000 (about £85,000 sterling) in donations, including

nearly £9,000 from India, Egypt, and Aden. Gifts of medicines, clothing, &c., to the value of nearly £3,000 have also been received. At the end of March, 8,700 soldiers' widows and families and 16,000 refugees were receiving relief at Constantinople, and the Relief Committee is working through or in co-operation with other organizations at various provincial centres, such as Brusa, Panderma, the Dardanelles, Uskub, Salonica, and Smyrna. Up to the end of April at least 900 tons of bread and about 750 tons of charcoal had been distributed in the capital with close on 40,000 articles of clothing. The sum of £12,000 received from the Turkish Government will be devoted to the relief of soldiers' families and widows. When the work of the Relief Committee and its sub-committees comes to an end, probably in about a fortnight's time, it is proposed to devote the balance of the war relief fund, which it is expected will amount to at least £7,000 sterling, to the starting of lace-making and similar industries for widows and orphans left by the death of their husbands without any means of support, at Scutari, Bebek, and Eynb. In this, as in many other departments of relief, Lady Lowther and her helpers have received great assistance from the generous co-operation of the American colony. Mention must also be made of the assistance rendered by the Red Cross and Red Crescent missions, notably by Major Doughty Wythe, who has just left Constantinople. The chief officers of the relief fund of which Lady Lowther has been acting and active president are Sir A. Black, President of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, Mr. Edwin Whittall, the leading British merchant in Constantinople, and Mr. H. P. Kerney, chief of the Salt Monopoly Department of the Public Debt Administration. All have done admirable work, as have the presidents and members of the various sub-committees, and the British colony here has the satisfaction of knowing that, though by no means the most numerous foreign colony here, it has equalled or surpassed the humanitarian efforts of any of its friendly rivals in helping the innocent victims of the war.

The Porte in Treaty for Battleships.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 8

NEGOTIATIONS have been proceeding for some time past for the sale to Turkey, through the Deutsch-Orient Bank, of the Brazilian Dreadnoughts Sao Paulo and Minas Geraes with four French-built destroyers, for which the Porte, if it can find the money, is ready to pay £13,800,000. It is understood that both battleships are in considerable need of repairs owing to careless handling, especially by the Revolutionaries who temporarily controlled them. There is reason to believe that the Turkish Government has offered the Deutsch-Orient Bank the mineral at Tophane and adjoining land as guarantee for repayment of the advance which will be required if the ships are to be purchased. It is possible, however, that the Constantinople Gas Company will have something to say in this connexion, as they have already offered to purchase the site in question, which is the only one suitable for an extension of the Galata quay.

It is generally understood that the Porte hopes, if the purchase is effected, to obtain delivery of the battleship after the conclusion of peace but before the Powers have reached any decision in regard to the Aegean Islands, believing in that case that its possession of these powerful units will greatly improve its position vis-à-vis the Greek claims.

It is worth noting that military preparations at Tchataldja are by no means suspended, 36 Krupp 12cm and 45m pieces having arrived here and been mounted in the lines during the last fortnight.

New Rumanian Territory.

Bukarest, May 7

THE protocol signed at St. Petersburg embodying the agreement between Rumania and Bulgaria runs as follows—

It is agreed—

1. The town of Silistria, with all its fortifications, shall be ceded to Rumania, together with all the land three kilometres (nearly two miles) from the fort, and thus, with an approximate radius of 18 kilometres (about eight miles) from the extremities of the town as it now stands. The future Rumanian frontier of Dobrudja shall begin at Danube, from the place called Popina, which will be allotted to Rumania.

2. Considering that natural geographical frontiers are the safest boundaries to divide two countries; considering also that with regard to this question by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878

a portion of the Dobrudja was ceded to Rumania without the guarantee of the possibility of defence, it is but right that the injustice done to Rumania in 1878 be redressed by the concession of a natural boundary which will follow the summits of Babuk, Aftatar, and Bez-Bunar hills up to the place named Kokardja.

3. On the other hand, considering also the opposition of the Bulgarian Government, which, for reasons connected with the defence of the port of Varna, cannot cede the whole extent of the gulf which stretches up to the promontory Kali-Akra, the frontier of the Dobrudja towards the Black Sea, from the point Kokardja, will have to follow the crown of the hills Karales and Gaigalik to Cape Shabla, which will remain in Bulgarian territory.

The general effect of this agreement is, apart from giving the important town of Silistria, one of the Danube fortresses, to Rumania, that the latter country secures a considerable increase of territory. Roughly speaking, the new frontier, starting at Popina on the Danube, west of Silistria, follows a tolerably straight south-easterly course which, if the same direction were continuously pursued, would reach the Black Sea coast at about Balteuk. The objection of Bulgaria to having the Rumanian frontier so near as conceivably to be dangerous to the port of Varna was, however, duly considered and as the new Rumanian border approaches the Black Sea it curves away from the Balteuk direction going first rather easterly and then northerly till it arrives at Cape Shabla.—*Reuter*

Turkish Prisoners at Adrianople.

WE have received from the Secretary to the British Red Crescent Society a copy of a report from a lady who had been working for two months with the Society's Mission at Burgaz, in Bulgaria, for the relief of the Turkish sick and wounded, and who went to Adrianople with the B. R. C. staff and relief party immediately on the fall of that city. The following are extracts from the report—

The majority of the prisoners were in two camps, one at Marasli, by the railway bridge, and one on a small island just on the outskirts of the city, and it is of this latter camp that I can speak from personal experience. It was quite a small island approached at either end by a narrow stone bridge, the bare ground was as hard as iron, and the only vegetation was a few leafless trees. Here the prisoners were put without food or shelter to fend for themselves as best they could, those who were strong enough hacked sides of the hard clay and made little walls, about 2 feet high, to try and gain a little shelter at night, or painfully scooped out hollows in the ground to lie in. They stripped the bark from the trees to make tiny, smoky fires, but, as their hunger grew, they were forced to make an attempt to eat the bark and do without their fires.

"They were all gaunt and weary, hopeless and miserable and hungry and cold, but the condition of the sick beggars description. At first they were in a small camp at the river's edge, but when it was brought home to the authorities after constant and urgent appeals, that there was a terrible danger of infection, they were moved to the centre of the island, and the majority of the other prisoners were moved away. The only accommodation provided for these men at the point of death was two or three filthy and dilapidated bell tents. They huddled into these until they were lying on top of one another, and yet the majority could obtain no shelter, and lay outside on the ground until death put an end to their miseries. They had no attention of any kind, and no one to even give them a drink of water or a piece of bread, exposed to the sun in the day and the cold at night. Both in the tents and in the open the dead and living lay side by side, the dead unburied, the living uncared for.

"Behind a fallen tree ten or twelve men had crept to die, and more had crawled to an old tower and died there alone. One man lay dead with a scrap of bread, green with mould and as hard as iron, in his fingers. . . . and one or two had died with their water cups in their hands in an attempt to get to the river and assuage their thirst, but the river, alas! was down a steep bank far beyond their feeble efforts. . . . An old Turkish woman who had somehow gained admittance to the island came and besought our help, her son was there sick and with frost-bitten feet, which she was washing with a little water. She had brought him a quilt from their home and was trying to make him comfortable under a tree—a poor attempt—but it was heart-rending to hear her cry 'I'm his mother, his mother,' and beseech the Doctor Effendi to get her permission to take him home and nurse him. Another woman, with a tiny baby a few days old, was seeking for her husband only to find him lying quite dead from hunger and thirst just on the river bank. She sat beside him for hours with the baby in her arms now and then peering

at the dead face, weeping bitterly and chanting his death song as Turkish women do."—*The Near East*.

French Interests in Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 14.

THE negotiations in which different Powers are known to be engaged with Turkey are exciting the keenest interest and some apprehensions in France. It is feared in some quarters that the German Government is endeavouring to have the 3 per cent. Customs surtax which was authorized by the Powers in 1907 for defraying the cost of Macedonian reforms hypothecated in the interest of the Baghdad Railway loan. This arrangement would meet with grave objections on the part of France, both because it would mortgage the future financial settlement of Turkey with the Balkan States and also because it would give Germany too exclusive a hold upon the economic and commercial development of the Ottoman Empire.

The *Temps* yesterday complained of the inactivity of French diplomacy at Constantinople in various regards, and specially asserted that the French Embassy there was "imposing upon French Consuls in Syria an attitude which discouraged the sympathies of France's Syrian friends, and was leaving to the British Consuls the benefit of a rôle which, nevertheless, belonged to France with the explicit consent of England obtained in 1912 by M. Poincaré."

As I have previously stated, there is absolutely no truth in this reiterated statement of the *Temps* that M. Poincaré obtained from Sir Edward Grey any consent to a special rôle of France in Syria, or any recognition of it. All that was stated on behalf of the British Government was that Great Britain had no intention of taking any action in Syria. It is, moreover, notorious that the great bulk of Syrians, including, as I am now assured, even a majority of the Maronites, are entirely opposed to the intervention of any of the Powers in their domestic affairs.

SCHOOLS AND RAILWAYS.

Paris, May 15.

The discussion of the negotiation, which has been conducted separately by various Powers with regard to their interests in Turkey continues. Information as to the exact character of these negotiations, especially in the case of the British interests in the Persian Gulf, is somewhat uncertain, but there is unanimity in the admission that France has loyally been kept informed of the negotiations by Great Britain. A Havas telegram from Constantinople states that while the Anglo-Turkish negotiations are being conducted in London by Hakkı Pasha the Porte is at the same time negotiating with France and Russia for the settlement of all pending questions with the Cabinets of Paris and St. Petersburg. These negotiations with France are being conducted in Paris by David Bey, in so far as they concern railway concessions, and in Constantinople by the French Ambassador, M. Bompard, with regard to all other matters. The negotiation with Russia are concerned with the delimitation of the frontiers of Turkey and Persia, which is nearly completed, and with railway construction in Eastern Anatolia.

The *Echo de Paris* this morning gave an account of the French demands under eight headings. The first three of these concern the granting of *firmans* to permit the Franco-Turkish agreement of 1901. It is required that this agreement shall in future be regularly executed, and that the French schools shall be assimilated to Turkish public schools in respect of the value of their diplomas, their exemption from taxation, &c. The fourth, fifth, and sixth demands deal with the position of French nationals, to whom Tunisians and Moroccans in Turkey are to be explicitly assimilated in respect of their rights. It is pointed out that the terms of the Austrian capitulations, which have hitherto regulated these matters, are obscure, and that French nationals, when prosecuted by Turkish judicial authorities, have frequently been subjected to prolonged and illegal detention or have been unable to return to Turkey. It is further demanded that certain pending claims in this category should be submitted to arbitration.

THE PRINCIPAL CONCESSIONS.

The last two French demands deal with railway concessions and ports. In Armenia the definite concession *en régie* of the Samsun-Sivas-Kharput-Diarbekr railway is demanded, and also the demand is made that it should be supplemented by a Diarbekr-Erzurum-Trebizond line. In Syria a concession is demanded for the prolongation southwards from Rayak in the direction of Jerusalem of the Damascus-Hamah line; further, an arrangement

for a division of the traffic between the two sections of the Damascus-Hamah and the Hedjaz line which reach the coast of Syria at Beirut and at Haifa respectively. These two measures are urgently demanded in the interest of a legitimate field of development for the French capital invested in the Damascus-Hamah railway.

As regards ports, it is demanded that the following places shall form subjects of concessions to French enterprises—Ineboli and Heiadia on the Black Sea, Tripoli, Haifa, and Jaffa in Syria.

These demands were addressed to the Porte on February 24, that is to say, nearly a month before the present French Ministry took office with M. Pichon at the Foreign Minister, but it is understood that they are being maintained. It is pointed out that while the Samsun-Sivas-Kharput-Diarbekr and the Trebizond-Erzurum lines, the latter of which would be one long tunnel, have been delayed by technical difficulties—concessions were granted for them in 1890—their construction has really been stopped by the objections of Russia, which desired to prevent any railway extension in these regions such as might strategically menace either the Russian or the Persian frontier. The *Temps* states that with regard to the greater part of these lines the *concessionnaire* will be bound, according to the French demands, to agree to dates of construction which may be fixed by the Turkish Ministry of Public Works in accordance with an arrangement between the Ottoman and the Russian Governments. The same journal gives a very long list of convents, churches, chapels and charitable institutions in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and particularly in Jerusalem and Beirut, which the French demands concern. Generally these demands apply to all convents and chapels which are missions of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem or of various religious orders which are supported by the Church in France. They also affect a very large number of schools under Roman Catholic auspices.

FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR.

The meeting of the Technical Commission which is to arrange the financial details of the Balkan settlement in Paris has again been postponed, and May 27 is now announced as the date of the opening of the Conference, at which 11 Powers will be represented. It is expected that the Commission will sit for several months.

Problems Awaiting the Powers.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—The reply of the Allies and the appointment of delegates to the new Conference in London herald the conclusion of war and face Europe with the problems of peace. The matter which most nearly concerns the Powers and the people of Great Britain is that a cessation of hostilities should not introduce a new age of intrigue and anxiety.

The old question of the Balkans clouded the minds of two generations of statesmen, filled Europe with discussions, maintained a continued scene of fratricidal strife in Macedonia, and drained the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire of men and money.

The prime cause of this most tragic situation is now removed, henceforward there can be no doubt to whom the European Provinces of Turkey will belong—while there can be no further call on the populations of Asiatic Turkey to send soldiers and taxes west of Constantinople. The most urgent consideration is that the new conformation should not become the basis of fresh troubles both in Asia and in Europe.

There are two dangers—(1) the enlarged Balkan States in their period of initial poverty and exhaustion may tend to become the clients of greater Powers; (2) the Ottoman Empire in Asia may succumb from shock after the loss of so much prestige, manhood, and territory.

With regard to the first cause of anxiety I do not venture more than the brief indication, but touching the second I dare make certain suggestions. Turkey in Asia contains elements of cohesion, but it has in it certain others, which if unaccounted for will bring about its speedy dissolution. The collapse of Turkey in Asia would have for its consequences a complete alteration of the balance of power in Europe and Asia, and must produce a situation so artificial as to be fatal to the permanent quiet of the world, if not indeed leading up to an immediate breach of the peace.

That this catastrophe should be averted is a matter of universal interest, yet it cannot be avoided by good resolutions on the part of the Ottoman Government, nor by good advice on the part of the Powers; decisive action is required from one, practical assistance from the other.

A brief statement of condition of the Empire will assist in appreciating its needs. The Ottoman Empire has lost in men and prestige; on the other hand, it gains financially since the surplus of Asiatic taxation will not be engulfed in Macedonian administration and defence. The loss of men will react temporarily on Asiatic finance, but the loss of prestige will prove a greater evil.

Since 1904 the Government has declined steadily in authority; increase in prosperity and development and in a slight degree even administrative capacity has been accompanied by an uninterrupted loss of moral power on the part of the Administration.

The Arabian regions are tending to drift away, the Kurdish-Armenian districts to dissolve in anarchy, the wholly Turkish areas of Anatolia to collapse from sheer exhaustion under grinding taxation and constant military service. The Khilafate of the Sultan has for the moment lost much of its unifying power, the educated and official classes are divided into bitter and unforgiving factions, the army is discredited and disunited, Government as a whole obtains little respect, the party in office and its opponents out of office practically none at all. War has shaken Turkey in Asia to its foundations, peace will bring into the tottering structure the reflux of hordes of released prisoners and defeated soldiers, accompanied by streams of helpless refugees from Macedonia seeking land and accommodation.

The Administration is stagnant and overcrowded. Some 10,000 officials in Asia will be reinforced by a further 20,000 displaced in Macedonia. The fundamental difficulty is that this bureaucracy can neither be pensioned off nor discharged; it is in itself "public opinion," and as far as the Muslim portion of the community is concerned holds a monopoly of Western "intellectualism." The presence of this universal element precludes the possibility of reform by means of the mere stroke of a benevolent despot's pen or an energetic tyrant's sword; yet the immediate adoption of a scheme of reform which will hold the Empire together during the coming crisis and give it an opportunity of developing its immense human and material resources is the only means by which Turkey can be saved as a political and geographical factor.

A scheme of reform to be successful must not offer a further blow to the prestige of the Throne, should be adaptable to the conditions of a various Empire, make a maximum use of existing institutions and be initiated with a minimum disturbance of the present social and economic conditions.

The writer of this letter ventures to suggest the following as a possible method:—

Finance.—The establishment of a joint commission of finance supplied by the Powers, and responsible to the Sultan alone, having full control of the raising of, and of the Imperial revenues as does the Public Debt at the present moment with certain specified sources of supply—this commission to have control for a fixed period of years, at the conclusion of which its existence and constitution should come up for reconsideration.

Administration.—The division of the Empire (with the exception of Lebanon, Hedjaz and Yemen) into six administrative areas, the first containing Anatolia, the second lesser Armenia including Adana, Zietun, and Sivas, the third Armenia and North Kurdistan, the fourth Syria and Palestine, i.e., from Marash to Gaza inclusive, the fifth Iraq, i.e., the provinces of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra, and the sixth the present provinces of Diabekr, Van, Zor, Bith and that portion of the province of Van south of the lake.

As regards the first five of these administrative areas I suggest that a European Inspector-General, with full executive powers, should be appointed to each of these areas, and should have attached to him a European officer charged with the reorganization and administration of the Gendarmerie and one European financial adviser, the administrative subdivisions and personnel of these areas to remain approximately as at present. The sixth central area should form a model administration, in which all the heads of departments, with the exception of those dealing with religious endowments and education, should be Europeans, as also all executive civil officers above the rank of a second-class Kaimakam.

The idea underlying these proposals is that financial reform should be immediate and general and apply equally to all parts of the Empire, while administrative reform could be begun in all its branches in the central area. There a new school of indigenous administrators could be trained, new methods could be tested, and the richest yet most ruined tracts of land given full opportunity of development. Suppose such a scheme were attended with any measure of success we should in a decade have Ottoman finance as a whole reduced to complete order, the central portion of the Empire well governed and fully developed, radiating a new class of Ottoman official and sound methods of Government to all the most populous parts of the Empire. The central area, be it noted, is remote from any suspicion of being the possible objective of any of

the Great Powers, and contains in its population members of every race and creed in the Empire.

Lastly I would add that, as regards the Macedonian refugees, there is plenty of room and opportunity for them to colonize the valuable, but uninhabited tracts of Asiatic Turkey. To settle them in suitable districts will require a special administration of medical men, engineers, and agricultural experts, which Europe alone can supply. I should therefore submit that a special but temporary department will be required immediately for the solution of a problem which, if neglected, will bring further strife, misery, and ruin, but which, if dealt with scientifically, will supply a potent source of regeneration.

Yours, &c.,

VERIL

Report on Egypt.

London, May 26.

In his annual report on Egypt, Lord Kitchener notes with satisfaction the marked diminution of party feeling and strife, and the indications of greater confidence in the Government, particularly among the silent mass of the people. He considers that this signifies that the population in the near future will again be closely united in an endeavour to work loyally for the common good. The Legislative Council, he says, has been doing useful work and has been of material assistance to the Government. Lord Kitchener hopes, before long, to see a reform in the system of election with some extension of powers to a reorganised Council more fully representing the people.

He refers to the excellent effect of the visit of Sir Charles Macra and the cotton delegation, which drew the attention of cultivators and merchants to the importance of supplying the article required by spinners. The closest attention is being paid to the improvement of the varieties of cotton-seed, but it is a long process requiring great care and patience, and the advice of the expert delegates was of very great value in this respect. The establishment of cotton markets throughout the country has been carried out with generally beneficial results though the advantages which were anticipated have been somewhat retarded owing to the opposition of the small merchants who prefer the old system of individual dealing with the *fellahs* and the facilities which were offered for keeping them in their debt.

Lord Kitchener regrets that a want of unanimity among the Powers has delayed the introduction of mixed courts and a reorganization of the excessive number of judges. The reform will in no wise affect the fundamental principle for the participation of foreign judges, which is necessary for the due protection of the large financial interests of foreigners.

Commenting on Lord Kitchener's report, the *Times* wishes that the Government of India would furnish Englishmen at home with a similar kind of information of the slowly but steadily increasing work, called the "Moral and Material Progress Report," which is annually done by the India Office at an unobtrusive Parliament.

London, May 24.

In the annual report on Egypt, Lord Kitchener, alluding to the disastrous consequences of the Balkan war for Turkey, pays a remarkable tribute to the Turkish soldier.

Lord Kitchener says that defective military arrangements appear to have been responsible for the breakdown of one of the finest fighting armies in the world.

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Through Shaikh Ali, Esq., Aligarh	25 0 0	Less M. O. Compensation	1 5 0
A. Musammnat sympathiser of Aligarh	25 0 0	Total	3,815 3 4
Through M. Karamatulla, Esq., Hyderabad, Deccan	284 9 7	Amount previously acknowledged	2,87,209 7 8
Mrs. Misaour Rahman, Purnamaganti	16 0 0	Gross Total	3,51,024 11 0
Nur Ahmad, Esq., Agra	10 0 0		
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Received from Chartered Bank of India China and Australia, Delhi, on account of exchange on Rs. 22,500 remitted to Constantinople	24 5 9		
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7.6.13

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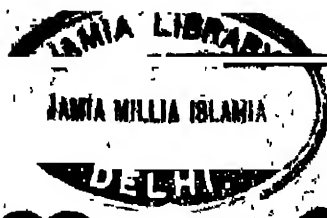
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Edited by - Mohamed Ali

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Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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Lord Sydenham on India.

LORD SYDENHAM was last night the guest of the Anglo-Saxon Club. In a speech, Lord Sydenham deplored the general apathy in England towards Indian affairs. He said he would like to see more sympathy and less criticism of those who were working for the good of India. Never was there a time when India, so greatly needed the best brains and the biggest hearts. There was only one course to pursue. We must go straight ahead and do what we thought right for the country and not seek to satisfy the discontented thousands whose interest did not always coincide with the millions in India.

Afghanistan.

THE *Pioneer's* frontier correspondent states that during the past few months a considerable number of Russian subjects have crossed into the Herat province and Afghan Turkistan. Whole families have appeared in the Amir's territory with the avowed object of settling, but they have been moved on by the Afghan officials. The result is that some of these people have travelled through Afghanistan and reached India. No explanation is offered of this curious movement which has now been going on for considerable time.

The Calcutta Dinner.

Speaking at the Calcutta Dinner, Lord Curzon said he did not think that the commercial interests of Calcutta would suffer by the removal of the Capital. He thought that the change was a mistake on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, though he did not hold that opinion in the interests of Calcutta or on behalf of any sectional interest, but for the sake of the Government of India and British rule in India. To abandon a place of such memories, to hunt for a new capital among the graveyards of forgotten kings, to spend millions to construct a new capital which would be shut off from the public life of the country, was not likely to be fraught with good. When he left India, he prophesied that the system of military administration established against the advice of the Government of India, must result in confusion if not chaos. Everyone who knew the facts was conscious that that prediction had been fulfilled. He was now tempted to make another prophecy. If a great pompous capital were set up with places and cathedral halls and all the appurtenances of a great Government, he feared that in time it would be found that Government had become a gilded phantom, while the power of initiative would go elsewhere.

Sir John Hewitt, urging the importance of encouraging trade development in India, said that so long as the people were occupied and prosperous, they would not have the time or inclination to cavil at the Government of India. This truth ought to be more recognized than it had been in the past. It was specially desirable to lay stress thereon at present. The necessity for a strong European element in the administration must commend itself to every well-wisher of India. It was still more important that there should be a strong efficient army if the security and contentment of the population were to be maintained. He hoped the Bengal Chamber of Commerce would protest against any proposal to reduce the strength of the army in India by a single British officer or soldier.

The Week.

Persia.
A TEHRAN message says that Government has received information that Salar-ed-Dowleh has been severely defeated by the Sipahs, and that Salar-ed-Dowleh has fled to Talish with only thirty men.

St. Petersburg message says: The Ministerial Committee dealing with the question of new railways, has approved of a concession to be granted to the Vychayradsky Putiloff Syndicate, for construction of a line from Ariota (Aliot) to Astara, which is considered the starting point of the Trans-Caspian Railway.

Bahadur Railway.
The report of the Bahadur Railway for 1912, shows a net profit of Rs. 1,400 compared with Rs. 281,852 in 1911. The dividend is 5 per cent.

Public Services Commission.
The Indian Public Services Commission have decided to invite applications from the authorities of the Universities where selected candidates may spend their probation, and from representatives of secondary schools; further, from the Board of Education, the Education Department, and Mr. Stanley Leather, of the Education Commission, and also concerning the medical test for candidates. It is not expected that much general criticism will be raised.

TETE À TETE



WE HAVE NO desire to continue a controversy with our esteemed correspondent, Captain Berkeley-Hill, if it is likely to remain sterile of good results—as unfortunately too many newspaper controversies do—and on the contrary produce results which, we are sure, he as well as we would be sorry to contemplate. Capt Berkeley-Hill seems inclined to think that the reception which we accorded to his first two contributions to the *Comrade* was so very courteous—in other words discourteous—that he felt considerable diffidence in addressing us a third time. We shall be extremely sorry to believe that we cease to be courteous the moment we begin to be candid with our European friends. It may possibly be true all the same, for we confess we Indians have been treated to so much candour by our European friends that our sunburnt skins have become more than a little toughened and the finer sensibility of courtesy of an older day has ceased to exist. Yet another “concession,” *mon ami*!

SO FAR AS WE CAN understand what courtesy means we find nothing in our comments on the views of Captain Berkeley-Hill for which to accuse ourselves of discourtesy towards him. In fact, we thought we expressed considerable admiration for his frankness, sympathy and earnestness in learning the point of view of Indians and explaining the point of view of Europeans. We, however, note his reluctance to be taken at a higher valuation in the matter of sympathy than “a very ordinary type of my race.” We have had many occasions of coming across men of that type in India, and hope, for our sakes as well as his, that our correspondent does not really answer that description. He has, however, taken a line of argument so curious and yet so generally taken by men belonging to “a very ordinary type of my race,” that we are compelled to deal with his last letter. He admits that “certain aspects of the conduct of English people towards their Indian neighbours are indefensible.” But he believes that in his evidence given before the Public Services Commission the editor of the journal gave “an exaggerated description of the exclusiveness of Europeans in India in their relation to the natives of the country,” and that “the majority of Indians are not fully aware of the extent to which very many Europeans are prepared to go to fill up the chasm which no one can deny exists between the two races,” and he wished to illustrate his point of view “by a few references to his own experiences in the course of six years” spent in no less than five Provinces.

CAPTAIN BERKELEY-HILL quotes no passage from that evidence which, he considers, contains an exaggerated description of European exclusiveness, and he has nowhere shown what exactly the European is prepared to do “to fill up the chasm.” As for the reference to his own experiences, we are constrained to say that they have no relevance whatever in this particular connection, though they may or may not be accepted as proof positive of the want of hospitality of Indians of education and rank, of the insolence of Indian “noble” men towards European pedestrians, of the undesirable ways and habits of Indians travelling in first class railway carriages, and of the dishonest dealings of Indian “Nawabs” who believe they are “kiss, unto death.” As regards the exclusiveness of Europeans in India, the admissions of our correspondent are as good a proof as any we could have desired, and when he specifically points out any exaggeration in our description of such exclusiveness we shall be prepared to justify it or retract. So far we have not come to that bridge and need not cross it. As regard the Indians’ ignorance of the inward

desires of Europeans for social intercourse, we may well refer to a speech made by the late Nizam at a banquet at Hyderabad at which he entertained Lord Minto. It is not enough, he said, to feel a sympathy for Indians. It is also necessary to impress the Indians with that sympathy.

LET US NOW turn to Captain Berkeley-Hill’s experience. He mentions that he has not been in a position to dispense a “favour” and he also adds that, save on two occasions, he has never been asked to any entertainment, other than receptions of a semi-official or official nature, by an Indian of any position or education. The juxtaposition of the two statements suggests that Captain Berkeley-Hill thinks Indians of position and education entertain only those who are in a position to dispense “favours.” Now we are only too painfully aware of this tendency in many Indians “of position,” though we have no reason to believe that Indians “of education” have also begun to follow the lead of what the officials are pleased to call “the natural leaders of the people.” But in the first place, are there any entertainments in India in which Indians invite Europeans which are “other than receptions of a semi-official or official nature?” Do Europeans encourage any entertainments other than these when they sip tea, dine or dance “On His Majesty’s Service only”? In the second place, do not the Europeans who are in a position to dispense “favours” encourage by their acts or their omissions entertainments given to obtain “favours”? In the third place, let us not ask any more questions, but make a positive assertion, that our own experience of Indians of position and education leads us to say that had Captain Berkeley-Hill made the men of his acquaintance clearly understand that he was something different from “a very ordinary type of his race” and sought intimate and disinterested social intercourse with Indians, he would certainly have been invited on more than two occasions in his experience of five provinces of India in the course of six years to an entertainment of an informal and truly social character. But we must give a word of warning. Many an Indian “of education,” if not “of position,” is afraid of inviting a European to a meal because of a natural diffidence that he could not provide a well-cooked European meal served in proper European style, and a certainty that an Indian meal served in Indian fashion would not be acceptable. It is only the poor that are courageous enough in their ignorance of European conventions to invite a Sahab to have a drink of milk or curds on their doorstep.

BUT WHY need we discuss the subject further. Captain Berkeley-Hill can be trusted at the end of every ardent advocacy to give away the whole case by his admissions. We referred to some in his previous letter and need quote only one from his last. He says: “The chasm between the races is in my opinion . . . the result of an inherent antipathy of the white man for the brown whatever ‘scholar’ may say to the contrary. This antipathy is increased by the natural want of sympathy in the Englishman on the one hand, and by the effects of English education on an Indian, on the other.” He goes further and admits that so little is the Englishman prepared to concede socially that he would rather lose India than give up any of his narrow insular conventions. “The extraordinary conservatism of the English character is such that if you could demonstrate beyond all possible doubt he would have to ‘change his spots’ or go, nine-tenths of the race would immediately say: ‘Then we will go.’ No student of the psychology of the English people could expect any other reply.” If this is so, then we say, like our school friend, Euclid: *Quod erat demonstrandum*!

CAPTAIN BERKELEY-HILL seems to have had a unique experience, however, of Nawabs and noblemen. We are not unaware of the existence of many “noble” men “who consider it due to their dignity to be utterly careless of the poor pedestrians who are in their road.” But imagination faints at the contemplation of a nobleman, with or without inverted commas, who could have had the daring to have been within an ace of riding over a European. When some noblemen of the court of Mir Jafar of Plassey were reported by Clive to that “humble servant” of the John Company Bahadur for their stiff-neckedness, they pleaded “Not guilty” to the charge, and argued in their defence that every morning they took care to salame even the jackass of Clive. Are not “noble” men equally submissive, and even more sincerely so to-day? How often a European pedestrian? Why, if we could discover one who would not apologise to a European jockey for the honour of being ridden over, we would treat him like Captain Berkeley-Hill’s “policy” and take him out on Festival days and Celebrations, and then expel him to the astonished gaze of wonder-worshippers.

him away till the next time. As for the "Nawab" who has cheated Capt. Berkeley-Hill of his fee, we trust he was not carrying out a vendetta for a brother "Nawab" who had purchased—all in the way of business to be sure—a string of lame polo ponies from his "Political." Will Captain Berkeley-Hill pardon us for the bare reference to a universally known historical fact? Was it not an English doctor who procured for his nation this vast Empire in fee simple absolute?

With reference to our correspondent's experiences in railway trains, we presume he never came across the Indian Prince who, according to no less a person than Sir David Barr, had to shampon the mud-covered legs of a European Nimrod who insisted on this form of the recognition of European prestige in addition to an acquiescence in his intrusion into the Prince's reserved carriage. This happened when the Prince in question was returning from the Curzonian Durbar after a lengthy sermon from the Viceroyal Throne on the high destiny of all who shared the glories of our great Empire. Much as we would like to share Captain Berkeley-Hill's belief that he "was given the most comfortable seat in a very crowded third class railway carriage" because of the poor passengers' kindness and consideration, it is just possible that their kindness and consideration were not very different from the kindness and consideration of the Indian Prince who shamponed the European shikar's legs in his own reserved carriage on the return journey from the Durbar. As regards the Indian "gentleman" who travelled in a first class railway carriage with Captain Berkeley-Hill, and "made such havoc in the lavatory compartment in the course of his ablutions" that our esteemed correspondent was quite unable to make use of the compartment himself, we have yet to know what this experience is expected to prove. What bearing does this have on the exaggerated character or otherwise of our description of the exclusiveness of Europeans in India in their relations to the natives of the country, or on our correspondent's belief that "the majority of Indians are not fully aware of the extent to which Europeans are prepared to go to fill up the chasm" between the two races? Again, what reflection can it cast on the person whom Capt. Berkeley-Hill calls a gentleman in inverted commas? We have a genuine admiration for the cleanliness and hygienic excellence of European lavatories, but—unless courtesy forbids candour—we are bound to say that European ideas of the cleanliness of the person are as unhygienic as they are revolting to us, and we wonder how a European doctor like our correspondent can be so enamoured of them that he is even prepared to deny gentlemanliness to an Indian whose ablutions compel him to make "such havoc in the lavatory compartment." Has he no condemnation for the Railway authorities that have either not yet realized that Indians travel by trains and can and do afford to travel by second class and sometimes by first class also, or that Indian ideas of cleanliness of the person are superior to, or at least different from those of Europeans? At any rate, we hope that he will now lend a forlorn hope against the Railway authorities and compel them to make more suitable provisions for Indians in the lavatory compartments than the present which can only fit in with European ideas of cleanliness.

It seems that Captain Berkeley-Hill would look upon the loss of India—"your lordships' only Empire" as Honest John once told the House of Lords—as an order of release, and he thinks that when the old Leopard "who could not because he would not change his spots," "whose whiskers she (India) has tweaked, and on whose tail she has so often trodden, eventually sloughs off in disgust," he will be fully reengaged by the sharper beak of some Eagle and the longer claws of a Bear. We must say we have long been familiar with the Bear and, thanks to Sir Edward Grey, have come to regard his "tag" as a condemnation devoutly to be wished. But what fearful wildfowl is the Eagle that now arises on our horizon for the first time? Be that as it may, could not Great Britain teach us something of her own Political Philosophy that would make us dispense with all this Zoology which Capt. Berkeley-Hill is teaching us. Surely Great Britain is incapable of the sin of having a "policy." But has not her genius for a pure empiricism taught her that other subject-nations may turn Imperial Britain as she cursed Imperial Rome when the Roman legions left her shores to attempt to defend their own Imperial city and fail, and made her such an easy prey to another Eagle with sharper beak? If, after a century and a half of British rule India cannot rule herself without the intervention of Europe's birds and beasts, what a

commentary this on the constructive work of Great Britain in India?

WE HAVE hardly any doubt that Captain Berkeley-Hill correctly voices the feeling of the majority in the Empire-Builders and Empire-Wreckers. mental Messes and the Gymkhanas and Station Clubs of Anglo-India. But we hope the govern-

ance of India is to a great extent in the hands of the tenth that will "change the spots" quickly enough, and not in the hands of the nine-tenths that would immediately say: "Then we will go." But if it is the nine-tenths of the race that will have the last word in the matter, then be sure the entire race would deserve to go too! It was not by such stiff-necked Imperialism that the Empire was built, and if ever the Empire is wrecked it is such stiff-necked Imperialism that will wreck it. Conservatism of the race! Let us see if Nathaniel Higginson, Esq., Governor of Fort St. George in 1695, showed the same stiff-neckedness to the King of Ava that his successors are likely to show to the scions of the ruling house of Burmah now exiles in the Southern Presidency. Nathaniel Higginson, Esq., addresses the lord of the white elephant as follows:—"To his Imperial Majesty, who bleaseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, Empreur of empires, and excelling the kings of the East and of the West in glory and honour, the clear firmament of virtue, the fountain of justice, the perfection of wisdom, the lord of charity and protector of the distressed. The first mover in the sphere of greatness, president in council, victorious in warr; who feareth none and is feared by all; centre of the treasures of the earth, and of the sea, lord proprietor of gold and silver, ruby's, amber and all precious jewels, favoured by Heaven, and honoured by men, whose brightness shines through the world as the light of the sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory." This letter goes on with devout humility to beg for the release of a ship and its cargo and crew belonging to the Honourable John Company and captured by the King of Ava's order, and for the delivery of the estate of a merchant who had died—perhaps been killed—there, which his Majesty's Governors had "according to the usual justice of your Majesty's laws secured." The Governor of Madras sends "to present before the footstool of your throne, a few toys, as an acknowledgement of your Majesty's goodness." Talk about the smooth adulation of shopkeepers, what draper's assistant ever condescended, in order to sell his wares, to such abasement. In language soft and graceful as that of the most pitiful "poetry" of Oriental courts, the guileless Nathaniel treats piracy as pleasant hospitality and thanks his Majesty for robbery and murder. And yet, according to Capt. Berkeley-Hill, nine tenths of the race, rather than change the Leopard's spots, would immediately say: "Then we will go," and all in the name of "an extraordinary conservatism of the English character!" We wonder whether the "student of the psychology of the English people" in 1695 could expect any other than this crawling pedlar-like style in which Honourable John went to work to get in the small end of the wedge.

In our Pictorial Supplement to-day we reproduce a portrait of a boy of twelve in military uniform whose name will be remembered with pride by every Turk when he thinks of the terrible misfortunes that have over-

whelmed him in Europe. The boy, Husain Nouri, is the son of a soldier who was killed in the battle of Lule Burgas. His widowed mother, together with her two sons, was driven out of her home and fled for safety towards Tchataldja. Husain Nouri felt keenly the desolation and misery that so suddenly overwhelmed them and in his inconsolable grief vowed to avenge the death of his father. With this resolve he went to a commander at Tchataldja and begged to be supplied with a rifle and ammunition that he might fight the enemies of his faith and country. The Turkish officers who heard the boy's wish felt a pride in him, but, considering his age, could not, of course, comply with his request. He was kept for some days in the camp and was treated with all kindness that he might be beguiled out of his insistent desire. But the boy's resolve was firm and unshakable and, perceiving that officers were reluctant to give him what his heart yearned for, he stole out of the camp and set out on a wild quest for a rifle in the debris and wreckage of the battlefields near Tchataldja. Chance favoured him and he soon found a rifle and a number of cartridges. The next day a serious engagement was proceeding between the Bulgarians and the Turks and rifle shots were whistling through the air. Presently an officer in command of a Turkish detachment observed that a young boy standing at some distance from the soldiers was firing in the direction of the Bulgarian line with a rifle much longer than himself. The officer was amazed at the fearless courage and cool determination of the boy and, unable to restrain his admiration, he took the boy in his arms and carried him to Iszet Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief. Iszet Pasha was delighted as he heard the story and, after testing the marksmanship of Husain Nouri, which was remarkably steady and

accident, allowed him to be enlisted as a regular soldier in the army. Husain Nouri at once became the favourite of the officers and men. He distinguished himself on many occasions for his wonderful resolution, zeal and courage. Once he cut off the head of a Bulgarian spy, who was an officer in disguise and brought the trophy in triumph to the Commander-in-Chief. He was soon mentioned in dispatches and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan conferred on him the rank of Chaoosh (Commander of forty men). He once received a serious wound in the thigh from a burning shrapnel and was sent much against his will for treatment to the Egyptian Red Crescent Hospital at Hadenkouy. The Sultan did him the signal honour of going in person to inquire after his health in the hospital. After he was cured of his wound he went to Constantinople and stayed there for some days as the Imperial guest. He was received in audience by the Sultan. He wore his full military uniform and his photograph was taken on the occasion. He soon after left to join the army at Tebrataidja. The story of this boy hero will, we are sure, be read with pride and enthusiasm. Husain Nouri should be an ideal of every Moslem father and mother of what their children should be. If the ideal becomes a living inspiration no one need despair of the future of Islam in the world.

Unprovoked assaults on Indians by a certain type of Europeans are unfortunately not very rare in this country. We need hardly set about to estimate the general harm they do or the effect they produce on Indian feeling. Our only wish is that they were increasingly rare, if not entirely unknown, and that whenever they occur they were dealt with promptly with all the rigour and severity of the law. If the public opinion of Anglo-India is too feeble to check the wanton freaks of blustering bullies, Government should, at any rate, move in the matter and render the punishment of such offences much more deterrent. Complete remedy, however, is hardly possible as long as the haughty and domineering type of the European retains his present-day notions of self-importance. The recent incident in Bombay serves to give us a measure of what this self-importance is and shows the manner in which it derives its sustenance. The story may be briefly told. Mr. Hamza Nazar Mohamed Fatehali, a nephew of the late Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyebji, and highly respectable merchant of Bombay, had occasion to go to the office of the Japan Cotton Spinning Association on the afternoon of the 20th May last. The office was situated in York Buildings, Hornby Road, the same premises in which Messrs. Duxbury & Company had their offices. He got into the lift first, followed by a European. An assistant in the firm of Duxbury & Co., W. Evans by name, then came in and the liftman looked round to see if anyone would get out, as the rule was not to carry more than two passengers at a time. The firm assistant thereupon asked Mr. Hamza N Fatehali to leave, but he refused to do so. The assistant then gave him a slap on the head, but he would not leave even then. The assistant then endeavoured to push him out, but he hung on to the railing, whereupon the assistant gave him another slap and threw his cap out of the lift, telling him to go out and get it, but he did not do so. The assistant then left the lift and walked up to the second floor. Mr. H. N. Fatehali got out of the lift on the second floor, followed the assistant and asked for his name but the latter refused to give it and asked him to turn Mr. H. N. Fatehali out of the office. Mr. H. N. Fatehali then went to Inspector Chapman at the Esplanade Police Chowkey and the latter got him the name. A charge for assault was brought against W. Evans by Mr. H. N. Fatehali in the court of the Third Presidency Magistrate. The accused admitted all the facts stated above, but urged in his defence that "it was a rule that natives should always have the decency to make room for Europeans." The Magistrate asked if that was the rule in York Buildings. The accused said it was not the rule but that "it would be decency on the part of natives to do so." The Magistrate found the accused guilty, characterised the assault as cowardly, read the firm assistant a homily on manners and fined him Rs. 50. In the circumstances of the case the punishment seems to us to be excessively light. W. Evans' "European" dignity, we may take it, is unshuffled still and we doubt very much if the lecture with the slight punishment he has received will cure him of the methods with which he has learnt to maintain it. We wish Mr. H. N. Fatehali were a match to this "big, burly" bully in physical strength that he could teach him what "natives" thought of "decency" and of the "European," hankering after "front seats" who is dumped into India to earn a fat livelihood. Firm assistants and other Europeans of the type of Evans may not be many in India, but a single incident like this is sometimes enough to become a fruitful source of racial bitterness, and it is hardly necessary for us to say what its political consequences can be.

We have the pleasure to publish the following communication from Dr. B. K. Mitra setting forth a proposal to organise a school for an efficient teaching of the Vedic system of medicine in connection with the Madras-i-Tibbia in Delhi:—

An Ayurvedic School.

It is contemplated to open an Ayurvedic School in connection with the Madras-i-Tibbia, on modern lines. I am directed by the authorities to draw up a scheme of education for it, after consulting the leading practitioners of that system. I have been so far able to collect opinions of some prominent Ayurvedists on the subject. These vary in details, but almost all of them enjoin the adoption of modern improvements in Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Surgery, etc. The existing institutions of Ayurvedic learning have made their course of studies more of a literary than of scientific value. Moreover, they grant titles or licenses within a ludicrously short period—in some cases only a course of one year is held sufficient for the first title! By this they make the Ayurveda rather cheap than efficient. Considering the above drawbacks the following course of studies is proposed for the consideration of all those who are interested in the Ayurveda. The minimum period of studies proposed for the Junior Examination of Vaidya Chikitsak is three years; and a further course of two or three years is deemed necessary for the Senior Examination of Vaidya Churanani. The courses of studies will be the following:—

(A) Junior Course, 3 years, medium of instruction, Hindi.

1. Chemistry—elementary, modern
2. Pharmacy—modern and of Sharangadhara
3. Materia Medica B. P. selected and Nighantu of Bhava
4. Botany—Morphology, elementary, modern.
5. Anatomy and Physiology—Human, elementary, modern.
6. Diagnosis—modern, and Madhava Nidan.
7. Clinical Methods—modern.
8. Principles of Treatment—modern and Chakradatta.
9. Narivigyan
10. First Aid and Minor Surgery—modern.

Optional.—Sanskrit language.

(B) Senior Course, 2 or 3 years. Medium of instruction, Sanskrit.

1. Susrut (whole).
2. Charak (whole).
3. Bhava Prakash (whole).
4. Vaisajya Ratnavali (whole).
5. Vagbhatta-Sutrasthan
6. Midwifery, Infant feeding and Diseases of Women (modern).

Optional.—(a) Practical Rasayana, or (b) Therapeutics (modern).

It is also proposed to create the final degree of Acharya which will be conferred on any graduate of this or any other recognised institution who writes an original thesis to be approved by the board of examiners. We need hardly say the whole proposal for the creation of the school is an excellent one in its main object, and we trust it will receive ample support from the public.

We are glad to hear that Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Abdul Haq Haqqani of Delhi, the author of "Tafsir Haqqani," has been appointed as the Head Maulvi of the Calcutta Madrasa.

Rs. 500 p. m. Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahab is an author of repute and is much respected for his learning and erudition. The authorities have made a wise choice, and we trust Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahab will prove an acquisition to the Madrasa. The Arabic Department of that institution has been particularly mismanaged in the past and there has consequently been an extravagant waste of money and of the time and energy of the scholars without any appreciable results. A scholar of Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahab's attainments is sure to stimulate the interest of students in the study of Arabic and direct their energies into useful channels. Some of the Bengal papers have criticised the appointment perhaps because the Shams-ul-Ulama is not a Bengali. This is hardly the spirit in which questions bearing on the education of Bengal Muslims should be discussed. The sole object in all such matters should be to secure the best man with entire freedom from narrow parochial bias. The authorities have evidently been wise in exercising a broader outlook with a view to selecting the most suitable man for the post. As we have already said Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahab enjoys a great reputation as an Arabic scholar. His "Commentary on the Kuran" is a work of considerable merit and shows the wide range of his studies and his extensive knowledge of Arabic literature and history. He is a gentleman in all circumstances and much respected socially and we may well believe the emoluments of post are not the only attraction that has induced him to accept it. We hope he would do useful work as the Head Maulvi of the Calcutta Madrasa and abundantly justify his appointment.

The Comrade.

The Passing of Mahmoud Shevket.

ONE hardly knows how to estimate the consequences of the sudden, terrible and treacherous blow that has once more overwhelmed Turkey and plunged the entire Moslem world in grief. The greatest patriot, soldier and statesman who was harnessed to the service of his fatherland and his faith is no more. The authors of the foul and awful deed may have been moved by murderous personal passion, political hatred or revenge. Whatever their motive, they have at one dashingly stroke extinguished the last remaining hope of Turkey and her sorely-tried people. They have done to death a man whose personal faith and courage redeemed even the darkest catastrophe of its terror, whose very existence was a rebuke and a challenge to despair and inspired an instinctive feeling among those to whom the future of Turkey and Islam is dearer than life, that as long as men of his stature were among them with a heart to dare and to strive, all was not lost. Those who had thought, and with all too sufficient reason, that the prestige and power of Islam had touched their lowest watermark and the cup of Turkey's sufferings was full to the brim, little imagined that fate could have something worse in store. It had one more poisonous arrow yet in its quiver. The death of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha is not merely the tragic ending of a great man in the plenitude of his powers and usefulness, but a catastrophe which may for a long time paralyse the will and energy of the Turkish nation and the State.

To realise the magnitude of this calamity one only needs to bear in mind the personality of Mahmoud Shevket and the ideals and forces that it symbolised. No one, it is true, is indispensable in the wide and complex scheme of human things. Nature for her own inscrutable purposes chooses her puppets at random, endows them with an infinite range of character and personality and, after using them up, flings them on the rubbish heap. It is as careless of the type as of a single life. But man revolts at the idea of being a mere puppet and plaything of Nature. He believes he is the master of his will and, to a large extent, of his destiny. And even if it were a mere illusion, this belief has been the only power that has wrought the life-drama of man in its multi-coloured hues. As long as men differ among themselves in capacity, purpose, ideal and strength of character human society must have some supreme master to enforce discipline and lead the way, be he a king, a parliament, a teacher or a priest. It is a mere trick of the scientific phrasemonger to insist that no one is indispensable in the affairs of men. Particular types of men for particular times will continue to be indispensable as long as man remains the indispensable instrument of Nature. At this crisis in her history Turkey could not afford to lose Mahmoud Shevket. He stood forth as the supreme symbol of all that was still vital in the character of his race and of its hopes and aspirations. The faith that burned within him with steady flame to the last is shared by many and may not die after him. But there are few in whose hearts it has lit up the same unquenchable fire. The Promethean spark has gone out that could light the path of salvation for lesser men. The world is miraculously large, great and wonderful, but there are always few among humankind whose intellectual gifts and character and zeal are adequate to the demand of their ideals and their faith. They alone who are thus happily endowed make history and affect the lives of their fellows for good or evil. Mahmoud Shevket was cast in this spacious mould. And it is because there are few amongst his peers who rise to his stature that his loss is a great national calamity and will afflict the nation with the sense of terrible bereavement for years. It is bound to affect the conduct of Ottoman affairs in a material degree; and unless some happy chance rescues them from personal malice and party strife, they may drift into a muddle with grave results for the future of what now remains of the Ottoman Empire.

In our comments on the "Coming of Mahmoud Shevket" and the efforts of the Committee of Union and Progress to power we gave a brief description of the ideals that inspired the Committee and its great leader. The best proof of their ability and patriotism, we said, lay in the bitter hostility and denunciation that every potential enemy of the country had directed against them in Europe. If Turkey could be saved from humiliation and dismemberment it would certainly be saved through the courage, resourcefulness and devotion of her best men, who, though not necessarily young in years, were yet young in hope, and faith in their mission and their destiny and preferred death to dishonour. The forces that had produced the Committee of Union and Progress were the forces that had evolved personali-

ties like that of Mahmoud Shevket or of Enver Bey. These are forces that alone can vitalise what is best and noblest in the character and ideals of the race. Speaking of Mahmoud Shevket himself we said: "The dramatic events in Constantinople, which have hurled Kiamil Pasha from power, have at last put an end to a senile and nerveless policy that had mismanaged war and was now about to sell national honour and interests at the bidding of Europe. The Sultan has summoned Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha to undertake the direction of national affairs, and no better man could have been called to his aid at this crisis in the destiny of the Empire. Mahmoud Shevket's is a personality that had risen to fame and power in a great national crisis by dint of capacity and native strength of character and had successfully directed the storm of the revolution. In the ranks of many able and earnest statesmen, administrators and patriots whom the Young Turk movement has produced, he is a figure of enormous stature. His brief but brilliant career as War Minister had revealed his many-sided gifts, his tireless energy, his marvellous resolution and his single-minded devotion to duty. Those in Europe who indulge in prophecy had often felt it safe to stake their reputations as prophets by pointing to Mahmoud Shevket as the future dictator of the Ottoman Empire. Mahmoud Shevket has none of the egotism that aims at dictatorship, but he is endowed in a generous measure with those gifts that mould a leader of men—force of character, strength of conviction and capacity to dare, to strive and to achieve. A crisis had produced him; a still graver crisis has summoned him to power. He enters on his tremendous responsibilities with the full confidence and support of his people. His predecessor had plunged the whole world of Islam in deep anxiety and despair and created widespread distrust about aims and methods. The name of Mahmoud Shevket has conjured up hope once more; and now one may have the fullest confidence that, whatever destiny may have in store for Turkey, the honour of the Ottoman nation as well as of Islam, at any rate, will be safe in his keeping."

The history of the brief period during which Mahmoud Shevket Pasha held the supreme control of national affairs needs no detailed analysis. His was a task perhaps the most stupendous that ever fell to the lot of any statesman. He had succeeded to a perfect heritage of woe. Turkey's military strength had been shattered in Europe, and her European provinces were under the grip of the enemy. The treasury was empty and the spirit of faction ran high. The Bulgarian hosts were knocking at the gates of the capital. The Asiatic provinces were simmering with excitement. Hundreds of thousands of Moslem refugees from Macedonia and Thrace, who had lost their all and had fled for their lives, were to be provided for. The military disasters in the field had in short dealt a terrible blow to the whole fabric of administration and government authority and, according to several observers of the situation, only a miracle could save the affairs of the Empire from drifting into irremediable chaos. Mahmoud Shevket accomplished what was humanly possible. Those who had hoped to see the early disasters of the war retrieved in some measure were no doubt disappointed, and the loss of Adrianople finally shattered their hope in the turn of the fortune's wheel. But this loss of hope did not diminish their faith in the new leader. What he could not do was clearly beyond human effort and human will. His failure was not that of a nerveless man of feeble stuff who is shrivelled into little measure the moment he comes into contact with the grim realities of things. He failed as one who wrestles valiantly, yet in vain, with implacable forces which control human destiny and in relation to which all human energy and will are but as tiny specks of foam on the crest of the wave. Mahmoud Shevket soon realised that circumstances were entirely against him and he could not hope to win back the lost provinces of the Empire. And he bowed to the inevitable. He organised splendid resistance against further onslaughts at Bulsar and Tchataldja, but the reconquest of Thrace and Macedonia were in the circumstances out of the question. The only course open to him was to bring about a speedy peace that he might address himself to the task of consolidating the Asiatic Empire on a new basis. With the help of Hajj A'dil Bey, the energetic Minister of the Interior, he began to elaborate a series of reforms with a view to remodel the administration of the Asiatic provinces and rescue them from the effects of disruptive tendencies and overt sedition. He fully knew that the weak and distracted condition of his country offered to its enemies the one opportunity of their lives. Even before the suspension of hostilities he had begun to earnestly devise measures for the consolidation and development of Turkey in Asia. The promulgation, by an Imperial *iradeh*, of the Vilayet Law, the organisation of the Gendarmerie, the initiation of an understanding with Great Britain in respect of the Baghdad Railway and the Persian Gulf, the sanctioning of a scheme for the creation of a University at Medina and of the use of Arabic as the official medium of instruction in the Arab provinces are some of the steps

which Mahmoud Shevket Pasha took in order to free the Empire from future menace and ensure for it a new lease of life. The work which he initiated may be carried on, but Turkey will long feel the need of his directness of aim, strength of purpose and vigour of initiative.

Little information is yet available in regard to the murderers of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha and the motives of their crime. It is, however, safe to infer that political passion lay behind the atrocious deed. The death of Nasim Pasha had left an ugly legacy behind, and it is not improbable that his partisans had planned this murder to avenge his death. Only a month ago rumours of a conspiracy had got abroad and some arrests were hastily made. The affair was, however, soon declared to be insignificant and political atmosphere had been outwardly calmed since then. The assassination of Mahmoud Shevket lays bare the inner state of party feeling in Constantinople and one cannot but feel considerable alarm about the future government of the country. It is exceedingly unfortunate that inner dissensions should divide Turkish politicians and paralyse the hands of the State. Nasim Pasha's death was in itself an enormous loss, and now Mahmoud Shevket has fallen victim to fierce party passion. One trembles to think of the future when the highest national interests are thus wantonly and ruthlessly sacrificed to gratify some wicked personal hate. Nothing but anarchy and chaos would be the result if party passion continues to hold sway and every man of capacity and character who happens to incur his rivals' wrath is stricken down by the assassin. We earnestly hope that the supreme crisis in her destiny would serve to open the eyes of Turkey's patriotic sons and bring home to them the magnitude of this hideous peril. If ever there was a time for the Turks to sink their differences and unite in the rehabilitation of their stricken country it is to-day. The future can hold out little promise of better things if the present is so convulsed with strife and yields little better than a gruesome record of revolutions tempered by murder.

Whether the murder of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha signifies a revolt against the power of the Committee of Union and Progress remains to be seen. We are, however, persuaded to think that the crime is the work of some political fanatics who bore a deadly grudge against the Grand Vizier as the most powerful leader of the Committee and not of some organisation strong enough to carry out another *coup d'état* and dislodge the Unionists from power. The Committee statesmen are not perfect human beings by any means. They have often made mistakes and some of them are apt to be swayed on occasion by extreme political feeling. But in spite of all their faults they alone are the men who may be trusted to serve the fatherland with devotion and who can face the future with courage and confidence. Mahmoud Shevket Pasha is no longer alive to guide and inspire them, but they all of them are more or less fired by the zeal, the ideals and the strength of purpose of their deceased leader. And we hope they will yet rise equal to the great task that lies before them.

The place of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha it would be hard to fill for years. Men of his stamp rarely come to birth in the course of a generation. We have said little about his career since his early manhood and the part he played in the recent history of his country. We have reproduced in our Pictorial Supplement a biographical sketch of his which Mr. Francis McCullagh has given in his "Fall of Abdul Hamid," and we are sure it would be read with interest by our readers. The portrait of the martyred Field Marshal which is also reproduced in the Supplement has a special pathos for us. We had intended to give it to our readers even before the terrible news was cabled to us by our Constantinople correspondent, for it had struck us as a peculiarly fine representation of Mahmoud Shevket in his impressive and picturesque national costume as an Arab chief. To-day, however, it would serve as a sad memento of the greatest Arab of recent times who was a devoted servant of Islam, and who spent his last breath in the service of his nation, his sovereign and his creed. He is dead, but his spirit survives. It is of such as he that Hafiz said:

مرگ نبرد آنکه دل زنده شد عشق * ثبت است بر سحر دایم عالم دوام ما
(He never dies whose heart becomes alive through love. Our immortality is stamped on the book of the universe.)

The Turkish Relief Fund.

Our appeals for funds for the relief of the war-sufferers met with a response which it will be the height of injustice and ingratitude to consider otherwise than warm and generous. It has exceeded all our anticipations, though we are equally certain that, should the need for further generosity be brought

home to our readers, more funds would yet flow in. We cannot possibly claim any credit for our appeals, for the credit belongs to those that gave the cash. In fact, we ourselves owe a debt to them—the great debt of generous confidence in our sincerity of purpose and our ability to act as their agents for the distribution of relief among the war-sufferers in such a way that the best result could be obtained at the lowest cost.

Our Turkish Relief Fund was opened early in October, 1911, and during these twenty months not one communication has been received by us from among several thousand contributors even remotely suggesting that we made an injudicious use of their contributions. We kept before ourselves a few general principles which we have followed throughout. We have always been of opinion that as far as possible relief should be distributed among all classes of sufferers—wounded soldiers, orphans, widows and refugees. We have also kept this in view that where possible it should be distributed through a Moslem agency, but that if Mussalmans are not able to reach a class of sufferers who need assistance, relief should not be withheld from them on the mere suspicion that some of it may not reach them. Our main agency for the distribution of relief was Turkish, and we selected the Ottoman Red Crescent Society as satisfying ourselves that it was the best organisation for the purpose, and that it was working under the patronage of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. Even then we took the further precaution of forwarding the money to it through the Ottoman Government. This Society has earned the gratitude of all Moslems for the excellent manner in which it has met with a terrible situation, and we have no doubt that contributors to our Fund fully approve of the support we extended to this Society.

But where the Turks could not reach the sufferers, as in the area occupied by their enemies, we did not hesitate for a moment in requesting the British Consular authorities to distribute relief on our behalf. Salonica and Adrianople were the most important centres for such relief, and we are extremely grateful to Mr. Lamb, the Consul-General at Salonica, and Major Simpson, the Consul at Adrianople, and their assistants, for the trouble they have so kindly taken on our behalf. The time and care bestowed on the work, and the detailed accounts sent by Mr. Lamb, illustrate his anxious desire to do the best he can for those in need of relief. We are confident that his example will be followed at Adrianople also, and we look forward to the publication of equally full accounts and description of the relief distributed.

The third agency which we have used has been not only Moslem, but also Indian. Dr. Ansari and the noble band of workers in the All-India Medical Mission have assisted the wounded and the sick in a manner that needs no mention from us. He is himself so modest a worker that, were it not for the encouragement of those working so assiduously with him, he would never have mentioned a word about the merits of the Mission. His letters have been model reports of the work done. Not the least important part of that work was the creation of a bond of union between the Moslems of India and those of Turkey, and even if India had contributed twice as much as she has done, we fear her hearty zeal could not have been brought home to the Turks, nor the reality of the Turkish situation understood in India half so well if Dr. Ansari and his Mission had not gone to Turkey. If in his letters Dr. Ansari has had to say something concerning another Mission—the name and authorship of which are still in some doubt—which has caused pain to any of its organisers, we are convinced that the saying of it caused no less pain to him. He is certainly the last person to seek comparisons with other organisations merely in order to glorify himself and those working with him, and any misgivings on this score will be only too easily disposed of on his return when the reality of the situation dawns on our fellow-countrymen. While on this subject, we may mention that he did not intervene in the affairs of the Bombay Mission except on the appeal of the Turkish authorities and of the members of the Bombay Mission itself, and the moment he realized that such intervention was not profitable he withdrew. This, however, is only by the way. The best proof of Dr. Ansari's worth is the way in which he is being consulted by prominent Turks in all that concerns their welfare and future plans, and men like Talaat Bey are not poor judges of work and worth.

It is, however, distressing to find that some Urdu papers have not spared even such a man from the mud-slinging that they live by. Need we assure our readers that we say this more in sorrow than in anger? We wonder whether Indian journalism would do anything to put a stop to such practices before they succeed in completely ruining its reputation. It costs little to run such newspapers, and evidently they succeed in pleasing a class of readers sufficiently numerous to make the business of mud-slinging lucrative. What, however, distresses us more is to find some old

established newspapers imitating these tactics just a little less indelicately. We hope they will rise to a higher conception of their calling, for we need not wait for actions for libel to teach us that journalism is surely not a school for scandal. Of course, it depends a great deal upon the readers of a newspaper what kind of writings it should publish and what it should avoid, and if a newspaper does not improve its tone and character, its readers can and should bring pressure to bear on it in time. The worst of it is that among Mussalmans in India public taste has in some cases not yet been formed, and in others not yet reformed, and that in most cases even readers with the best of tastes do not exert themselves sufficiently to impress their defects on the newspapers which they help to maintain. We do not object to plain-speaking when the responsibilities of plain-speaking—moral even more than legal—are realized. As a matter of fact, India badly needs an organ of the type of *Truth*. But truth lives deep down in a well, and our journalism is only too often content with the surface of things, and it is oftener the desire to injure some one rather than to save the public from injury that prompts so many of us to publish "bitter truths."

An instance in point is the publication of some correspondence and editorial opinions in some Urdu papers reflecting adversely on the cost and work of the All-India Medical Mission. We have been publishing week after week accounts of the work done by the Field Hospitals of the Mission at Hindia (Omerli) and Dardanelles (Chanak Kila), a perusal of which could have convinced anyone that substantial medical relief had been provided by them. And yet wholly misleading and untrue statements are occasionally published, first in the correspondence columns, and then editorially, even by some of our most prominent Urdu contemporaries, and publicity is given to all sorts of extravagant guesses about the cost of the Mission. We have published in the issue of 28th December last the amount spent on or advanced to the Mission practically to the end of 1912, and have since then published that Rs. 30,000 were sent last February when the war was resumed. Little has been spent on or advanced to the Mission since then, but it is estimated that Rs. 32,500 (£1,500) will enable it to wind up the Field Hospitals, and return to India after paying the Ottoman Red Crescent Society's bill for food and other things supplied for sometime for the use of the patients. For unlike some other Missions, the All-India Medical Mission is paying for *everything*, large or small, that has been supplied for the use of its hospitals or the patients treated therein. When the detailed accounts of the Mission are published it will be seen how carefully economy has been observed consistently with the needs of the patients and the workers in such a climate as that of Turkey during the War. We have been receiving these accounts almost by every mail, and it speaks volumes for the indefatigable energy, promptness, and regularity of Mr. Ablur Rahman Siddiqi, the General Manager, that the mail which left Constantinople on the 20th May brought the daily account to the 19th May. It must have, therefore, pained him and the members of the Mission generally to find that some Moslem papers which had not taken the least trouble to peruse even the published facts, let alone ascertaining such as had not been published, had accused them of "spending large sums here and wasting money on frivolities." He wrote to us suggesting the preparation and publication of an Abstract from the daily accounts which he has been sending to us with such admirable regularity, and regretted that he had no time to do it himself. As the Mission will be in India early in July, it will save us a great deal of trouble if we prepared such an Abstract only when it is wound up, instead of doing the work twice, now and again when the accounts are closed. But it ought to silence the libellers who have no stake whatever in the Fund that the Mission has not spent even half the amount that they say it must have done! When the Mission reaches India in the first week of July we are certain that a tremendous reception will be accorded to it in spite of all these slanderous mouths, and we are glad to note that some of our readers desire to perpetuate in India also the work of Dr. Ansari and his comrades in a tangible and permanent form.

When the war was practically over, Dr. Ansari could turn from the immediate needs of the wounded to those of the refugees who have to be settled, and proposed the establishment of a Colony out of our Funds. The idea was made familiar to us by His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali whose scheme we had published early in February. That, however, was not a time for the fruition of such a scheme and no practical steps were taken. Now that this could be done we immediately sent some money for the purpose to Dr. Ansari at his request. We regret we did not send it direct to him or to Dr. Esad Pasha, the President of the Committee, but requested His Highness the Grand Vizier to earmark it for the colonization scheme of Dr. Ansari, and that he had to experience the usual red-tapeism and dilatory procedure of the Turks before receiving it. This was evidently enough for some of our contemporaries, and they have tried to build up a huge fabric of suspicious even on this slender foundation. What is most amusing is

that the same newspapers pretend to distrust the Turkish Government to which we sent the money even more than they pretend to distrust Dr. Ansari. From some quarters, which we need not name, the opposition is obviously directed against the editor of the *Zamindar* who is associated with Dr. Ansari in this work. But those who wish to obtain the credit of the work of the Bombay Mission for themselves have discovered another coin of vantage whence to wreak their spite on the Director and organisers of the All-India Medical Mission. We need not put in a defence for our Lahore contemporary, for it is used to paying its assailants in their own coin, and is not likely even now to put up the shutters and suspend such payment. But Dr. Ansari is too far away even to contradict base—and baseless—rumours about himself such as the vile and imbecile suggestion of the Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay published by the *Habul Matin*, and retracted and regretted by neither in spite of an authoritative contradiction, that Dr. Ansari was receiving a salary. However, he is not likely to fall in public esteem on account of these slanders, because it is an open secret that he has suffered a monetary loss of between ten and fifteen thousand rupees by going to Turkey, and that at the call of duty he flung away his growing private practice at a stage when it was most dangerous to do so. The real sufferer is the poor Muhajir who escaped from the jaws of death and the mouth of hell in Macedonia only to find that he has to face starvation in Asia Minor.

No doubt one or two colonies established out of Indian money could not have solved the refugee problem altogether. But Red Crescent subscriptions collected in India were no more expected to solve the entire problem of medical relief, nor would the purchase of Ottoman Treasury Bonds save Turkey from borrowing money in Europe. We in India are responsible for our share of the work, and not for that of the rest of mankind also, and good examples are some times as contagious as bad ones, so that who knows that a united support of the movement in India may not have given a fresh lease of life to ten thousand souls, instead of the one thousand contemplated, through the funds collected in India, and to many thousands more out of the funds collected in other countries? But we grudge a little credit to our brother even though our envy may cost many thousand brothers and sisters their very life. Is this to be the only public service that Indian journalism is to render, and is it for this that the Fourth Estate claims much credit?

Of late contributions have been coming in very slowly, and much as we may regret it, we have to admit that the fall of Adrianople and the conclusion of peace have had a very depressing effect on the generosity and fellow-feeling of Indian Mussalmans. We need not, therefore, flatter such of our Urdu contemporaries as have used means for opposing the colonization scheme unworthy of a noble enough profession by confessing that it is their opposition which is responsible for the slow progress of the various relief funds. But if they believe that it is they who have killed colonization, we are ready to congratulate them on their handiwork. Perhaps some of them are congratulating themselves on the terrible tragedy of the death of Field Marshal Mahmoud Shekret Pasha also as if they themselves were the assassins! Be that as it may, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Zafar Ali Khan have cabled to us the following information and appeal from Tersos (near Adana) on the 10th instant:—

"Colonization Commission inspected lands Angora, Eskichesli and Konia and selected forty thousand acres Adana Vilayet, Alexandretta gulf shore. Ideal locality; fertile; abundant water supply. Submitting details from Stamboul. Name of colony left to Mussalmans Comrades. *Zamindar* only disinterested servants. Let not cause of distressed Muhajirin suffer from wanton obstruction. Commission met with gratitude and appreciation everywhere."

It is for our readers to decide whether all this good work is to be thrown away for want of a little more support, and if even some of the reputation acquired by their great self-sacrifice is to be lost apparently through the wanton obstruction of those who have nothing to lose. We look forward to a hearty response to the cabled appeal from Asia Minor; but it is just as well to mention that in view of the slow progress of our Turkish Relief Fund we warned Dr. Ansari a week ago not to commit himself to any large future expenditure, and that shortly before receiving the cable which we have published above we cabled to him to bring back all the members of the All-India Medical Mission, after preparing a complete scheme of colonization, which the Turks could adopt if our readers rallied to our support and enabled us to finance that scheme. Common prudence dictated such a course, but we have not yet lost hope of establishing a colony for the Muhajirs of European Turkey in Asia Minor out of funds contributed by Indian Mussalmans.

Now we have referred to the action of some of our contemporaries more in sorrow than in anger, for no newspaper can escape the consequences of the sins of its contemporaries in any country. Every item on the debit or credit side of any journal adds a score to

the accounts of all its contemporaries. Is not the speed of the fleet the speed of its slowest boat? The people to whom we are in the main responsible are the contributors to our Funds. But when they contributed their mites or their thousands to it, they did not wait to consult our contemporaries, and now that our contemporaries are not satisfied with our method of distributing relief, they are not very likely to be much concerned. Curiously enough it is just those papers which have done so little to assist the Turks by collecting funds for them that are most anxious for their welfare at present and for the proper use of money collected for them by others. We wonder whether they ever heard the couplet:

زاهد نه خود پيو نه کسي کو بلا سکو
کيا بات هي نهارى فراب طهور کي



Indian Mussalmans and Pan-Islamism.

The following article was written by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and has been published by M. Jafar Nuri in his book "Itihad-i-Islam" in a separate chapter. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan has sent the article for publication in the Comrade:—

The talented author of this elegant work has invited me to contribute to it a few pages descriptive of the so-called Pan-Islamic movement from an Indian Moslem's point of view. The invitation, coming as it does from a publicist of such versatile genius as Jafar Nuri, is an honour of which I am deeply sensible, and in the following lines I propose to discuss "Pan-Islamism" as it is understood by the Moslems of India who are destined to exercise a great influence on the future of Islam.

Etymologically the expression Pan-Islamism claims a comparatively recent origin. It was coined by Christian diplomacy to serve as a sorry pretext for the spoliation of the fast decaying Moslem States. To the man in the street Pan-Islamism was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Moslems of the world having for its cherished object the extermination of Christianity as a living political force. As long as a Morocco, a Tripoli, a Persia, or a Macedonia had to be grabbed, the bogey of Pan-Islamism was a most useful adjunct. It helped the stalwarts of Christendom to constantly confront their fanatical dupes with an imaginary peril, the bare possibility of which was to be removed by depriving the Moslem of his hearth and home. With the dismemberment, absorption or annexation of almost all the independent Moslem States by the Powers of Europe and with the poor remnants of the integrity of Turkey and Afghanistan trembling in the balance, Christian thinkers have not at present much to say about this over-exploited theme. The time, however, is not far distant when the new life given to the Moslem communities of the world by the terrible events of the past few years may actuate the political theorists of Christian Europe to saddle the Moslems with the revival of the old plot to blow up Europe. Nowhere have these events been followed by so outburst of feeling so genuine in its manifestation and so universal in its character as in India; and it is no exaggeration to say that the bombardment of Meshed by the Russians, the descent of Italy on Tripoli, the onslaught of the Balkan Allies on Turkey with all their attendant horrors, have made the Moslems of India a changed people. They are not what they were two years ago.

Divested of the mischievous conception in which Western Machiavellianism has clothed it and used it as a convenient mode of expression, Pan-Islamism is not a new force, but is as old as Islam itself. The first lesson of Pan-Islamism was given by the Quran when it said:

ان المومنون احوة

(Verily all Moslems are brethren unto each other).

The Prophet's definition of Pan-Islamism will never grow old. "A Moslem's relation to another Moslem," exclaimed the Sakar-i-Kanun, "may be likened to that of the two hands which wash each other." The universal brotherhood founded by Islam is a moral binding force which has no equal. Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism and many other "isms" of that ilk are only ethnic elaborations of a territorial character. The brotherhood of Islam, or Pan-Islamism if you will, transcends all considerations of race and colour and is of an extra-territorial type in which all the Moslem populations of the world merge their geographical identity and become one nation. During the two months that I have been in Constantinople it has been one of my studied endeavours to bring this cardinal fact home to all the men of light and leading with whom I have come in contact, and it gives me great satisfaction to realize that the 600 years' intercourse with European civilization has failed to produce any appreciable change in Turkey's conception of Moslem nationality. Just as the Indian Moslems think

that they are Moslems first and Indians afterwards, so the scores of Mussalmans of all grades and sections with whom I had had occasion to talk on the subject assured me that they were Moslems first and Ottomans afterwards. It is in this conception of the universality of the Moslem brotherhood that lies the chief strength of the Pan-Islamic movement, and the Moslems of India are among the foremost to realize it.

The object of Pan-Islamism, for aught that Christian writers may yet have to say to the contrary, is not to cherish projects of an aggressive nature against Christendom in spite of all that it has done to exterminate Islam, but to act purely on the defensive and to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once splendid Empire against further encroachments. In this work of defence Turkey has hitherto been single-handed, but such will no longer be the case. The combined attack of Christian Europe against the integrity of Islam and the covert and overt designs of the Western Powers against the remnant of Turkey have made too deep an impression upon the mind of the Moslems to be easily effaced. They have accordingly made up their mind to stand by Turkey through thick and thin, and mindful of the saying of their blessed Prophet who declared:

المومن لومن كالبنيان يشد بعضه بعضا

(A Moslem is unto another Moslem as a wall which is propped up by its various parts), they will do all that they can to co-operate with Turkey whose political extinction means their own annihilation. This co-operation need not upset the Christian alarmists. It has nothing in common with the alleged triple alliance negotiated between Japan, China and Siam, which necessitates, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, a probable proposal in the near future on the part of the Russian Czar, to form a European combination strong enough to crush the yellow races and ensure the perpetual supremacy of the Western Powers in Asia. The co-operation of the Moslems of the world with the Caliphate which has now come to be recognized throughout the Islamic world as a revived moral force essential to the maintenance of the *status quo* of Islam, will be intellectual and economic in its bearings. Islam is destined to play a great part yet in the political evolution of the world, and those who can think have arrived at the conclusion that the revival of Islam is to be heralded not by the thunder of guns and the flashing of bayonets, but by the creation of Universities and the establishment of Banks. This is to be the Pan-Islamism of the future and, Insha'ah, it will achieve its object.

ZAFAR ALI KHAN,

Editor of the Zamindar.

Constantinople, 12th May 1913.



Islam in Bulgaria.

II

During the Turkish rule there were two million Muhammadans in Bulgaria. But after the Russo-Turkish war, when a Christian rule was forced upon the country, there was a great exodus of voluntary exiles to Turkey. The reason of this was not that the Muhammadans who had been the rulers and independent did not wish to live under the new conditions, but the treatment that was meted out to them by the Christian Government. All measures from social ostracism to confiscation and massacre were adopted against them to secure this withdrawal. By these methods, which continue with the same rigour to day, Christian fanaticism has succeeded in reducing the Muhammadans to less than half. Now the number of Muhammadans in Bulgaria, according to the latest collected official statistics, is 950,000. This number includes the gipsies who count about 200,000. The Muhammadan population of the capital is between 8,000 and 7,000, all of whom are gipsies. There are not more than 50 Turks in Sofia. In Filibia (Philippople), the centre of the Muhammadans, their number does not exceed 12,000, including the gipsies. The Muhammadans generally live in villages on border towns. A few of these villages are exclusively Muhammadan. Some of the principal Muhammadan places of residence are Rustchuk, Shumen, Rasgrad, Azkizara, Plovna, Idna and Vedin. The Muhammadan population is composed of Turks of pure and mixed origin, Pomaks and gipsies. The Pomaks are real Bulgarians, natives of the soil, who have accepted the faith of Islam. The gipsies are a wandering tribe, wedded to no land, and their origin is uncertain. The Turks form the main portion, and their number reaches about 80 per cent. The Pomaks do not exceed the small figure of 5 per cent. The remaining are gipsies. The language of the Turks and the gipsies is Turkish. The Pomaks speak Bulgarian, but some of them understand Turkish.

In respect of worldly possessions the Muhammadans may be divided into three classes. The first class consists of a minority of

merchants. These have an equal share in the trade of the country with the Bulgarian Christians, but as all business on a large scale belongs to foreign capitalists it is not much. Ahmad Faik Bey is the only Muhammadan and Bulgarian merchant who controls colonial and continental trade. The middle class is represented by the agricultural Muhammadan population. Under the Turkish rule they had been in a most flourishing and prosperous state. Now their condition is that of slaves. The economic pressure of extortionate taxes and racking rents, the political pressure involving confiscation of property, compulsory sale of land at nominal prices, recurring massacres, destruction of homes and violation of womanhood; the religious pressure of Christian fanaticism for their forcible conversion, the social pressure of a hostile environment—all these have reduced them to a most hopeless condition of want and misery. The third class are the gipsies who know neither pride nor the arts that aid it. Their life is a ceaseless wandering. They sit contemplating in the sun in the day and lie awake gazing at stars in the night. They also suffer terribly from the wanton cruelty of those persecutors of Islam. But they endure their sufferings as a pack of deer endures the ravages of the beasts of prey.

All the Muhammadans belong to the Hanafi School of the Sunni sect. Religion plays a prominent part in their life. There are about 1,200 mosques in Bulgaria, of which between 400 and 500 are in the larger towns. In Pahlba (Philippople) there are 18 mosques. The mosques are supported by *Awqaf* (Religious Endowments), but these are mismanaged through the ignorance of the *Mutawallis* (managers). The Government is always interfering in their administration, confiscations being not uncommon. The life of the Muhammadans is devoutly religious. They are simple, truthful, honest and courageous, and these qualities stand out in relief all the more because they live among a nation of insouciant for want of truthfulness and honesty and likewise lacking in courage. The position of women is the same as in Turkey, and they enjoy far greater freedom than their sisters in India. The *purdah* is limited to the necessity of wearing the *yashmak* out of doors and to the exclusion of men from the society of women. The family life of the Muhammadans, I was told both by Muhammadans and Christians, is happier and purer than that of the Christians. Polygamy is seldom or never practised and great deference and respect is shown to women even among the peasant class and the gipsies. In the settlement of disputes arising out of marriage, dower, divorce and inheritance, the Personal Law of the Muhammadans is permitted to be applied. The court of the Mufti-in-Chief is in Sofia. A Mufti holds court in Pahlba also.

The economic condition of Bulgaria like Turkey is not dissimilar to that of all the Oriental countries. The foreign capitalist in possession of efficient means of exploitation is busy in his work of exhausting and impoverishing the country by imposing upon it the benefits of Western civilization. All the captains of industry are Russians or foreign Jews and Armenians. The Bulgarian Christians and Muhammadans have some local industries which ultimately depend upon agriculture. The Muhammadans according to their proportion share these equally with the Christians. The future economic position of the Christian is assured through the sympathetic attitude of the foreigners and through the protection and help of the Government. This preferential treatment will, so far as possible, save them from the great injury that otherwise threatens them. But the outlets for Muhammadan capital and labour are becoming less and less every day, and it is the object of the Government to squeeze out the Muhammadans from the cities of trade. The greater number of the Muhammadans are a community of agriculturists. The value of land is rising in Bulgaria. In the last ten years the cost of land has become tenfold. Therefore the Government has embarked on a policy of confiscation. Muhammadans are forced to sell their lands and properties at nominal prices and to go into compulsory exile. If they dare ask for justice they lose their lives with their properties. Every day the whole year round a number of Muhammadans are crossing into the Turkish frontier harassed by the Bulgarian Christians.

After the Treaty of Berlin was concluded there were many Muhammadan Turks in the administration of the country. A great number of *Pomuks* (Bulgarian Muhammadans) held responsible commissions in the army. But this did not last long. By and by the Muhammadans were deprived of all civil and military offices. Now in the whole of the country there is not one Muhammadan holding any civil or military post. Halil Zaki Bey, who is a *Pomuk*, was the last Muhammadan serving as a professor in the College Militaire. All the same they are taxed heavily for the military expenditure of the country. Likewise the Muhammadans are wholly excluded from the Police. Thus divorced they are left to themselves. They are told that Bulgaria is for Christians. The Muhammadans have treaty rights which are internationally guaranteed, but one and all are trampled under foot in open day light. The gates of the courts of justice are closed against the Muhammadans. Their

condition is worse than that of the Jews of Russia. It is slavery devoid of its attendant advantage of security due to insignificance.

But the Muhammadans are united and present a bold front in face of all these difficulties. They are inspired by and are in touch with the new life which is manifesting itself in a general awakening of Islam. This *elan de vie* which is as irresistible as any other force of nature will accomplish for them what it will accomplish for the rest of Islam. This they know. Besides they have the satisfaction of true believers that even if they perish in the struggle they will have contributed towards the final success of their faith. After Mecca and Medina the Muhammadans of Bulgaria look towards Constantinople. The *khutba* is read in the name of His Majesty Sultan Muhammad V in all the mosques of Bulgaria. The Government has tried all means to wean the Muhammadans from the Caliphate. But it is impossible. "If they will raze all our mosques, we will read the *khutba* from our housetops and they shall hear us recite the holy name of the Khalifa," indignantly cried one Europe-returned young man in reply to my question. The Turco-Italian war is regarded as the first war of a series of crusades. They had predicted that the second would be the Balkan-Turkish war. And they have predicted a third. If these ideas appear to be exaggerated one must not forget that the Muhammadans of Bulgaria live under a most intolerant and unjust rule. The Muhammadans of Bulgaria have contributed most liberally towards the relief of the sufferers of Tripoli, and there are Bulgarian Muhammadan volunteers fighting for the maintenance of the Muhammadan rule in Tripoli. The Bulgarian Muhammadans have no political organization, though they intend to form a Congress if possible. They possess only one daily paper called the *Balkan*. It is published by Adnan Ruhu Bey in Turkish. It was founded eight years ago and commands a large circulation in Bulgaria and Turkey. The paper has always difficulties with the Government, and only the year before last the editor was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The subscription for foreign countries is £1-11-0.

But the greatest factor in the proper evolution of a people is a sound unifying system of education. The Muhammadans of Bulgaria have realised this. But Muhammadan education in Bulgaria has to face many and varied difficulties. All Muhammadan educational institutions are supported by *Awqaf* (Religious Endowments). After the war the Government confiscated all the buildings of the *madaris* and *maktab* in Bulgaria. These are now used for Government offices and Government schools. Since the war more than half of the *Awqaf* have been confiscated on one pretext or another and the support of Muhammadan education has been forcibly taken away. The education even which is levied on the whole of the population, including the Muhammadans, is never spent on Muhammadan education. The Government aims at reducing the Muhammadans to the necessity of attending the Government schools to receive their education in Bulgarian, to remain ignorant of their mother tongue which is Turkish, and to become strangers to the script of the Quran and to their religion. But the Muhammadans have most resolutely refused to submit to this. Another great misfortune of the Muhammadans of Bulgaria has been that most of the promising men of the younger generation who received their education in Constantinople or in Europe have found and preferred to accept employment in the Ottoman Empire and have settled there as Turkish subjects. This has caused intellectual and social impoverishment. Taking these causes into consideration, it must surprise no one that while the number of literate Christians in Bulgaria is 60 per cent. that of the Muhammadan is only 10 per cent. The Muhammadan youth generally attends the *maktab* where purely religious education of a primary character is imparted. These *maktab* are not unlike ours in India. But a reform movement led by Halil Zaki Bey has been started and schools after the new system have been established in Pahlba (Philippople), Warna, Rusthuck, Vedni and other places, and this year a Normal School has been established in Pahlba (Philippople) to combat the evil effect of the laws which do not allow any person whose not a Bulgarian subject to be appointed as a teacher in a Muhammadan school. Every year the Muhammadans meet in an Educational Conference. It is expected that good results will ensue from this in due course of time. The number of schools in all is about 1,400, with above 1,700 teachers, men and women. The number of boys attending schools at present is 42,000 and the number of girls about 10,000. These last two figures will show what the Muhammadans of India can profitably learn from the Muhammadans of Bulgaria.

About the future of the Muhammadans of Bulgaria it is most difficult to predict. I believe the opinion of the young man who told me that "it depends upon the future of Turkey," and who was supported by another young man who said "the future of the whole Moslem world is dependant on the future of Turkey," is correct.

ABDURRAHMAN SEKHARVI.

The Haj Question.

We publish below all the papers, including two circular letters issued by the Government of India, relating to the proposal of the Bombay Government to issue compulsory return tickets to the Hedjaz pilgrims and to give the monopoly of the traffic to an English Company.

Government of India Circular.

SANITARY.

The 20th May, 1913.

No. 836—The undermentioned papers are published for general information:—

Nos. 612—628, dated Simla, the 18th April 1913.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. L. C. PORTER, C. I. E., I. O. S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,

To—Local Governments and Administrations in India.

I am directed to refer to this Department letter no. 1103-13, dated the 5th August 1912, on the subject of indigent Indian pilgrims in the Hedjaz and the necessity for taking steps to ensure their repatriation. Such action as was taken by Local Governments and Administrations in compliance with that letter to warn intending pilgrims at the beginning of last year's pilgrimage, of the consequences of not making sufficient provision for the return journey has unfortunately had in general little effect, and no improvement has taken place. Five hundred Indian pilgrims were reported in December last to be stranded at Jeddah in very straitened circumstances on their return from the Haj, while some of them were stated to have been dying in the streets from exposure and starvation. To meet the emergency a special grant of Rs. 17,000 was made from imperial revenues for their repatriation.

2 It is desirable that the relief and repatriation of indigent pilgrims should be provided by private organisation and it has been suggested that sufficient funds might be forthcoming if properly organised local committees were formed with the assistance of the leaders of the Muhammadan community in the different provinces. I am to invite attention in this connection to the Home Department circular letter nos. 2298—2301, dated the 12th December 1910, in which the Government of India commended to the favourable consideration of local Governments a suggestion made by the Government of Bombay for the formation of such committees to co-operate with the Haj Committee, Bombay, in the collection of subscriptions for the repatriation of destitute pilgrims who are annually stranded in Bombay, and for the dissemination of any information regarding the Haj furnished by the Pilgrim Department, Bombay.

3. The enclosed letter* from the Government of Bombay

*No. 978, dated the 4th February 1913 (without enclosure)

indicates that the suggestion made in 1910 has had little effect, that no Haj Committees have been established outside Bombay, and that almost the whole burden of providing relief is thrown on the Mussalman

of Bombay. The question has now become a much larger one since assistance is required not only for indigent pilgrims who have succeeded in returning to Bombay but also, and more urgently, for such as are stranded in the Hedjaz. The principle, however, remains the same, and I am directed to forward a copy of a despatch from the Secretary of State, no. 101-Rev, dated 18th October 1912, together with a copy of the report on the Haj of 1911-1912 in which Dr. Abdul Rahman, the Vice-Consul at Jeddah, has also recommended the establishment of local committees. I am to suggest that with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council

(His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in Council)

the earnest attention of leading Muhammadan gentlemen and of the Anjumans and Muhammadan Associations in Bengal may be drawn etc.

to the advisability of taking steps for the formation, as an experimental measure, of suitable local committees working on a voluntary basis. In order to enhance the influence and usefulness of the committees it might be perhaps desirable to associate them with the distribution of passports. The number of such committees will have to be decided according to the requirements of each province, but as local knowledge and interest will be of great use to the committees

in discharging their functions, the district would appear to be a suitable unit as suggested in the letter from the Government of Bombay no. 978, dated the 4th February 1913. Their organisation will of course be a question of importance, and I am to commend His Excellency the Governor in Council to the consideration of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (in Council)

to your consideration the suggestion of the Government of Bombay that a Government official should be associated with or appointed as chairman of each committee.

4 The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, is in charge of the Pilgrim Department there and is also the President of the Bombay Haj Committee, and the committees when formed can correspond with him direct as proposed by the Government of Bombay in regard to all such matters as come within the scope of their duties.

No. 816—826, dated Simla, the 16th May 1913.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. L. C. PORTER, C. I. E., Secretary to the Government of India,

To—Local Governments and Administrations in India.

I am directed to address you further on the subject of dealing with indigent pilgrims proceeding to the Hedjaz.

2. In the Home Department letter, dated the 27th November 1906, the Government of India, after explaining the views which had guided them in refraining from insisting on the purchase of return tickets by pilgrims, referred to the fact of the system of compulsory return tickets having been introduced by the Egyptian, French, Dutch and Straits Settlements Governments, and inquired of Local Governments whether, in view of annual influx of large numbers of indigent pilgrims at Jeddah after the Haj, a similar system might not in the interests of the pilgrims themselves be introduced in India. The opinions of the leading Muhammadans and Anjumans which were obtained and forwarded by Local Governments showed that the majority of the community were opposed to the proposal. It was represented that many of the pilgrims stayed in Arabia permanently, that some of them embarked with this intention, and that a considerable number who belonged to Central Asia and Afghanistan made their way to their homes overland instead of returning by sea. It was further stated that owing to competition between steamers and to charitable assistance from Muhammadans in Jeddah poor pilgrims were often enabled to obtain return passages to India for small sums or for nothing at all, that if a system of return tickets was adopted it would be difficult to arrange that pilgrims should find steamers of the line by which they wished to leave, and that it was quite impossible to induce various shipping companies to work in combination.

For these reasons the Government of India decided in their letter to Local Governments No. 733-742, dated May 18th, 1907, to abandon the proposal. At the same time they requested Local Governments to adopt such measures as they might find feasible to bring to the notice of intending pilgrims the advisability of depositing with the Consul at Jeddah on arrival a sufficient sum of money to secure their return passage to India.

3. Experience has shown that the hopes then entertained that voluntary action on the part of the Muhammadan community and the pilgrims themselves would remedy the admitted evils of the existing system have not been fulfilled. Instructions and warnings though repeated from time to time have had no result and the number of indigent pilgrims continues to increase. The annual reports of the British Vice-Consul at Jeddah, a Muhammadan gentleman named Dr. Abdul Rahman, have disclosed year after year a state of affairs that can only be described as lamentable. In this report on the pilgrimage for 1910-1911 the Vice Consul wrote as follows.—

"The third and last need of the pilgrims, mainly of Indian pilgrims, is to find means for their repatriation to India. Experience shows that the number of destitutes is increasing year by year. The local Turkish Government demands repatriation of the pilgrims and

there are no means at the disposal of this Consulate to ship hundreds of destitute pilgrims every year.

I beg to submit that it will be in the interest of every body concerned including the pilgrims themselves if the compulsory return ticket system be enforced even if it be for one year as a trial. It is a painful sight to see these destitutes dying by thousands every year miserably in this country for want of protection against inclemencies of weather, proper food and sufficient means to take them back to their homes."

In his report for 1911-1912 Dr. Abdur Rahman again urged the necessity of action.

"It is greatly to be desired," he wrote, "that some means were devised for checking the arrival of Indians in such circumstances and under such conditions as are a disgrace to Islam."

"In this year the 26th of February saw the last ship-load of Javanese pilgrims sail from Jeddah, while the bulk of them had left within one month of the end of the Haj and it took nearly to the end of June to get rid of the Indians."

"Even with a considerably smaller number than was expected, close on one thousand Indians were lying for weeks in this town in the most abject misery. It goes without saying that a great number died."

"It is very natural that the Turkish authorities should object to such a system and that they should demand that provision should be made by the responsible Government for the removal of its subjects who are a burden and an offence and a source of danger to the town."

4. The situation during the recent pilgrimage has become even more acute. Some 500 Indian indigent pilgrims collected in Jeddah before the end of December in the most pitiable circumstances of starvation and disease. Private charity was exhausted, shipping companies refused to convey them free of charge. The Government of India made a special grant of Rs. 17,000 for their repatriation.

5. The reports of the Vice-Consul have been endorsed by the British Ambassador at Constantinople and have attracted the attention of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. They result in two conclusions, viz. :—

- (a) That the annual influx of indigent pilgrims from India is a source of much misery and confusion.
- (ii) That the best solution of the problem is a system of compulsory return tickets.

6. In view of these conclusions the Government of India for some time past have been in communication with the Bombay Government. They are, as ever, deeply concerned in arranging for the conveyance to Arabia in comfort and health and at a reasonable cost of their Muhammadan subjects, and they consider that the time has come to consult Local Governments and the Muhammadan public generally on the whole question. With this object they forward herewith the latest proposals of the Bombay Government contained in that Government's letter, No. 2894, dated 11th April 1913.

7. That Government proposes to give to a firm of standing the monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to the Hedjaz for a term of years subject to conditions as to :—

- (a) the adoption of a system of compulsory return tickets ;
- (b) fixed maximum passage rates ;
- (c) the introduction of a general improvement in the conditions of traffic.

8. The arguments in favour of a system of compulsory return tickets are, first, that the system has been successfully introduced by other Governments ; secondly, that article 84 of the Paris Consular Convention of 1908, to which India is a party, provides that if local circumstances permit, pilgrims must prove that they possess means absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage and in particular that they have a return ticket, and the more recent Convention of 1911 contains the same proviso (article 86) ; and, thirdly, that the Bombay Government who are specially interested and have special knowledge of the pilgrim traffic are strongly in favour of the proposal and that no alternative proposal to remedy the existing evils has been put forward.

9. The impossibility of including the various companies to work in combination in the past was one of the chief objections raised to a system of compulsory return tickets. This objection is met by the proposal to grant a monopoly. These, indeed, in the opinion of the Government of Bombay, is necessary if only to

impose fixed or maximum rates, and without these it would be difficult to secure either profits for the shipping companies or sufficient ships for the pilgrims.

10. The Government of India have no definite information as to how the maximum rates set out in the letter of the Bombay Government compare with the average rates now levied, but they understand that the present system has not been conducive to cheap passage rates during recent years. The Vice-Consul's report on the Haj of 1911-12, a copy of which was enclosed with this department's letter no. 619-628, dated 18th April 1913, regarding Haj Committees, will show that for a single voyage from Bombay to Jeddah, deck passages were paid for at the high rate of Rs. 120. It is true that the advertisement rates have seldom exceeded Rs. 50 for the outward voyage but, in practice, during the rush of traffic, passages have, it is understood, been paid for at more than double that amount. For the return journey the prices of deck tickets ranged between Rs. 30 and Rs. 50 according to the Haj report for 1911-12, and during the recent pilgrim season the Bombay Persia Steam Navigation Company charged at the rate of Rs. 40 per head in the case of the indigent pilgrims for whose repatriation a special grant was made by the Government of India. If, however, the maximum rates given in the Bombay Government's letter are likely to prove a serious obstacle to the acceptance of the scheme, the Government of India would be glad to consider any alternative proposals which will facilitate the introduction of a satisfactory system of return tickets at more moderate rates (combined with an adequate provision for refunds in the case of death, settlement in the Hedjaz or return by land) and will thereby secure the comfort of Muhammadan pilgrims at a reasonable cost to them, even if it may be necessary for this purpose to grant to the Steamer Company a subsidy from general revenues.

11. With these remarks I am to commend the scheme to the His Excellency the Governor in Council consideration of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (in Council) and to your consideration.

ask that any remarks either on its principle or its details may, after consulting with leading Muhammadan gentlemen and associations, be furnished to the Government of India.

I am to request that the matter may be treated as urgent, as the Government are desirous that any measures that may be approved should be introduced for the pilgrimage of 1914.

12. His Excellency in Council desires that the present proposal should not interfere with the formation of local Committees as recommended in this Department letter nos. 619-28, dated the 18th April 1913. Such committees may not only be of some use for the purposes of the ensuing pilgrimage but will, even if a system of compulsory return tickets is adopted, be of assistance in diffusing information, in acting as channel of communication between pilgrims and the Central Haj Committee, and in raising funds for the repatriation of the indigent pilgrims that may still continue to be stranded in the Hedjaz. Finally, the Government of India commend to the wealthy and charitable members of the community the cause of the poorer Muhammadans whose sufferings they deplore and desire to relieve.

Last Year's Report.

Bombay, May 28.

The official report on the last Haj from India shows that during the season twenty steamers left for Hedjaz with 15,464 pilgrims, including 120 infants, as against twenty-eight steamers with 22,856 pilgrims in 1911. To these must be added 560 passengers for the Red Sea ports, who left Bombay in the steamers abovementioned after the close of the outgoing season in 1911. The decrease in the number of pilgrims was due chiefly to the year being next in succession into the Akbari Haj, and partly to Italian operations in the Red Sea.

At the commencement of the season, the maximum single passage rate was Rs. 50 for the first six steamers. Subsequently it commenced to rise and by the middle of October it reached Rs. 100. But during the latter portion of the season it decreased to Rs. 15 and Rs. 10 in consequence of the paucity of pilgrims in Bombay.

The number of indigent pilgrims brought by the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company limited free of charge from Hedjaz, was 860.

On arrival in Bombay, 211, who were quite penniless, were repatriated by raising subscription from charitable Muhammadans in the city.

The total amount thus subscribed and expended (on railway fares and *bhatta*) amounted to Rs. 2,975-10-3.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, June 5.

A message from Vienna says: It is reported that Greece and Bulgaria have agreed to settle their differences, including the question of Salonica, by arbitration.

The non-fulfilment of anticipations that there would be an improvement in the money market and on the Stock Exchange following on the conclusion of peace, is causing a certain uneasiness. Various reasons are assigned for the present malaise. It is considered largely ascribable to a glut of new issues, to less favourable position in the United States, to money stringency in Germany, and to the prospect of a revival of labour troubles in Britain.

A Paris wire says that M. Pichon yesterday opened the Balkan Financial Commission to settle questions arising out of the war. In a speech welcoming the delegates, he hoped the Conference would be successful in promoting the economic interests both of the late belligerents and the Powers. The Conference has been adjourned till June 9th.

London, June 7.

A message from Sofia states: It is semi-officially announced that the Cabinet resigned on May 30th.

The resignation of M. Guechoff, the Bulgarian Premier, who is regarded as a moderate pacifist, is interpreted adversely in Belgrade. It is understood that Russia is vigorously putting pressure on both Serbia and Bulgaria, insisting especially on demobilisation, but hopeful signs are not numerous.

A Malta wire says that 150 officers and men of the West Yorkshire Regiment have been ordered forthwith to Scutari.

Later.

A detachment of the West Yorkshires will leave at ten o'clock to-morrow morning on the *Black Prince* and will be accompanied by a detachment of the Army Service Corps and Royal Medical Corps. The order to proceed to Scutari was received unexpectedly last night. Reuter understands that troops despatched to Scutari are really intended to relieve the naval contingent there. They are of equal strength. The duration of occupation will depend on the decisions of the Ambassadors' conference relative to the constitution of Albania.

London, June 8.

The King entertained the Balkan delegates to luncheon at Buckingham Palace yesterday, and afterwards, conversed freely with them congratulating them on the signature of the preliminary peace treaty.

Reuter learns that the King wished the delegates of the danger of a fresh conflict amongst themselves, remarking that another war would be a calamity against humanity. The delegates were much impressed by his Majesty's earnestness.

London, June 9.

Reuter learns that the Peace Conference has closed its sittings. The delegates have decided that a definite result would be more easily reached if the present treaty were coupled by agreements separately concluded between the respective Governments. M. Vonneguth, the Moroccan delegate, presiding at the last sitting, expressed in a valuable speech, the homage of the delegates for King George and gratitude to the British Government and the nation for their hospitality.

London, June 10.

A Belgrade message says that General Putnik, Chief of the Serbian General Staff, has arrived here by special train, and will attend a Council, presided over by the King to consider Bulgaria's reply to the Serbian Note. It is expected that the reply will be in the negative. Active preparations for war are being made.

London, June 11.

A Constantinople wire says that there has been an uprising against the Committee of Union and Progress and Shekvet Pasha, Grand Vizier, has been assassinated.

A Constantinople wire says that Shekvet Pasha was motoring to the Porte when two men shot him with revolvers.

A Vienna message says: The Powers are working most vigorously to preserve peace in the Balkans. Russia and Germany are particularly assiduous in counselling moderation, while France, which is the principal creditor of the Balkan States, has warned Serbia and Bulgaria that she will give no financial assistance to either country in the event of war.

A Sofia message says that Dr. Danoff is trying to form a coalition Ministry.

Bombay, June 12.

This morning the following message was received at the Turkish Consulate in Bombay from His Highness Said Halim Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Constantinople:—

"Sublime Porte, 11th June, 14 hours 45 minutes.

Mahmoud Chekvet Pasha has unhappily succumbed owing to the wounds inflicted. A certain Topal Kadri, who is presumed to be one of the assassins, has been arrested by the police. Active investigation and all precautionary measures are being taken. There is order and perfect tranquillity."

Sublime Porte, 11th June, 17 hours 50 minutes.

"His Imperial Majesty the Sultan has deigned to entrust me provisionally with the Grand Vizierate. I keep the portfolio of foreign affairs."

British Interests in the Gulf.

Hakki Pasha's Mission.

WHEN Hakki Pasha arrived in London in February last it was stated in the *Times* that he had come to re-open the discussion between Great Britain and Turkey on the many questions connected with the Persian Gulf which were in need of settlement. During the last few days there has been a plethora of telegrams in the press from Constantinople, Paris, Berlin, and other places giving more or less distorted accounts of the present position of the negotiations. Some of these have been exaggerated and are mischievous in their tendency and it may be useful to state true facts of the case, so far as they can be gleaned from collation of the various reports in the light of the previous history of the question and the well-known policy of his Majesty's Government.

It is clear that so far no definite agreement has been signed. It is equally clear that a number of Conventions have been prepared by Hakki Pasha and the representatives of the Foreign Office, the India Office, and the Board of Trade with whom he has been in negotiation and that others are in course of preparation. When the negotiations are concluded the whole agreement will go to the British Cabinet and to the Porte for confirmation.

The object of these Conventions, from the point of view of the Turkish Government, is to remove the British objections to the proposed increase in the Turkish Customs duties. Those objections have been twofold. It was felt that Great Britain could not consent to the imposition of fresh burdens on British trade so long as the Turkish authorities were working to undermine the position which Great Britain had built up in the Persian Gulf. It was felt, too, that indirectly, if not directly, the new revenue would be used to facilitate the construction of the Baghdad Railway and its prolongation to the head of the Gulf. As matters stood the completion of the line was likely to be detrimental to British interests, both political and commercial. The increase in the Customs dues had therefore to be vetoed unless and until British interests were protected by some binding agreement.

THE PERSIAN GULF.

We may take it for granted—and indeed it has been explicitly stated—that, in the Conventions already prepared for signature, the respective interests of Great Britain and Turkey in the Persian Gulf have been defined in a way to put an end to the existing friction. From the various reports which have appeared of this action of the agreement it seems certain that—

(1) Great Britain recognizes the suzerainty of the Porte over Koweit which is to be an autonomous *kaza* of the Ottoman Empire.

(2) The Porte engages not to interfere in the internal affairs of Koweit or in the question of the succession, and explicitly recognizes the validity of the conventions concluded between the Sheikh and the British Government.

(3) The Porte abandons its pretensions to suzerainty over the peninsula of El Katr, the Bahrain Islands, Muscat, and the territory of the trucial chiefs.

(4) The Porte recognizes the right of Great Britain to undertake, in the future as in the past, the duty of lighting, buoying, and policing the Gulf.

THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY.

The necessity of safeguarding the autonomy, under British influence, of the Sheikh of Koweit implies that the Baghdad

14th June.

The Comrade.

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"Railway cannot be brought down to Koweit? Some of the Constantinople telegrams state categorically that the terminus of the railway is to be at Basra, and this we may accept as certainly true. It is equally clear that Great Britain does not claim any share in the construction of the line between Baghdad and Basra. Under existing conditions she would only be able to participate on equal terms with Germany, France, and Russia, to say nothing of Turkey. British trading interests are probably better safeguarded by stringent provisions against any preferential tariffs or facilities. A further safeguard, mentioned by our Constantinople Correspondent on Thursday, is that Great Britain is to be represented by two directors on the board of the Baghdad Railway, which is apparently to resume its right of constructing this section.

Various French reports have spoken of special arrangements with regard to the projected Baghdad-Khanikin branch, which is to connect the railway with the future Persian system. They may safely be disregarded. Any special arrangement of this kind would be out of harmony with the spirit of the agreement. The general provisions for ensuring equality of treatment for British goods will, of course, apply to this important trade artery, together with the rest of the Baghdad system.

In regarding the progress of the Baghdad Railway with a more friendly eye Great Britain will be following the example of Russia. It will be remembered that, by the Potsdam Agreement of August, 1911, the Russian Government, in return for stipulations safeguarding Russian interests, agreed not to place any difficulties in the way of the scheme. The French Government, whose interests lie in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, have been kept informed of the trend of the negotiations. As French capital is strongly engaged in the Baghdad Railway, any agreement facilitating its progress can only be welcome in France.

Germany is, of course, more closely concerned than any other Power, and the definite completion of the arrangement with Turkey will probably be followed by negotiations between London and Berlin. There appears to have already been some conversation on the subject, and it is clear that an agreement on the lines indicated ought not to be difficult.

Closely connected with the question of the Baghdad Railway is that of navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates, with regard to which Great Britain possesses certain rights and privileges. It is unlikely that the negotiations will come to an end without an agreement being reached defining and confirming those rights which are essential as giving British trade an independent right of access to the markets of Mesopotamia.

If Basra is to be the terminus of the Baghdad Railway, the settlement of the long-standing difficulties concerning the navigation of the Shatt-el-Arab becomes a urgent necessity. Duties in those waters—dredging, buoying, lighting, sailing, policing, &c.—which have been neglected by Turkey have been performed by Great Britain. This has given rise to considerable friction from time to time; and it is clear that any comprehensive arrangement about the Persian Gulf and the Baghdad Railway must provide for the settlement of this question with the others. The obvious solution would be to establish an Ottoman Commission, with strong British participation, to exercise independently all the functions of a navigation and port authority in the waters and on the shores of this waterway. While the personnel of this authority should be as largely as possible of Ottoman nationality, it can only be effective if its heads of both the inspection and the engineer branches are British. We shall be surprised if the agreement does not include a Convention setting up such an authority and defining its functions.

This is the more likely, as the Karun River in which Great Britain is interested, flows into the Shatt-el-Arab above the bar. Moreover, the left bank of the Shatt-el-Arab belongs territorially to the Sheikh of Muhammurah, who also owns private property on the right, or Turkish, bank. Very close relations exist between Great Britain and the Sheikh *envis de facto* interest in the waterway must therefore be a matter of concern to the British Government.

These interests of the Sheikh are affected by the long standing dispute over the Turco-Persian frontier, and have been the principal obstacle to a satisfactory settlement of the southern portion of that frontier. The reports are obviously correct which include this frontier question among those to be settled by the present negotiations. A settlement equitable to both Turkey and Persia will be a matter of the greatest satisfaction to Russia and Great Britain, who have made many joint attempts at mediation during the past 10 years.

Our Constantinople Correspondent in his telegram of Thursday, spoke of the abandonment of the Turkish right of control over Egyptian borrowing as one of the conditions of the settlement. No one who knows the importance attached to this ques-

tion by the British and Egyptian Governments can doubt that he is correctly informed.

The agreement when completed and confirmed will be an event of the utmost importance for the development of Asiatic Turkey and the promotion of British trade interests in the Middle East. It must, however, not be forgotten that at present it is still in negotiation.—The Times

British Negotiations with Turkey.

Many rumours have been published during the last few days regarding the reported conclusion of agreements between Great Britain and Turkey. These rumours have not all been accurate, but the statement which we publish elsewhere suffices to indicate that various causes of difference between Great Britain and Turkey, at the head of the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, are on the verge of being adjusted. Nothing has yet been signed, but upon most points in dispute a basis of settlement appears to have been reached. The negotiations which are now drawing to a close have been very protracted. They were reopened early last year, and although the Tripoli and Balkan wars caused a temporary interruption, they were never afterwards entirely suspended. The discussions originated in a proposal that Great Britain should agree to the proposed increase in the Turkish Customs dues and should participate in the construction and control of the last section of the Baghdad Railway, between Baghdad and the sea. It soon became plain that before this suggestion could be entertained there was much preliminary ground to be cleared. Great Britain and Turkey had long been at variance upon many questions connected with the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia. There was discord regarding such delicate matters as the status of Koweit, the navigation of the Shatt-el-Arab and the Tigris, the southern portion of the Turco-Persian frontier, and the relations maintained by Turkey with certain portions of the Gulf coast of Arabia. The outcome of the war made it more than ever necessary to strengthen the financial position of Turkey. It became manifest that if, as Great Britain hoped, Turkey was to regain her position in Asia Minor, she would require financial aid. If the other Powers interested signify their assent, that aid will now be forthcoming, because it is proposed to permit a further increase in the Turkish Customs duties. Turkey, on her part, will in return facilitate the settlement of the disputes between herself and Great Britain. None of the causes of friction have any relation to the well-being of Turkey. She has nothing to gain by keeping the Turco-Persian frontier question as an open sore, by stationing small squads of soldiers within the territory of the Sheikh of Koweit by obstructing British rights of navigation on Mesopotamian rivers, or by seeking to maintain Muhiat Pasha's illusory claims to widespread Turkish interests in Eastern Arabia. The policy thus implied has been a source of weakness rather than of strength, and it has hindered the progress of British help in overcoming the larger difficulties of the Turkish Empire.

The primary object of Great Britain has always been to safeguard her special position in the Persian Gulf, which has been the subject of repeated Ministerial declarations. British anxiety was chiefly directed towards the important harbour of Koweit. We have relations with the Sheikh of Koweit, duly ratified by agreements which have been in existence for a considerable number of years. Turkey has not hitherto recognized the validity of these agreements, and has put forth claims regarding Koweit which we have pronounced excessive. An amicable method of composing these long-standing differences appears to have been devised. Its chief features are that Great Britain will recognize Koweit as autonomous territory within the Turkish Empire, and will acknowledge the boundary distinction conferred upon Sheikh Muhiat by the Sultan, while Turkey will undertake to abstain from interference with the affairs of Koweit, will accept a specified boundary, and will abide by the terms of the British agreements with the Sheikh. A long and irritating quarrel will thus be settled on terms which should be acceptable to all concerned. Another section of the coming agreement will, it is stated, settle the question of British navigation rights on the waterways of Mesopotamia. Turkey will further, it is expected, recognize the work undertaken by Great Britain regarding the lighting, buoying and policing of the Persian Gulf, she will no longer seek to intrude in the Arabian peninsula of El Katr, and she will bring to a close the uncertainty about the line of the Turco-Persian frontier. It should be understood that on both sides these conclusions are tentative, but we trust that the final formalities will not be long delayed.

There remains the question of the Baghdad Railway, which lies at the back of the negotiations already noted. The chief concern of Great Britain has been to take care that her trade shall not be subjected to discriminating treatment when the line is open. Probably this end will be secured by the appointment of two British directors who will share in the control of the line. If this proposal is accepted, and if the guarantees of fair

treatment are fulfilled, Great Britain will have no further reason for looking askance at a project which should do much for the development of Asiatic Turkey. Our interests will be amply safeguarded; we have always said that a terminus at Basra offered no menace to specific British interests in the Persian Gulf, and the German promoters will be free to complete their great project with the benevolent acquiescence of Great Britain. There will be no official British participation in the construction of the line, but there will also be nothing to deter British capital from being associated with the scheme. We believe that if some such solution is adopted a fertile source of international misunderstanding will disappear. It is a solution which should receive the approval of France and Russia, and should give gratification to Germany. It appears to leave no room for subsequent differences of view, while it wipes out a whole series of obscure disputes. It will be a further demonstration of that spirit of co-operation among the Great Powers which has done so much of late to preserve the peace of Europe. It should convince Germany that Great Britain does not oppose the essential elements of the Baghdad Railway scheme, provided her own special interests are protected. Above all, it will relieve the financial disabilities of Turkey, and will enable her to pre-empt the task of binding with bands of steel the great Asiatic territories in which her future chiefly lies.—*The Times*.

British Press Comment.

THE announcement that an agreement had been reached between Great Britain and Turkey has naturally given rise to much comment, and contradictory reports and rumours of all kinds have filled the air—and the Press. On Saturday the *Times* published a long article (headed "British Interests in the Gulf") and a leader ("British Negotiations with Turkey"), to which we would direct our readers' attention. "The agreement, when completed and confirmed," says our contemporary, "will be an event of the utmost importance for the development of Asiatic Turkey and the promotion of British trade interests in the Middle East. It must, however, not be forgotten that at present it is still in negotiation." The same thought finds expression in the *Westminster Gazette* (May 17), which remarks:—"When the Turkish and British points of view have been adjusted, they will need to be accommodated to the German point of view and to various subsidiary interests in the railway enterprise. So far the progress is good, but it will be many weeks before the matter can be concluded, and in the meantime discussion can only be provisional."

We deal with the subject at length elsewhere, but the following extracts from other papers will probably be not without interest for many of our readers:—

How is it that anything has got out about the Baghdad railway negotiations? We are assured that nothing has been finally settled, but that a settlement is in the making. Turkey is to recognise Britain's position on the Persian Gulf, and to hand over her share in the line from Baghdad onwards. Nothing is said about Turkish compensation. Has Sir Edward Grey let the facts out to see how Germany takes them? If so, he will not be pleased, for the German Press is angry, and has reminded the German Government of its own past declarations.—*Saturday Review*

As for the negotiations over the Baghdad Railway and its prolongation to the Gulf, the main interest that England and Germany have in common is that the traffic conditions should not give an unfair advantage to the trade of one country over that of another. It is desirable that Germany should know what conditions are proposed for the line beyond Baghdad, and that we should arrange by consultation with her all the guarantees necessary to secure equal commercial treatment for all traffic.—*Manchester Guardian*, May 19.

The net effect of the arrangements is to strengthen very greatly England's position in the Persian Gulf, by giving legal sanction to what have hitherto been contested claims. It may be said with truth that it makes us richer without making Turkey really poorer. The settlement of these long-standing differences leaves us free to devote ourselves to assisting the consolidation of Turkey in Asia, while reassuring us in the event of future trouble.—*Daily News*, May 19.

While it is a matter for regret that Turkey was not excluded from any interest in Koweit whatever, the matter is of minor importance so long as the terminus of the Baghdad Railway is not taken across the desert to that port. We understand it has been decided that the terminus shall be at Basra, which is situated on the Shatt-al-Arab inuch as Hamburg is on the Elbe. Basra is the natural terminus of the line. So long as the railway ends there our position in the Gulf remains unchallenged. Any attempt to extend the line to Koweit upon mischief, and should be strenuously resisted. Turkey says she wants to stop at Basra. Let us take her at her word. A project to cross the desert to Koweit would be German and not Turkish in character and aim.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, May 15.

Herr Gwinner on the Baghdad Railway.

THE Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* has had an interesting conversation with Herr von Gwinner, Chief Director of the Deutsche Bank, upon the subject of the Baghdad Railway. Herr Gwinner stated that the German Government and the Baghdad Railway Company had been kept informed of the negotiations that had been carried on between Turkey and England, "but neither interfered in the arrangements which were being discussed."

The time, however, has now arrived when the matter will be considered in this country. Certain modifications will doubtless be made, and with mutual concession. Herr Gwinner is certain that a workable arrangement will be effected. He said that had England shown herself more pliable ten years ago, she would have obtained as many controlling officials as she liked: now she is satisfied with two on that section of the line between Baghdad and Basrah. With regard to the final sections between Basrah and Koweit, Herr Gwinner said diplomatic action would probably play some part in the final arrangement, but with regard to those compensations which were mentioned the other night in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* as those which Germany would expect in exchange for concessions about the Koweit section, he thought one compensation might be that through German traffic might have the same treatment extended to it as British trade.

On German section there is to be no differential treatment of any kind. It must be insisted on, said Herr Gwinner, that similar rules will obtain on the Koweit section. Facilities might also be offered to German shipping in the Persian Gulf. At present the vessels to the Hamburg-America Line visit Basrah; why should they not visit Basrah and other ports if they can get remunerative freights?

One thing is certain, that an understanding will be arrived at between Germany and England on these important questions and that it will be a good working arrangement.

The writer adds that Lord Morley during his visit to Berlin had two conferences with the directorate of the Deutsche Bank, and that these conferences presumably referred to the Baghdad Railway.

Turkish Press Comment.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, May 16.

During the last week the Turkish Press has devoted much attention to the alleged Anglo-Turkish agreement concerning the Baghdad Gulf Railway, Koweit, the Turko-Persian frontier, and other kindred questions. Its comments have been in many cases of a distinctly "tendencious" nature, and their accuracy has been much to seek, the bulk of the Ottoman journalists who have handled the question having clearly jumped to conclusions in accordance not with the facts (as far as they are known here), but with their own or their inspirers' wishes. It is thus suggested that the British Government will shortly "revive" the long-defunct Cyprus Convention, providing for the defence by England of the integrity of Asia Minor against Russia and for the protection of the Armenians against oppression, and that England will annex Koweit and Mohammerah and give Turkey political and financial assistance by way of compensation. These ideas are based on inaccurate data. There is no question of the revival of that unfortunate and, as it turned out, ineffective instrument the Cyprus Convention, which did nothing for the Armenians, failed to keep the Muscovite out of Ardahan, Batoum, and Kars, and saddled Great Britain with Cyprus—a "place of arms," which lacks the first requisites of any military and naval station, to wit, a good harbour. Nor is it at all probable that Great Britain will annex Koweit or Mohammerah. There is, on the contrary, a strong impression among the well-informed that the *status quo* will be maintained at Koweit, the only change being that the Ottoman Government will formally recognise the "special interests" of Great Britain in the domains of Sheikh Mubarek-es-Sabah.

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE LEVANT.

It is unfortunate that the publication of the misleading articles referred to above should have strengthened the impression conveyed by articles in the local pro-German Press that England had been detached by Germany from Russia, and would now follow an anti-Slav policy. Turks who believe this sort of thing are quite ignorant, or appear to be ignorant, of the importance to England of sea-power and of the fact that of the military problems wherewith British statesmen have to grapple the defence of England against foreign attack is the most important. They do not realise that the one power capable, on account of the distribution and strength of her fleet, of the proximity of her harbours, the abundance of her merchant shipping, and the size and mobility of her army, of making an attack on the British Isles with some hope of success is Germany, and that, as long as Germany retains that capacity, understandings between England, on the one hand, and the Dual Alliance on the other, are necessary. And if London and the

Channel are the vitals of our Empire, a point second only to them in importance is Port Said. Who threatens or could threaten Port Said? Russia cannot, for a variety of reasons, most important of which is that she cannot risk her fleet in the open seas. France could, but her striking power in the Levant must be hampered by the lack of a naval base. In the humble opinion of the writer, the Power which could threaten Egypt more seriously is Italy, thanks to the greater proximity of her naval bases at Taranto, in Sicily, and in the near future Tobruk, and perhaps Stampalia. The last-named island was, it will be remembered, occupied by the Italians before they attacked Rhodes. It has a good harbour, which could be fortified with little difficulty, and lies in a central position as regards Alexandretta, the Dardanelles, Athens, and Egypt. It is not surprising that the Italians wish to retain it. It will be surprising if the Power most interested in Egypt permits its concession to Italy without obtaining either compensation or guarantees of a very solid nature. In these circumstances Great Britain, while naturally desiring to be on good terms with Turkey, cannot afford to leave certain contingencies out of account. There are as yet no proofs that the party now in power in Turkey will abandon its pro-German and pro-Austrian policy of the past four years; and even for an understanding with the Ottoman Empire plus Germany, England cannot possibly risk an abandonment of her Gallic and Slav friends. Were she to do so, she might one day find her vital points assailed by the Triplets while the Dual Alliance stood aside.

Foreign Press Comment.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, May 18.

It is to be hoped that the explanations in the *Times* of the true state of the Persian Gulf and Baghdad Railway questions—information which has been quietly absorbed here, although some not very accurate telegrams from London have excited the journals most closely connected with German finance—serve to check reckless writing in at any rate one sphere of world politics. It may also be hoped that all the journals which have been discussing the "mission" of Lord Morley will now have discovered that they have been playing a bad joke upon the public which ought not to be repeated. Lord Morley is leaving here to-night for London after a week's holiday which has been disturbed by no official conversation whatever, although it may be granted to anybody who takes an interest in such things that he made the acquaintance of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz at a dinner party at the British Embassy last night.

St. Petersburg, May 18.

The excitement reported to exist in France on the subject of the Persian Gulf settlement and improved Anglo-German relations is not generally redressed here. Government circles readily admit that England is no less justified in arriving at a solution with Turkey and Germany regarding Mesopotamia and the Gulf than Russia was in concluding the Potsdam Agreement. The press insists that Russia cannot tolerate foreign influences in the region of the Black Sea or near Caucasian Armenia, but the *Russkoe Slovo* thinks English influence preferable to German on the Gulf.

Constantinople, May 17.

The impending conclusion of an Anglo-Turkish Agreement relative to the Baghdad-Gulf Railway, the status of Kuwait, and kindred questions has caused much comment in the Turkish Press, which appears to have allowed its hopes to get the better of its judgment. The *Tanin* expresses its conviction that the Cyprus Convention will shortly be revived, and other journals hint at an approaching change of British policy in the Near East, which is henceforth destined to assume an anti-Slav character. Other newspapers, again, publish an inaccurate version of the pending agreement. It is difficult, indeed, to resist the impression that the Committee are inclined to welcome the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish Agreement concerning certain questions long pending only on account of the belief, sedulously encouraged by pro-German organs, that Great Britain is inclined to draw away from the influence of the Triple Entente.

The Protection of German Interests.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, May 16.

The *North-German Gazette* publishes the following *communiqué* to-night—

"The negotiations begun two years ago between England and Turkey about the questions of the Persian Gulf have, during the past weeks, been brought to their conclusion. The German interest affected hereby arises in the main out of the German participation in the Baghdad Railway. In March, 1911, upon

the occasion of the conclusion of the financial agreement about the continuation of the Railway to Baghdad, and upon the occasion of the grant of the concession for the branch line to Alexandretta, and for the harbour of Alexandretta, the German group, which holds the leading position in the Baghdad Railway undertaking, opened the road for a Turco-British agreement, in so far as the interest and rights of the Baghdad Railway Company come into consideration. It did so in correct appreciation of the fact that an agreement between England and Turkey about the long-disputed questions of the Persian Gulf and in connexion therewith an agreement between Germany and England regarding the economic questions connected with the Baghdad Railway will remove a serious obstacle to the completion of this work of civilization and will in a high degree promote the great economic purposes which alone have from the German side from the beginning been pursued in this undertaking. The German group then declared its agreement in principle with the whole or partial transference to a new Turkish company, capitalized internationally, of those rights conceded to the Baghdad Railway Company, which refer to the territory south of Baghdad. The conditions for this transference and the settlement of all details were expressly reserved as matter for future agreements between the Turkish Government and the Baghdad Railway Company.

"In so far as the agreement between England and Turkey that has been tempted upon the basis of this declaration affects the interests and rights of the Baghdad Railway, the agreement can be completed only with the consent of the Baghdad Railway Company and—in view of the great importance of this economic undertaking—only with the agreement of the German Government.

"The German Government and the interested Company are kept au courant of the Anglo-Turkish negotiations. The course of these negotiations thus far justifies the assumption that from the German side also the result can be accepted as a satisfactory solution. Before, however, the interested German parties and the German Government can give their consent a further exchange of views will be requisite, by means of which the German interest may be protected indisputably, and equivalent compensation (*gleichwertige Gegenleistungen*) for any German concessions (*Zugeständnisse*) may be secured.

"About the present state of the matter more can not be said without disturbance of the negotiations and evidently has not been said by the non-German parties to the negotiations. The announcements which thus far have found their way into the press are partly incomplete and partly inaccurate, and are therefore not calculated to form the foundation for a criticism of the agreements."

Whatever the purpose of this *communiqué* may be the form of it does not seem well calculated to check Press discussion or to promote the settlement that all parties ostensibly desire. Roughly speaking it has hitherto been understood that Germany or the Baghdad Railway Company—which are identified in this *communiqué*—had already secured ample compensations for any "concessions" in the shape of the new Alexandretta concessions. The heavy hand of the semi-official writer now traces the prospects of further bargaining with the requirement of further "equivalent compensations." The publication of the *communiqué* at this moment seems curious, because except in the journals which are supposed to be inspired by the Deutsche Bank, there has been no public outcry here and most people will heartily welcome an immediate settlement.

The Future of Asiatic Turkey.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 28.

The letter from "Vekil" published in the *Times* of May 14 has aroused considerable interest and much discussion in Turkish circles. The general tone of criticism is unfavourable to "Vekil's" scheme which, it is pointed out, condemns the present system of Parliamentary Government to nullity by depriving the Chamber of Deputies of all control over taxation in favour of an international board responsible to the Sultan alone. It is also pointed out that "Vekil's" sixth spine, where the future administrators of the Turkish Empire are to be trained, contains samples of every race of the Asiatic provinces of the empire but only a minimum of genuine Turks.

A prominent Committee journalist, who to-day deals with "Vekil's" proposals in the *Jeune Turc*, takes exception to that writer's pessimism concerning the capacity of Young Turkey for self-government and resents the implication that foreigners must control the administration of the country. He compares "Vekil's" suggestions with Count Berchtold's famous proposals which preceded the Balkan war, and warns

his countrymen against accepting any scheme of "internationalisation" for Turkey, on the ground that reforms imposed by Europe on Turkey have always done more harm than good.

The Bosnian Saitvet Lutfi Bey, who was accused of participation in the affair of the seditious placards, and Second Lieutenant Lutfi, charged with preparing dynamite bombs for illegal purposes, have been sentenced by court-martial to terms of hard labour varying from ten to fifteen years.

The Armenian Patriarch and the Grand Vizier.

On Monday the Armenian Patriarch visited Mahmud Shevket Pasha, accompanied by delegates representing the Clerical and Lay Councils of the Armenian National Assembly. The Grand Vizier received him Bratitade in friendly fashion, and informed him that the Government seriously proposed to introduce reforms, and had the utmost confidence in the loyalty of the Armenians, to whose services and courage during the present war he referred in complimentary terms. The Government, he added, would soon publish a proclamation addressed to the Moslems of Asia Minor, which would declare the Armenians guiltless of the Balkan war, and would refer to the services rendered by the Armenian soldiery. The Patriarch, however, remains rather pessimistic. Such at least is the impression left by his address to the Armenian National Assembly yesterday. It would also seem that the central authorities are not as energetic in representing disorder as they should be, and that there are currents among the members of the Committee which can not be described but as dangerous. On the other hand, it has to be admitted, even by the most Armenophile observers, that with the bulk of the army concentrated at Teheran and Bulak the Government has to think twice before taking strong measures against the Kurd Boys who are responsible for most of the trouble up-country. There are some who think that a very small force would reduce the Kurds to submission; in fact, that nothing beyond a military demonstration would be required. But against this is the fact that the settled Kurds form rather a large proportion of the reservists who have been called out for local service in the Eastern vilayets. Could the troops be relied upon in case of operations against the Kurdish Chiefs?

In this connection it may be noted that the recent naval demonstration made by Germany on the Cilician coast, in which Italy joined, is said by Armenians to have prevented a massacre. It is quite possible that the Armenians are overstating the case, and that things were not as bad as they were said to be. Anyhow, the appearance of the powerful *Göeben* off Mersina, with the *Strassburg* and *Göer* and the Italian *Amalfi* (a sister of the *Averoff*) and *Ethuria*, seems to have caused memories of Kiao-Chau to arise in some Turkish minds and to have given the impression that the Germans are making the first step towards the establishment of their sphere of influence in the region between the Taurus and the Euphrates, the "vitale" of their railway system. *Qui ritia verra*. The idea certainly prevails among foreigners that the Germans did not go to Mersina merely to show their desire of protecting the Armenians.—*The Near East*.

Fears of the Armenians.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 17.

My account of the interview between the Armenian delegation under the presidency of the Patriarch and Mahmud Shevket Pasha contained certain statements to which the censor obviously objected, but for which I have good warrant. Mahmud Shevket's statement that gendarmes from the European provinces were being sent to Anatolia failed to tranquillise Mgr. Arsharuni, who remarked that these gendarmes had been accused of excesses and undue severity in the Rumelian vilayets of late, and expressed the hope that they would not repeat their previous conduct at the expense of the Armenians. The Grand Vizier replied that the population of Macedonia provoked the Gendarmerie, but that the Armenians, who were loyal folk, had nothing to fear. He further expressed the opinion that the Armenian Patriarchate had not behaved quite correctly in laying its grievances before foreign Embassies.

It is difficult to resist the impression that the Government is either disinclined to take the Armenian question as seriously as it deserves or is surrounded with influences adverse to reform among its own subjects.

French Policy in the Near East.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 16.

In the Chamber to-day M. Guernier, Radical Deputy for Saint Malo, interpellated the Government on its policy in regard to affairs in the Balkans and the Near East, with particular reference to France's participation in the international pressure applied to Montenegro with a view to the incorporation of Scutari in Albania. He criticized this participation and hoped that, at any rate, Montenegro would be territorially compensated. He further expressed the desire, which was generally shared by the House, that while other Powers were negotiating with Turkey and were safeguarding their interests in Asia Minor, France would see that her interests there were safeguarded. He hoped that the religious establishments which constituted a traditional and moral interest of France in the Ottoman Empire would be duly protected.

M. Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, replied that the question of Scutari ought not to be considered apart from the general situation. The object in view had been to bring about the end of the Balkan war as soon as possible while maintaining the union of the Great Powers by means of the necessary compromises. The conference of Ambassadors in London under the presidency of the eminent statesman who had done so much for the peace of Europe was a matter for the utmost congratulation. It was there that peace had been secured, it was there that the question of Albania had been settled and a basis for the delimitation of its frontiers obtained after three months of discussion. He traced the critical stages of the Scutari question and described amid laughter the capitulation of April 28 as "the result of diplomatic rather than of military action." The policy of France continued to be to strengthen the Concert of Europe. The crisis through which Europe had been passing was ended. The meritorious wisdom of Austria, the high conscientiousness of Russia, and the pacific principles proclaimed by Europe had secured this happy issue. The policy of France was directed to helping Europe to become "a moral personality" which affirmed its rights and did its duty. This policy would be continued, while at the same time France would keep in view her own legitimate interests both in the Balkans and in Turkey in Asia.

Replying to some observations by M. Dany Cochin on the negotiations at present in progress between Turkey and Great Britain and Germany, M. Pichon pointed out that these negotiations had been in progress for at least two years. They were not yet terminated, and they constituted no new element in the situation. France had been loyally kept informed of their developments. He could undertake that the Government would consistently maintain both France's moral and her material interests in Syria and in Asia Minor.

A motion that the Chamber approved the declarations of the Government and passed to the order of the day was then unanimously accepted and the brief debate closed.

It was remarked that both M. Guernier and M. Dany Cochin spoke strongly in favour of supporting the historical and legitimate territorial claims of Greece in regard both to the Aegean Islands and Epirus. These views commanded the assent of the great majority of the House.

The Transfer of Scutari.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Scutari, May 16.

SCUTARI, which for exactly three weeks since medieval times has been Montenegrin, to-day passed into the occupation of the Powers. Pending the establishment of an autonomous Government for Albania, the town has been taken over and will be administered by a commission of officers of the international fleet representing the Great Powers, the senior officer of which is the British Vice-Admiral Burney.

Contrary to expectation, the evacuation of the town by the Montenegrins was not completed when the representatives of the Powers arrived at Scutari this afternoon, though all the morning long strings of weather-worn khaki-clad soldiers laden with heavy packs were filing across the bridge over the Boyana to the path that leads along the shore of the lake at the foot of Tarabosh. At 1 o'clock the Austrian-Lloyd steamer *Scutari*, flying the British flag, and towing a steam tug and two ship's boats in playing the White Ensign and a smaller number of boats flying the Italian flag dropped anchor in the middle of the Boyana just beneath the hill crowned by the grey walls of the citadel. On board were 400 sailors from the ships of the five Powers lying off the coast of Montenegro, each Power

viding an equal number except Great Britain, which sent 50 more than the others. Detachments of ten of each nation, with their respective flags, at once landed at the Custom House in order to form a guard of honour for the international commanders. Here were also assembled the Consuls, with the exception of the Russian, who is on leave, and the Albanian notables, Christian and Moslem, of Scutari in national costume. A troop barge laden with captured Turkish cannon was moored alongside, and Montenegrin soldiers looked on the preparations for the final act which was to set the seal upon the fate of Scutari.

LANDING OF THE COMMANDERS.

About two hours later an Indian river steamboat, with the international commanders on board, dropped anchor alongside the Scutari. All the way up the river their passage was greeted with a *feu-de-joie* by the Albanian villagers. A few minutes later Vice-Admiral Burney, accompanied by the other commanders, landed in the pinnace at the Custom House, where they were received on behalf of the Montenegrin General Betchir, Acting Governor of the town, by Brigadier Payanovitch, and by the Consular corps. Save a "present arms" by the guard of honour, there was no ceremony of any kind, and the commanders, preceded by a detachment of Montenegrin military police, immediately set off on foot through the blackened walls of the half-burned bazaar to a place where a carriage was waiting to drive them to General Betchir's house. Here the town was formally made over by Montenegro to the Powers. In a short speech General Betchir, who was considerably moved, recalled the valiant defence made by the Turks. Montenegro, he said, had hoped to be able to retain Scutari, but she was obliged to bow to the will of the Powers; his duty was a painful one, but the fact that it was to a British Admiral that he surrendered the keeping of the town made that duty less painful than it might otherwise have been.

Ever since the Montenegrin decision to evacuate Scutari was known, to-day has been eagerly looked forward to by the Albanians. Practically every house has been preparing to fly the Albanian flag—a black eagle on a red ground—and it was intended to give the representatives of the Powers an enthusiastic welcome. In view, however, of the continued presence of Montenegrin troops and at Vice-Admiral Burney's express desire, no demonstration was made. The intimation that the populace should refrain from showing its feelings was conveyed to the inhabitants yesterday by the British Vice-Consul through the Catholic Archbishop and the Moslem notables. It came as a special disappointment to the Malisiori, several thousands of whom assembled yesterday with their rifles at the foot of the mountains with the intention of entering the town to-day and giving full vent to their feelings. The messengers who were despatched immediately by the Archbishop were fortunately able to arrive in time to prevent the execution of their plan, which would undoubtedly have led to serious trouble with the Montenegrins, by whose orders all the population had been disbanded. As the international commanders proceeded through the town this afternoon, therefore, they were watched by interested but passive onlookers.

THE FIRST MEASURES.

At the time of writing the task of relieving the Montenegrin pickets by the international detachments is proceeding. In all the foreign sailors number a thousand or more, towards which equal number are provided by France, Austria, and Italy. Great Britain is supplying a larger detachment than these Powers, thereby making up for the smaller number representing Germany. The police propose that the town should be divided into five sections, the bazaar quarter falling to the British detachment. From the station visual signalling to the fleet at San Giovanni di Medua is being arranged until a more permanent system of "wireless" has been installed in the river steamboats. A proclamation explaining the situation to the population, which has been prepared in the Albanian and French languages, will shortly be posted on the walls.

Scutari, May 15.

Scutari to-day wears all the signs of its international character. Early this morning the Montenegrin flag was hauled down from the citadel, and from above the weather-beaten battlements which dominate the town now float the flags of the five Powers. Down in the city itself there are bright spots of colour where the Union Jack, the Tricolour, the Black Eagle, or whatever flag may be flying from the red-roofed houses show where the commanders of the international forces are quartered; while to the bright colours of the picturesque-dressed crowd of Albanians that throng the streets are added the white drill or the dark blue uniforms of the pickets of the various naval detachments. With the arrival to-day of a further 250 men from San Giovanni di Medua the detachments are now brought up to the full strength of 1,000, of which Italy, Austria, and France each contribute 200, Germany—in consequence of the ship by which she is represented in the international fleet

being only a small cruiser—100, and Great Britain, in order to make up the full quota, 800. Each detachment is provided with one Maxim gun. The duty of this force, which is quartered in barracks in the middle of the town, is to police the city, which for this purpose has been divided into five sections. The guard for the citadel, which is included in the bazaar quarter, has been provided by Great Britain.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY.

The status of the town has been made known to the inhabitants in the following proclamation, printed in English and Albanian side by side:—

"In the name of the international fleet representing the Great Powers of Europe

A Proclamation.

"On the withdrawal of the forces of his Majesty King Nicholas of Montenegro the town of Scutari will be taken over and administered by a commission of officers of the international fleet representing the Great Powers of Europe until such time as autonomous government has been established in Albania

"All persons are hereby warned that they must obey the orders of the officers of the commission under penalty of military law."

The commission, of which Vice-Admiral Burney is president, has already begun its work, and various administrative matters have been taken in hand. With regard to the Customs administration, it has been arranged that it shall be given into the charge of an official to be nominated by the Consular Body and appointed by the commission, and that the proceeds of the dues, which will remain at 11 per cent, as under the Turkish Government, shall be handed over to the municipality. This body, which consists of some half dozen Moslem Albanians and a similar number of Christians, was called together this morning and was requested to resume its duties, which were interrupted in consequence of the occupation. The commission having been informed that there are a large number of cases of disease in the town, a sanitary commission, consisting of Albanian, Austrian, and Italian doctors, has been formed to report on the best course of action to be taken.

The distribution of food to the poor undertaken by the Austrian and Italian relief expeditions is to be continued, while the stock of flour, of which it is calculated that 150 sacks are required daily to meet the needs of the population, is to be replenished by 80 tons of Italian flour, which will be brought from Durazzo. With the raising of the blockade the Austrian and Italian post-offices have resumed their services. Pending the conclusion of the negotiations now in progress between the commission and the Montenegrin Government for the purchase of the telegraph wires, the telegraphic communication, however, remains in the hands of the latter, and Montenegrin operators remain in the office at Scutari. For official purposes communication is being carried on by the fleet wireless installations. It is expected that the Montenegrins will have evacuated the town completely to-morrow. To-day a cavalcade of villagers from the country round entered Scutari on horseback, but without rifles, and I understand that no one will be allowed in the town armed.

Economic Development of the Balkans.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, May 12.

A SPECIAL article in the *Neidenblatt* contains a timely warning against over-sanguine expectations that the end of the Balkan crisis will be followed immediately by a wave of commercial and industrial prosperity. The Balkan States have undoubtedly a great future before them, says the writer, but as matters stand this future may still be distant. The conquered territories are inhabited by an impoverished population that has yet to acquire the means and the wish to purchase European manufactures. Time will be necessary to open up even the most fertile districts. Those who believe that the Balkans are about "to sweat prosperity from every pore" cherish a grave illusion. The determination of the Balkan States to develop and civilize their new territories is unquestionable, but in so far as its realization may depend upon the support of high finance the Balkan Government will—unless the condition of the international money market changes radically—be obliged to content themselves for a while with modest loans from the Paris market. The condition of Austro-Hungarian finance, the position of the money market, and the difficulties on the mortgage market must prevent Austria-Hungary from granting any considerable loan for the present—a circumstance doubly regrettable inasmuch as commercial and industrial orders tend to go to the credit-giving country. It must therefore be expected that a Balkan boom will be delayed, and that with few exceptions little will be done beyond what may be urgently necessary to repair the havoc of the war.

The Austrian Stock Exchange, continues the *Fremdenblatt*, has dangerously discounted the effects of the end of the crisis. Just as the stock and share market was exposed to panics last autumn because it ignored the political outlook and took account only of the then favourable industrial reports, so it is now running risks by watching exclusively the political situation and forgetting that the industrial position is extremely unsatisfactory. When it is stated that the textile warehouses are crammed to the roof with unsold stock and that all the large forwarding agents are obliged to place their whole storage room at the disposal of the textile factories; and when it is remembered how closely other important branches of industrial enterprise are affected by the crisis in the cotton industry, it is difficult to comprehend the light-heartedness with which the public stormed the Stock Exchange last week. Austrian cotton weavers have been compelled to reduce their operations by 38 per cent. since the end of October last. One hundred and sixty thousand looms have been stopped. Twenty-five per cent. less cotton goods were delivered and 50 per cent. fewer orders placed in the first quarter of the current year than in the corresponding quarter of 1912. The insolvency statistics of the Vienna Creditors Association, 90 per cent. of whose members belong to the textile industry, show 2,557 bankruptcies during the period from October to February last as compared with 1,148 in the corresponding months of 1911-12. By forcing exportation, even at a loss, nearly 35 million pounds worth of cotton goods have been sent abroad since the beginning of August, 1912. These tactics have averted a catastrophe. The Austrian cotton industry which employs 150,000 hands, concludes the *Fremdenblatt*, hopes that the end of the Balkan crisis and the easing of the money market will bring relief, but in any case drastic reorganization of the industry will be indispensable and its future like the whole economic future of the Monarchy must depend largely upon a new orientation of Austro-Hungarian commercial policy in the Balkans.

Italy and the Aegean Islands.

The question to whom Italy shall give up the Aegean Islands now in her possession recalls to a correspondent the handing over by Great Britain to Greece of the United States of the Ionian Islands, fifty years ago. Our correspondent was present as a boy at the transfer of Corfu, or Cythera, as it is now officially named, and he recalls a pretty incident in the ceremony. On his arrival the Prefect appointed to receive the island in the name of Greece found waiting to take him ashore a boat rowed by seven pretty girls, representing the seven chief islands of the Ionian group. Judging by all accounts, the women of the islands now under the Italian flag—to say nothing of their men folk—will be quite ready to welcome their new Governors, when they come, and even to row the Italians off to their own vessels if that will expedite their departure.—*The Near East*

Macedonian Tobacco.

A REPRESENTATIVE of the *Morning Post* had recently an interview with one of the greatest authorities on Turkish tobacco at present in London. From a business point of view he deplored that all the tobacco-growing districts wrested from the Turks had not fallen into the hands of the Greeks. The probability is that in the territory acquired by Bulgaria a monopoly will be set up, and "there will be trouble generally."

"It all goes well," said the expert, referring to the situation after the war, "the produce from the existing districts should be quite amply doubled, and it may be even trebled. The name 'Turkish tobacco' will disappear. There is an intention to change the name to what it should have been from the first, 'Macedonian tobacco.' The Province of Macedonia is where all the best tobacco is grown. Outside of that there are other plantations, but the leaf has not the same value. Macedonia is the champagne of tobacco, and just as the French Government has passed a law limiting the term 'champagne' to wines produced in the pays de Champagne, so we hope to get an agreement by which only tobacco grown in Macedonia will be permitted to be so described."

"It may be said that for a pipe there is nothing to equal Virginia, and for cigars nothing like Havana, but for cigarettes the Macedonia-grown tobacco is supreme. There are some other tobaccos which are useful for blending, such as the Samarra and the Smyrna and the Latakia, which is grown in Arabia. On the mountains the Bulgarians will be able to grow still another tobacco, which will be cheap and excellent for blending. There is also a tobacco called yacka, which is in great demand among the Rumanians.

It is a strong tobacco, and in the ordinary way useful only when mixed with a view to adding an aroma."

Questioned as to the effect of the changes in the Balkans on the Egyptian trade, he said that it would without doubt be greatly improved, because the Egyptian traders will be able to buy in the open market to much greater advantage. The peculiar flavour of Egyptian tobacco is not due, he said, to anything other than the blending with coarser types.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

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Rana Tala'at Muhammad Khan, Esq., B. A.,			
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Sheikh Alauddin, Esq., B. A., Inspector of			
Schools	50	0	0
Syed Abdul Ghafur, Esq., Honorary Magis-			
trate	32	8	0
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Bannu	30	10	8
By transfer from Deposit Account: Money Order			
received on 5th May from Jamil-uddin, Esq.,			
Etawah	5	3	0
By transfer from Deposit Account: Money Order			
received on 3rd March, 1913, from Imtiazuddin,			
Esq., Purana Kila, Delhi	5	0	0
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Ahmadullah Khan, Esq., Kakori	1	0	0
S. Ata Karim Jaffri, Esq., Machhishahr ...	0	8	0
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Muhammad Yaqub Khan, Esq., Sahsawan ...	1	0	0
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A. S. Jamal, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Red			
Crescent Society, Jamnagar	50	0	0
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kanda, Bazar—			
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Abdur Rahim, Esq.	5	0	0
Muhammad Usman Khan, Esq., and Bhiku			
Teli, rupees two each	4	0	0
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Sheikh Ghodan, Esq., and a student, annas			
eight each	1	0	0
Petty Collections	2	8	0
M. Ahmed Beg, Esq., Fyzabad	1	5	8
K. Haji Muhammad Mohiuddin, Esq., Merchant,			
Bangalore Cantonment	5	0	0
Ghulam Muhammad, Esq., Darogha, District Jail,			
Delhi	50	0	0
Messrs. Saleh Muhammad Ibrahim and Co. Madras	15	0	0
Amount received from 1st June to 31st June 1913 ...	11,31	8	8
Less M. O. Commission and other charges ...	26	8	8
Total	11,45	0	0
Amount previously acknowledged	3,31,024	11	0
GRAND TOTAL	3,32,170	11	0



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If a Subscriber fails to quote his Register Number, the office will not be responsible for the delay in the change of address.

Bengal Veterinary College.

The last date of admission of students into the Bengal Veterinary College for the session 1913-14 is 20th June, 1913. Candidates should present themselves at the College, with necessary certificates, at 11 A. M. on the abovementioned date for selection.

J. A. DURAND,
Asstt. Principal In-Charge
Bengal Veterinary College.

14-6-13

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—Morris.

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believed that the growth of the Swedish gendarmery and the possibility of their eventual employment throughout Persia, has aroused a desire on the part of Russia to have the maintenance of order in the Russian zone entrusted exclusively to Persian Cossacks with Russian officers.

The Home Rule.

Mr. REDMOND and Mr. Devlin opened the Home Rule Campaign at Glasgow. Mr. Redmond said Sir Edward Carson was a modern King Canute. He had better give up his attempt to order the tide not to flow. Sir Edward Carson and his colleagues addressed a demonstration at Norwich.

Morocco.

The Captain of the gunboat General Concha was shot on the bridge. The number of wounded is placed at thirteen, while three others are missing. The Moors captured nine men.

Apparently the Spaniards are making a combined movement from Tetuan, Arzila and Alcazar for the purpose of clearing out the tribal forces which are menacing them. The Spaniards are evidently encountering a sharp resistance. They are anxiously seeking to procure the release of the nine men taken prisoners from the gunboat General Concha.

A telegram from Tangier states that heavy fighting has taken place in the Tadia district. The French casualties were 52 killed and 109 wounded.

The Spaniards, at Tetuan, have defeated the Moors, capturing the heights of Bousleim after a desperate engagement. The Spaniards lost 35 and the Moors 300 killed.

An Anti-Asiatic Policy.

Mr. HAYLOCK WILSON, speaking at South Shields, said the Seamen's Union would henceforth oppose every shipowner employing Chinese. This was better than spending money on a strike. Indians in S. Africa.

Mr. Ghandi, in an interview, regarding Mr. Harcourt's statement in the House of Commons on the 11th instant, declared that even the amended Immigration Bill failed to embody the provisional settlement of 1911, which the Government had violated. The racial bar in the Orange Free State had now been removed and existing rights had been disturbed. The marriage amendment was unsatisfactory.

Mr. Gandhi foreshadowed a revival of passive resistance among men and women unless a provisional settlement was carried out in its entirety.

Indians in British Columbia.

A mass meeting of Hindus at Vancouver yesterday passed a resolution urging the Dominion Government to admit their families and declaring that the present situation was a disgrace to India, Canada and the Empire.

The Week.

Persia.

A voluminous Blue Book on Persia has been issued. The correspondence contains a letter from the Foreign Office to the India Office, dated February 14th, 1913, hoping that Lord Crewe will agree to half the British share of the loan of £400,000 being defrayed out of Indian revenues. A letter from the Foreign Office to the Treasury, dated February 15th, hopes that the Treasury will be able to find the other half of the money forthwith. In enquiring what sort of security could be given for the loan, Sir Edward Grey suggested the provincial revenues, but was prepared for an unsatisfactory reply. Although Sir Edward Grey has little doubt that it will be possible eventually to recover the sum, he considers that the Imperial Government ought not to acquire too closely into the nature of the security, but devote its attention to the proper control of expenditure. If anarchy is allowed to continue, he says, matters will go from bad to worse, and it will become impossible to resist the despatch of an important military expedition.

A message from Teheran states that a force of Persian Cossacks accompanied by a Russian doctor has proceeded to Zinjan to oppose Salar-ed-Dowleh.

A Teheran message says: The fact that 450 Persian Cossacks have been despatched against Salar-ed-Dowleh under the command of two Russian officers, is much commented on. It is generally

TETE À TETE



THE shortest time during which H. E. Lord Hardinge has held the exalted office of the Viceroy of India has been marked by many notable events; but the 20th of June will hold a special place in the memories of the people. It was the

The Viceroy's Birthday.

Birthday of Lord Hardinge, and was celebrated throughout India as "Children's Day" to give expression to the people's joy at the miraculous escape of the Viceroy from the hands of the assassin. The idea originated with H. E. Lady Hardinge who decided to spend the money received as thanksofferings in providing some comfort and happiness to children in hospitals on the Viceroy's Birthday. It, however, soon grew into a movement in which the people and princes of India spontaneously and eagerly joined. The day was observed as a special day of rejoicing for children who were provided with treats and allowed to make merry throughout the vast Indian Empire. Lady Hardinge's message to children in distress breathes all the tender care and affection of a mother, and the heart of India will bless the great lady who, in her gratitude for the recovery of her husband, graciously thought to convey words of cheer to the little ones in pain. The enthusiasm with which the celebration has been carried out in every part of the country shows the great esteem and admiration of the people for this noble-hearted Viceroy. The sad event of 28th December has brought Lord Hardinge nearer to the hearts of millions. His courage, his great trust in his mission and his unflinching faith in the people and their destiny have brought into clearer relief his great personal qualities and the beneficence of the purpose that underlies his rule. The task before India's rulers is great, but as long as they hold fast to the ideals that inspire Lord Hardinge and the steps are guided by his wisdom and policy we can regard the future with perfect confidence.

It was with much eagerness that we were waiting to hear from Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson his words of farewell to India. As a rule he never made a speech in public during his term of office, but his recent address at the farewell banquet given in his honour at Simla is a great, noble and epoch-making utterance which is bound to make a deep and lasting impression on Indian thought and feeling. We are unable to include our comments on the speech in this issue, but we hope to do so in our next. The temptation to study at length this remarkable utterance and its noble message is naturally increased a good deal after reading the *Phoenix's* comments thereon in which the art of damning with faint praise has been carried to perfection.

We received the following letter by the last mail from Dr. Ansari, dated, Stamboul, 27th May: "Both the Hospitals have now been closed, the one in Hindia on the 22nd and the Chanak Kila Hospital on the 24th May. The

scenes of leave-taking at Hindia, and Sanjak Tepe, from General Izzet Pasha and Abdus Salama Pasha, were most touching and will ever remain in our memory. I will have to postpone their full description until next week; probably Shuaib or Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf will write to you about it. We have had several meetings of the Colonisation Society, and a definite plan of work has been decided upon. To-morrow a committee consisting of five persons is going to Anatolia to see the tracts of the land the Government is willing to place at the disposal of the Society for the Colonisation of the Macedonian refugees. This committee consists of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan; Agah Bey, representing the Ottoman Red Crescent; Saleh Bey, an Agricultural expert; Dr. Ahmed Foad, Joint

Secretary, and Makhtar Ahmed Ansari, Secretary. The committee has been given every facility by the Government to inspect these tracts. The members are going first to Angora to see 65,000 acres of land in Qasr Iltis, then to Konia and Oalukishla by train, and from there by carriage to Adana, where 45,000 acres of land near Jaball-Barakht are available. The exact location of the two villages would be decided upon after the completion of the tour. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and I had the good fortune of meeting Enver Bey again. I talked to him about your letter, but he said he did not deserve all the things mentioned in it. He believed in working loyally for his God and country. He was sure Turkey would rise soon to its full glory and power, but a great deal of sincere and hard work was needed to achieve it. He hoped one day to come to India, but at present he could not possibly say when that could be. Don't give credence to the irresponsible talk in some of the papers. Recently he has had a narrow escape from death by drowning; but he is destined to perform greater work for his nation, and God saved him. It must be a source of satisfaction to learn that England and Turkey are now about to arrange all their differences and establish an *Entente*. But I am assured by a high authority that the talk of Lord Kitchener or Lord Milner being appointed as Inspector-General, is without any foundation. On return from Anatolia, it is decided we would start on our return journey to India about the middle of June, so as to catch the Italian steamer on the 24th June at Suez." Two days later Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, General Manager of the Mission, wrote as follows. The letter has a pathetic interest attaching to it, for little did Mr. Abdur Rahman dream at the time that in less than a fortnight he would have to announce the death of one so great whom he had the good fortune to meet. "Dr. Ansari started for Angora yesterday morning. When going he gave me your letter to the Grand Vizier and the Bank draft. I took it to the Grand Vizier and thus had an opportunity of seeing the great Mahmoud Shevket Pasha. You will be interested to learn that he is exactly as we used to find him in his published photographs except that he is a bit more pulled down perhaps because of the heavy work at the War Office and at the Grand Vizierate."

MR. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQUI, General Manager of the All-India Medical Mission, cabled to us from Constantinople on the 20th inst. that Dr. Ansari, with nine members of the Mission, has started for India. The other members of the Mission

seem to have stayed on perhaps in connection with the Colonisation Scheme for refugees in Anatolia, or perhaps they intend to take a longer route on the return journey to India. We think Dr. Ansari and his comrades will catch the Florio Rubattino's at Sicily at Suez on the 24th June and reach Bombay on the 4th July. Preparations are being made to give Dr. Ansari and members of the Mission a hearty reception. We hope the people of Delhi need no inducement from us to accord one of their most distinguished citizens a welcome befitting the magnificent services he has rendered to Islam. We cannot at present say which route Dr. Ansari will take on his journey from Bombay to Delhi. All the same, we request all those who are eager to meet Dr. Ansari en route from Bombay to Delhi to communicate with us as soon as possible. We may add here that Dr. Ansari before his departure from Constantinople cabled to us on the 17th instant as follows:—"His Imperial Majesty Khalifatul Muslimeen graciously received the All-India Medical Mission to-day. His Majesty was deeply touched by the sympathy and assistance of the Indian Muslim brethren and commanded the members of the Mission to convey to them his great appreciation and thanks. His Majesty also individually thanked the members and invoked God's blessings on them." We have no doubt the Indian Muslims will deeply appreciate the honour done to their representatives by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and will be fully compensated by his message of appreciation and thanks for what little they could do in affording relief to their suffering brethren in Turkey. The efforts of the Indian Muslims were inspired by a sense of Islamic duty, and their one wish must surely be that they were able to do much more than they have done.

WE HAVE received a copy of the following communication addressed by the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to the Deputy Commissioner:

"I have the honour to state that as some apprehension has been caused by the fact that the surveyors in the employ of the Imperial Delhi Committee have in course of plotting out roads included within the road areas certain tombs and religious buildings, I should be obliged if you would give publicity to the following facts:—

(1) The road surveys conducted by the Committee are in many cases tentative only, in order to determine by an examination of the spot, the most suitable alignment of the road.

(2) It is the intention of the Committee to respect, subject to the essential requirements of the New Capital, all religious buildings to which importance attaches,—well-known graveyards, and also the individual graves of all persons entitled to consideration.

(3) Where the sites of religious buildings and graveyards have been acquired it must not be understood that they have necessarily been acquired for demolition. Their case will be regulated by the considerations set forth in the previous paragraph.

(4) The Committee have now appointed officers to make a detailed examination of all religious buildings, monuments, tombs and other remains in the acquired area. These officers will demarcate clearly and in a permanent manner all buildings, etc., which are to be preserved in accordance with the principle laid down in paragraph (2).

(5) Persons who desire to make references on the subject of the buildings, etc., above referred to should address the Deputy Commissioner in the first instance.

We are glad that the Hon. Mr. Hailey has taken the Delhi public into his confidence and issued the above letter as a *Press communiqué*. It is a step in the right direction, though we may add that it has been taken none too soon. Before this *communiqué* was issued we had an opportunity of bringing the matter to Mr. Hailey's notice and found him, as we expected, extremely reasonable and anxious to give no cause to the Mussalmans of Delhi for any apprehension. But he had evidently not had an opportunity of ascertaining that the Urdu version of Major Beadon's notification provided sufficient ground for grave apprehensions, and that these apprehensions were entirely genuine. When convinced of this, he expressed his readiness to declare the policy of Government clearly enough and appeared desirous of associating with himself a committee of some really representative Mussalmans who will not shrink from explaining the people's points of view, so that he could himself take up all matters connected with tombs and graveyards and mosques, and settle each in the light of knowledge supplied not only by his subordinates but also by the representatives of the people. The latter could also interpret to the people the measures of Government and remove imaginary fears and baseless apprehensions. We hope such a committee would soon be formed and proper men would be selected and would do their duty by Government and the people in the only manner it can be done, namely, by withholding no truth, however bitter, from the people or the Government.

AFTER the interview with the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to which we have referred we were distressed to learn of an awful sacrilege, namely, the entire demolition of a historical

mosque situated near Koli-ka-pul where Maulana Shah Abdul Haq, *Mukaddis*, Delhi, the renowned Traditionist of Delhi who flourished during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jehan, had taught the Traditions for half a century. We immediately reported the matter to Mr. Hailey and assisted him in locating the spot where the famous mosque had stood for centuries amidst the ruins of an earlier Delhi. The descendants of this great divine, who have for generations served Government as subjects and servants, had kept the mosque in good repair and had built a compound also which enclosed the graves of several well-known citizens of Delhi who belonged to this family. When Mr. Hailey was satisfied that the mosque and the compound wall and some graves had indeed been demolished, he expressed every readiness to make full amends for the sacrilege which, we need hardly say, was in no way authorised by him. He has promised to rebuild the mosque and the compound wall, etc., of course, at Government cost, and to treat the building as an "Ancient Monument." He has also promised to punish the persons guilty of the offence, and we trust the punishment will be severe enough to deter other sacrilegists of this kind. It is only thus that the public can be convinced of the good intentions of Government, and no opportunity should be lost by the authorities in carrying conviction to the people. This is all the more necessary as news of another sacrilege comes hot on the heels of this, and we learn with profound pain that a stone mosque, situated between Syed Hasan Raza Numa and Paharganj to the east of the main *minaret* and some fifty yards from the main wall, has also been demolished. It is believed that this is the work of the *Sanjay and Mitras*. The mosque was an ancient one and had an inscription also. We are in communication with Mr. Hailey, and we have every confidence that he would do in this case also what he has so readily promised to do in the case of Shah Abdul Haq's mosque. We understand that it is his intention to divide the area where New Delhi and the roads leading from it to the present Delhi are to be built into a number of

blocks and to make an officer of Government responsible for the preservation of the mosques and tombs in every such block. This is as it should be, and we hope a *communiqué* would be issued embodying full details of such arrangements.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that Mr. Hailey is doing to reassure the Mussalmans of Delhi, we fear the letter *More Apprehensions*, addressed by him to the Deputy Commissioner will give rise to some more apprehensions. In the first place we do not know what "the essential requirements of the New Capital" are to which all other considerations are subordinate. Apart from being a vague and a rather elastic phrase, it seems to show that the preservation of Moslem places of worship and the resting places of the Moslem dead is not the predominating consideration. It is true—now that Mr. Hailey assures us—that "where the sites of religious buildings and graveyards have been acquired, it must not be understood that they have necessarily been acquired for demolition." But that seems to make it all the clearer that all the religious buildings and graveyards in the acquired area will not necessarily be preserved! In the second place, we do not understand what is meant by "all religious buildings to which importance attaches." "Importance attaches" to every religious building such as a mosque or mausoleum, and we trust the size of a mosque, and the materials with which it is built will not appear to the authorities as *differentia* acceptable to the Mussalmans for distinguishing between mosques which should and mosques which should not be demolished. It is not only in Delhi that distinctions without a difference are boggling the reality of the thing from a Moslem point of view, for in Cawnpore the authorities have gone still further and are trying to differentiate between the sacred and profane portions of a mosque. Surely Government should know—even if after a hundred and fifty years of British rule in India it does not—that Moslem law and custom know no differences such as that made by Lord Curzon between the domed portion of the Delhi Jam'i Masjid where visitors must put on covers over their boots and the open courtyard where they may walk freely with boots on and without any cover, or such as is attempted to be made by the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipal Board between the portion of the mosque in Muehli Bazar where ablutions are made and the rest of the mosque. We do not propose to write on the subject of the Cawnpore mosque at present, for we have for several weeks been corresponding with the authorities on the subject, and have every hope that a wrong decision will not be adhered to simply because it has once been given. But we have been constrained to refer to it in this connection because of the use of the phrase "the most suitable alignment of the road." If Truth is Beauty and Beauty is Truth, then "the most suitable alignment" of a road would not be one which takes account of outward symmetry merely, but which places a higher value on the religious beliefs of the people than on the straightness of a road. Turning from mosques to graves, we are constrained to say that the qualification "graves of all persons entitled to consideration" is bound to create many fresh apprehensions in the minds of the people. In God's Acre at least all should be equal, and Christian poets have as often called Death "the Leveller" as the saints and divines of Islam. Apart from this consideration, the policy foreshadowed by Mr. Hailey in his letter is bound to be impossible to follow in actual practice without creating a world of jealousies, and whoever assists the authorities in distinguishing "persons entitled to consideration" among the dead—for we can not conceive of any official attempting to do this according to his unaided judgment—will distinctly earn the undying hatred of the descendants of the undistinguished dead. There are in Delhi a number of very "distinguished" people among the living, although more dead—and better dead—than alive, who will readily volunteer to do any dirty work in the hope of the least distinction in an undistinguished career. But we doubt if even one of these would dare assist in the digging up of a grave for fear that before very long the descendants of him whose bones were dug up would see to it that he joined the distinguished minority of departed "persons entitled to consideration."

WE remember elsewhere Dr. Asan's vindication of the accuracy of his statements about Foreign Missions to Turkey, published in the *Comrade* of 6th February, to which Mr. Kaim Husein, the Secretary of the British (?) Red Crescent Society, took such violent exception. We regret our comments on Dr. Asan's are crowded out this week and will be published in our next.

The Comrade.

The Butchers' Strike at Delhi.

I.

To-day we have to deal with a matter that relates exclusively to the City we live in, and although it may appear to be of little moment to the public outside Delhi, it has ample claims on our attention and is one which is sure to crop up in one form or another everywhere. For the last ten days a meat strike which has caused considerable inconvenience to the public, and particularly to children and sick or old people, has continued, and we see no signs of its coming to an end unless either the butchers accept quietly the first and a fairly long step in a complete alteration of the internal economy of their profession, or the Municipality climbs down and slackens the speed of the engine of reform. The question at issue is in some respects a fairly old one; but its past history is somewhat uncertain. We are informed by the representatives of the butchers and some members of the public of Delhi that some fifteen years ago the Municipality established a system of requiring from the butchers a requisition for opening a meat shop, so that it could note where such shops were located and could stop a butcher from opening a shop in a place unsuitable for the purpose on account of its close proximity to the houses of such Hindus as do not eat meat and also object to the sight of meat. We are informed that even this system was confined to Hindu quarters in the City, and at any rate the butchers are not aware of any provisions made by the Municipality in this behalf which were of a more rigorous character. It appears that they did not wait for a written permit from the Municipality, but opened their shops after applying for a permit. Naturally the system became practically one of giving information to the Municipality that a meat shop was being opened rather than of applying for a permit. The butchers are not aware that any conditions were imposed with the grant of a permit, and according to them the only reason why the system was at all introduced was the desire to prevent needless injury to the feeling of a section of Hindus.

In or about the year 1906, however, Mr Humphreys introduced a set of new rules which were extremely stringent, and the butchers promptly struck, and no goats or sheep were slaughtered for a week. A fairly prominent citizen of Delhi then acted as a mediator, and in the end assured the butchers that the objectionable rules would be cancelled, and the strike thereupon ceased. The butchers do not know if any new rules were passed by the Municipality, and for all they know the strike in 1906 resulted in a reversion to the practice that obtained previously to the framing of Mr Humphreys' rules.

Once more the Municipality of Delhi has framed new rules for the sale of mutton, and although the Notification, as published in Urdu, gives no date of issue, it states that these rules cancel the rules notified in the Punjab Government Notification No. 152, dated 24th February, 1909, and shall come into force six weeks after the present Notification. We have assured ourselves—and the authorities lay particular stress on the fact—that for all practical purposes the new rules are identical with those framed and notified on the 24th February, 1909. But, on the other hand, we are assured by the butchers of Delhi that they have no idea whatever of the rules notified on the 24th February, 1909, and this is the first time that they have been made aware of their existence. The main provisions of these rules are that meat shall not be sold within Municipal limits without obtaining a permit from the Municipality, and permits would be issued on condition that the meat sold should be wholesome and that the meat shop should be cleaned before it is closed for the day. Although it is no part of the conditions laid down in the permit, one of the rules provides that meat will not be carried about in an exposed condition.

Presumably the butchers of Delhi have been following these rules without knowing their existence, much in the same way that Moliere's "Gentilhomme" spoke prose all his life without knowing it. In two particulars, however, the rules have not been strictly followed. Although meat is generally carried through the streets without being exposed to the view of the passers-by, the butchers cannot swear to it that none of the passers-by has ever been able to catch a sight of the meat exposed by the action of the breeze or in some cases because the cover was a little too small. We do not know if any reasonable person can expect anything more than this, and we are emphatically of opinion that more rigour would be aggressive and is certain to create ill-will between the different communities. The second particular in which the rules of 1909 have not been strictly followed is a matter of permits. We have been endeavouring to

ascertain the total number of mutton shops in Delhi, and the number for which permits were duly obtained. The butchers have kindly promised to give us a complete list of shops of both character, and we are grateful to Mr. Metcalfe, the obliging Municipal Secretary of Delhi, for endeavouring to supply us with whatever particulars he could from the record of his office. But we hope we are not unjust to the Municipality if we say that its records do not appear to have been well kept in the matter of mutton shops, and the figures supplied to us differ so considerably as to be of very little use for a proper consideration of the question. For instance, while the butchers state that roughly there are more than 300 mutton shops, and no permits were ever asked for as many as 150, the Municipal Secretary is under the impression that there are only about 160 mutton shops of which as many as 120 have obtained regular permits.

It is difficult, indeed, to know what is exactly the truth; and, although we would have accepted the figures supplied by the Municipality, we find that different sets of figures supplied by the Municipality show glaring discrepancies. For instance, in a notice issued by the President of the Municipal Committee for general information it is stated that there are only 12 shops in Wards II., III. and VII. for which no permits exist, but the list of such shops supplied by the Municipal Secretary shows that only in Wards III. and VII. out of 25 shops 17 never had any permits, and that for four shops for which permits were issued in the year 1909 and 1910 they have lapsed since March 1910 and 1911 owing to the expiry of the period for which they were issued. These four shops, therefore, are also shops without a permit, and thus as many as 31 shops have no permits out of 25 in two of the three wards about which special action is being taken. As for the remaining four, in three cases the permits were issued only as recently as the 15th of May last, i.e., after the issue of notices under the new rules, and in the fourth case we are assured by the butchers that only a change of the location of the shops was notified by the shop-keeper and no permit was applied for. For all practical purposes, therefore, in Wards III. and VII. no permits existed before the present dispute between the butchers and the Municipality commenced. We do not know why no figures have been supplied for Ward No. II., but we were also assured that in this Ward all shops had proper permits. We are not disposed to accept this as correct, for we were also assured that according to this list there were as many as 19 shops without permits in Ward III. and 41 in Ward VII. These figures do not tally with the list of 25 shops in Ward III. and VII. supplied to us and neither set of figures tallies with the number of shops without permits which Mr Jacob, the Chairman of the Municipal Committee, mentions in his Press Notice.

We enquired about the system of issuing permit and are informed that "the butchers first apply to obtain permission to open mutton shops and the permits are issued on the report of the Tehsildar after being sanctioned by the Ordinary Meeting." But if this is so we are surprised that the Municipality should be unable to supply an accurate list of the shops with permits and the shops without permits. We are rather disposed to agree with the statement of Mr Metcalfe that in the absence of a proper executive department sufficiently manned the system of permits degenerated into one of opening shops and informing the Municipality at the time of doing so. Even then the Municipality has not evidently kept a proper record of the information thus supplied, and the butchers are entirely in the right if they claim that the rules requiring a permit from the Municipality before a mutton shop is opened are so far as they are concerned, as good as new.

But granting that the rules now framed and sought to be enforced are new, they are not unnecessarily such as should not be accepted. We are in full sympathy with the Municipal Board of Delhi if it has been endeavouring for some time past, as Mr. Jacob's Press Notice states, "to procure for Delhi a proper and regulated supply of meat which shall be sold in shops which conform to a certain sanitary standard. But it is necessary to state that meat is only one out of a number of things used as human food, and if the Municipality desires to convince the public that its sanitary conscience is at last awakened, its Health Department would have to spare some of its attention and rigour for the confectioners' shops also, whom it will take the City Fathers much effort to put the *Halwai's shops* into a proper sanitary condition." The fact is that if according to the time-honoured story, the *Telhi-im-ki-langot* is not one but many articles, the *Halwai-bi-dhori* too has its multifarious uses and abuses, and some of them do not lend themselves easily to a description in print. Sometime ago we had occasion to write about "Licensed Kabobs" in Lucknow, and although the Editor of a contemporary supplied the WUI and the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow supplied the Way, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces put

a step to action contemplated in the interests of certain caste prejudices under the guise of and in the sacred name of sanitation. We do not think that in this matter the Municipality is guided by such considerations; but questions of this nature are apt to create distrust and ill-will between communities, and we hope one or two Hindu and Jain members of the Municipality whose observations seem to savour of caste prejudices would not jeopardise by importing an improper spirit into the matter the carrying out of a programme of sanitary reform so necessary for every town, and particularly necessary for the town that is now once more the metropolis of India. We do not think the butchers would object to the taking out of permits provided that an impossible sanitation is not sought to be enforced and undue rigour is not exercised in the matter of carrying meat through the streets which is accidentally or only slightly exposed to the view of the passers-by.

But we very strongly object, and we think that the butchers have every right to object to the wrong use that is been made of the new rule about obtaining permits before meat is sold. Mr. Jacob states that in pursuance of the policy of procuring for Delhi "a proper and regulated supply of meat which shall be sold in shops which conform to a certain sanitary standard," action has been taken "firstly, to secure that all mutton-sellers should take out a license which would be given only after the shop has been put into a proper sanitary condition, and secondly to erect markets in which meat could be sold under Municipal supervision and in surroundings which would reduce the danger of contamination to a minimum." We welcome this policy, and we do not think any reasonable person whether a butcher or a meat-eater would object to any measure taken with these objects in view. But the two measures are distinct and separate, and while a system of permits appears necessary for the purpose of making the shops conform to a certain sanitary standard, we consider it highly objectionable and in fact not quite straightforward to use the system of permits as a lever for filling Municipal markets with tenants. Sanitation, like virtue, must be for its own sake, and if Municipal markets remain untenanted it is not the sanitary conscience but business aptitude which should be called into play. This the Municipal Committee has not done except too late. It is true that a well built market has been erected near the Dufferin Bridge and has for some time been ready for occupation. It is also true that the Municipality issued over the signature of its Health Officer a Notification on the first of May requiring all mutton butchers to take out permits in the course of the next fifteen days, although the statutory period for such action is considerably longer than a fortnight. It is also true that notices were served on the 29th April on individual butchers informing them that they had not obtained permits and must do so within three days. We do not wish to discuss here whether, in view of the rules under which these notices have been issued being for all practical purposes absolutely new, it was or was not necessary to inform the butchers about the new rules and give them fair notice before taking any drastic action. But we have no doubt whatever that there was no justification for issuing a notice on the 22nd May on the mutton-sellers of Wards II, III, and VII, in the vicinity of the newly-erected market that "they should take up stalls by the 10th of June." We have also no doubt whatever that there was no justification for issuing orders to the Jamadars of the Delhi Tehsil on the 10th June that they should inform the mutton-sellers presumably of the whole town that the time-limit in the notice had expired, and if the butchers desired to do any business they should take up stalls in the market.

It is said that on the 28th May "a deputation of butchers waited on the Chief Commissioner to protest against the orders issued." We are informed by the legal adviser of the butchers that this was no deputation, but an ordinary appeal from the orders of the Municipality preferred according to proper legal procedure after payment of the usual Court-Fee, although at the suggestion of Mr. Jacob the Hon. Mr. Hailey did not permit the butchers' lawyer to argue the appeal on behalf of his clients. It is stated in Mr. Jacob's notice that the Chief Commissioner passed the following order —

"(1) That action would in the first instance be taken against the mutton-sellers in the immediate vicinity of the Dufferin Bridge Market, viz., those mutton-sellers in the Mori Gate and Phatak Habash Khan area which is comprised in Wards II, III, and VII.

"(2) That the mutton-sellers in the area named were to be treated as follows:—

- (a) That those who had no licenses and had therefore absolutely no right to sell meat would be given licenses, provided they took up stalls in the Dufferin Bridge Market. If they did not, apply by 10-6-18, their shops would be closed.
- (b) That those who had been given licenses on the condition that the license would hold good only "until the opening

of the markets would be allowed to remain for the current year, provided the stalls in the market had been duly taken up by unlicensed shops.

- (c) That shops which had proper yearly licenses expiring on 31-3-14 would not be touched during the period that their licenses were valid, but that no guarantee would be given that these licenses would be renewed next year unless they had stalls in the market.

Now in the first place Wards II, III, and VII, are much too large to be supplied with meat from a single market with six stalls. Ward VII, extends from the Fatehpuri Mosque right up to the Ajmer Gate, and it is clear that no single market can ever suffice for the needs of people throughout the breadth of Delhi from Mori Gate to Ajmer Gate. Dufferin Bridge is very far indeed from Ajmer Gate, and the three wards affected have at present no less than about 50 shops on a rough calculation. The Dufferin Bridge market with its six stalls would, therefore, be unable to cope with the demand of the area included in those three.

In the second place, we find no justification in the rules for periodical permits, nor has it been proved by the Municipality that there was any system of periodical permits in the past. We cannot, therefore, regard the permits recently issued about the 15th of May practically after the opening of the market to be sanctioned by rules nor can we consider the issue of such permits even a business-like and straightforward proceeding. What is the use of issuing permits on the 15th of May when the markets are opened to "hold good only until the opening of the market"?

In the third place, we fail to understand the logic of clause 2 (b) of the order which tells A that his license would be a proper license for the current year, provided B, who may be a friend or enemy of A, takes up an untenanted stall in the market. Logically and lawfully A may or may not be punished for what he does or omits to do, but what logic or law is there in punishing him for the acts or omissions of B, an extraneous person.

Finally and this is the gist of the matter—it could have never been contemplated when the rules about permits were framed in 1909 that instead of requiring a butcher to keep his shop clean, to sell wholesome meat, and to carry it without exposing it to the public view, he would be required to give up his shop, dislocate and perhaps lose his business and take up a stall in a market to be built more than four years later. The only justification of permits is that they would make it possible for the Municipality to supervise the meat shops and satisfy itself that wholesome meat is sold and the shops are kept in a sanitary condition. To use it in order to compel a butcher to give up his shop, no matter how clean, and occupy a stall at the Municipal market is mixing up sanitation with business, and to use the sanitary conscience as the hand-maiden of Municipal commerce. It is beside the point whether these markets would or would not result in profit to the Municipality. It is certain that their occupancy would prevent the loss which their remaining unoccupied would cause to the Municipal Board. At first the Municipality fixed Rs. 5 as a monthly rent for each stall, and when it was found that the rate had been fixed absolutely without any enquiry about the rent ordinarily paid by the butchers for their shops—methods of business of which only a bureaucracy is capable—the rent was lowered to Rs. 1-12-0 per month which approximates to the rent of butchers' shops. Subsequently the rent was lowered again, and is now fixed at Rs. 1 per mensem "for the first year." This is ordinary business, even though it is poor business after all to be changing the rent three times in six weeks; and no one can find fault with the Municipality for competing with landlords of butchers' shops in the open market. But it is not permissible for the Municipality to use compulsion and pressure on tenants for its markets at the point of the bayonet.

The Future of Islam.

WITH to-day's issue of the *Comrade* ends one of its special features which as "War Supplement" we had introduced at the outbreak of the Tripolitan War and has ever since been devoted to bringing together the best available information on the events in Tripoli and the far bigger and much more serious crisis in the Near East. The period has been fraught with changes the most fateful in the recent history of Islam, and Moslem feeling throughout the world has been stirred to a degree seldom witnessed before. In India, where the Moslem community is much larger than that of any other country and is rapidly becoming alive to the dangers that encompass Islam abroad, the fate of Moslem States and their treatment by Europe has made the deepest and most painful impression. There is hardly a village in India to-day where the present position of Islam and its future do not form the subject of anxious questionings. The

Balkan War, its motives and its crises have laid bare before the Mussalmans the great secular problems of their faith. They have begun to perceive, for the first time after many centuries, with perfect clearness that Islam is not a mere terminological expression representing diverse communities with lives apart, but a living force of spiritual and social cohesion binding all Moslems in an indissoluble unity of hope, purpose, duty and endeavour. The brotherhood of Islam has ever been a fundamental basis of its creed, but the Indian Moslems had never felt its vital strength as keenly as they feel to-day. The sufferings of the parts have revived in the whole its sense of organic unity. The Moslem Press in India has played a conspicuous part in this revival. We are yet far from the time when the seed sown within this short period will spring forth in flower and fruit. But we may claim on our part that in a period of gravest excitement, alarm and suspense in Moslem India we have consciously said or done nothing that might have led to even a partial suppression of the truth or to a false interpretation of its meaning. The "War Supplement" has supplied the most widely-felt demand of the majority of our readers for full and accurate information about the Tripoli campaign and more particularly about the Balkan War and the wider issues they involved. We have spared neither labour nor expense in trying to meet that demand. But in doing so we have never pandered to popular passions. We have drawn impartially from every source. Every considerable body of opinion and every possible standpoint, even though it was hostile to Turkey and Mussalmans in general, has been freely represented. We would have ill-served our readers if we had rejected to include in our weekly symposium an opinion or a point of view that appeared to us likely to be distasteful to Mussalmans. Some of our readers have been occasionally reminding us that we have unwittingly caused them pain by reproducing the partisan utterances of the *Times* and its correspondents. We have at times been requested to withhold our frank comment on some of the causes that led to Turkish defeat. These reminders and requests are a best and most convincing proof to us that we have in a large measure succeeded in the objects we had in view. Half-truths thickly sugared can scarcely be a wholesome intellectual diet for Indian Mussalmans. Those whose one desire is to live eternally on honeycomb have unfortunately had enough men with sharp commercial instincts who have freely catered to their taste. We are thankful to think that we have been mercifully spared the temptations of the trade. If we have helped some of our readers, however slightly, in forming an accurate estimate of the conditions that surround Islam and the big secular problems that it has got to face, we have been amply recompensed for our efforts.

We need not recount the fresh difficulties and dangers that have come to birth in the lives of the Moslem communities throughout the world. They are of a complexity and magnitude that afford no parallel in Moslem history since the sack of Baghdad. To go in detail over the happenings of the last two years would be a futile task. It is enough to remember that a series of disastrous shocks have fallen on the secular power and prestige of Islam, and its liberties have been trampled underfoot in several lands. Morocco and Tripoli have become the victims of hostile aggression, and powerful European States, impelled by insatiable earth-hunger, have forcibly planted themselves in the midst of peaceful and entirely Moslem peoples and are reducing them to bondage with machine-guns. Persia lies prostrate and her days are evidently numbered. It is, however, the war in the Balkans and all it has meant that has most deeply impressed on the minds of the Mussalmans the peril of their new position and brought home to them the character of the forces in which their future destiny is cast. The fate of Turkey involves much bigger issues than the decline and fall of a once magnificent Ottoman Empire in Europe. More than enough has been said and written by almost every European observer and critic of note about the defeat of Turkey, its causes and its consequences, big and small. The point of view that has inspired these criticisms has invariably been that of a European politician or a Christian humanitarian. Many shrewd observations have been made, many penetrating and impressive theories have been evolved about the most tragic and awful drama of modern times. But they are becomingly inadequate and do not cover the whole range of consequences. The war has no doubt led to big physical changes in the map of the Balkan States. It has demonstrated the vigour and vitality of the young nationalities that were once the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. It has cast a flood of lurid light on the clumsy methods and staggering capacity of the Turks. It has, moreover, reflected such grim pictures on a bigger canvas. It has shown hostile races locked up in a death struggle, moved by ferocious passions of history, traditions of hate, religious fanaticism, lust of power and dominion,—in short, by all those motives which lead men to make a living inferno of this earth, instead,

by the way, which the greed and ambitions of Europe had helped not a little to foster. All this is eminently true, but it is not the whole truth.

Let us, however, study the European views of the Turkish *délâle* a little in detail. They are not only interesting in themselves, but they outline the attitude of Europe towards Turkey and Islam in its various aspects and sum up the forces that constitute the real menace to the political freedom and power and the general progress of the Moslem world. There is first the military expert whose views on a fateful military issue are entitled to hearing. We reproduce elsewhere an article on "A German View of the Turkish Defeat" from the *Fortnightly Review*, which sums up the opinions of Field-Marshal von der Goltz, who supervised the work of military reorganisation in the Ottoman Empire from 1888 to 1896, and of Lieut-General Imhoff, who, under Field-Marshal von der Goltz, was entrusted with the work of reorganising the Ottoman Artillery. According to the Field-Marshal the Turkish Army until the year 1908 consisted only of a levy of the Mahammadans, controlled by law; and these men had none of the training necessary for the recent war. Only after the revolution of 1908 was it possible for steps to be taken to create an army, in the modern sense, which should be fully trained on a peace footing and yet have the usual number of Reserve, Landwehr and Landsturm. The work was interrupted by the unfortunate mutiny of 1909. The only period, therefore, during which serious reorganisation was in progress consisted of no more than three years. The time was wholly insufficient; and, then, a succession of insurrections in various parts of the extensive Empire interrupted the work of training. When the war came Turkey could only mobilise an army of recruits. The mobilisation, too, had necessarily to be carried out in haste and raw troops were unavoidably utilised to fill gaps. Such an army, deficient moreover in officers, was unequal to the task of taking the offensive against a numerically superior army which had enjoyed twenty-seven years' preparation for war. To such a venture there could be no other end than defeat. It was altogether too premature to test the strength of the new Turkish Army in actual warfare. However, in the opinion of the Field-Marshal, all is not lost to Turkey. Restricted to an area wherein is concentrated her true national power, she will now be able to devote herself to her own regeneration. Imhoff Pasha agrees with von der Goltz in his main conclusions and adds that the fanatical, wild and brave Turkish Army, which in former times constituted a homogeneous whole as regards nationality and religion, had absorbed elements having absolutely no interest in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, and, indeed, whose sympathies were frankly on the side of the enemy. He also calls attention to the defective railway communications and absence of good roads, shortcomings of administration, exterior and interior troubles, the Italian war and the Albanian revolt as factors of considerable importance that led to Turkish disasters.

From the military expert we now pass on to the lay critic whose business it is to keep up a running commentary on the great events and changes that sweep across human affairs from time to time. Sir Harry H. Johnston is a well-known exponent of the White-Man's-Burden School of Imperialism and has never failed to tell the world that Islam is an obscurantist creed and an impossible polity. He has offered to the perplexed and harassed diplomatists of Europe his "Final Solution of the Eastern Question" which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in March last. He vehemently repudiates the creed of the "Fascists" and stoutly maintains that peace can only be ensured by a breathless preparation for war. That is, however, by the way. His view of Turkish defeat is that it demonstrates the rottenness of Turkish administration and the diminished value of the Turk as fighting man through his lessened faith in his religion. The war has sealed the doom of the Turk. He must soon be relieved of his territory in Asia. He is stupid and insufferably barbarous. He can have no future before him. He must go: the civilized world has no room for such an anachronism as he. The Turks of eastern, central, and western Asia have been respectively the ruin of China, of Persia, and of the Aryan civilization of Central Asia; they brought Egypt to ruin and nullity and reduced its population from eight millions to two millions; they ruined and depopulated Cyprus, a flourishing kingdom of the middle ages and still prosperous under Venetian rule; they ruined and depopulated Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria; reduced Oran to semi-savagery and devastated the Moors; wrecked the great renaissance of Persia under the Safavids; and made of Thrace and Macedonia, Russia and Bulgaria, Serbia and Rumania, Bessarabia and Wallachia, desert mummy-heaps; with towns of men and many lands, and populations of semi-nomads, whose flocks and herds destroyed the country because under the constant raids of the Turks agriculture did not pay.

the power of self-protection and "is quietly seeking new protectors, at least a better figure-head."

This last sentence gives the crux of the whole Islamic question. Have the Mussalmans lost everything that once gave them strength and independence and a position of unquestioned honour among the races of the world ? Have they lost all the inspiration of their faith, all the strength of their ideals, the vitality of hope, the creative energy of aspiration ? Will they never feel again the overmastering impulse of the Divine purpose which once made them a force of mighty influence in human history ? Are they to sink for evermore into the *straw* of finished and forgotten things, into the underworld of defunct races toiling and sweating with lifeless hearts and palmed walls under the lash of new masters ? Is that to be the end ? Such is at least the verdict of European opinion. Are the Mussalman races themselves convinced of their own futility and of the inevitableness of the fate pronounced by Europe ? This is the question.

Then, again, there is the brilliant publicist whose glowing periods and chiselled phrases are carved out of the tragedies of afflicted races. Mr. Herbert Vivian in the April number of the *Fortnightly Review* disposes of "Turkey's Asiatic Problem" like a god sporting with materials for a fresh Creation. He, too, believes that the Turk is played out. Turkey has no future unless it be under the effective guidance and control of England. She has an appropriate emblem in a crescent which never grows up into a full moon. Her present respite in Asia is a mere prolongation of her old problems. Producing nothing, assimilating nothing, learning nothing forgetting nothing, she does not qualify for government. But she may still maintain an unstable equilibrium by effacing herself and reducing government to a minimum. Mock parliaments and melodramatic conspirators and secret societies must be set aside. Decentralisation must be expanded into autonomy until bonds of empire bind no more tightly than the imagination of men's hearts. The loyal imagination of desert races, the fiery impulse of a fighting Prophet's creed, an instinctive distrust of Occidental restlessness—such are the soundest links in a spiritual chain which may yet barricade an Asiatic Empire for another thousand years. A Moslem Empire may rise out of the Ottoman ashes, but not under the domination of the Turk. As regards the wider consequences of the Turkish Eastern.

The task before the Moslem is great, his defects are enormous, his limitations weigh him down like chains of iron. But we refuse to despair. The real need is to sow the seed of regeneration from within. A new personality has got to be created, ample, strong and virile, confident of its power and resourceful enough to bend circumstances to its will. The task will claim the united, faithful, disciplined devotion of every Mussalman for many a weary year. The drudgery of preparation is never an inspiring effort. But it is the unflinching test of the purpose and will of a people bent on high achievement. The Bulgarian went patiently and silently through the grind for 27 years with a view to gain territorial expansion for his race. Will not the Mussalman bear the stress and burden of effort for the sake of a much higher ideal? We trust he will. Our duty shall always be to keep the ideal before him and try to point out the ways by which the ideal can be brought nearer to fruition. A Mussalman cannot be cribbed, cabined and confined within the narrow limits of race, colour or geography. His instrument is neither politics, nor finance nor racial pride, but, a set of spiritual and social ideals, and his stage is the whole world. He cannot be suppressed if only because his physical environment is so various and subject to diverse influences. But even the diversity of environment has not weakened his sense of spiritual and social unity. This is the paradox which may well confound a non-Moslem, but which exists all the same and renders the future of Islam dependant on the united will and energy of the whole Islamic world. The strength of such an effort, it is needless to observe, cannot be permanently affected by different political conditions.

These opinions give us an exact measure of what Europe thinks of the future of the Turk and of Islam. No one can mistake the note of exultation and pleased astonishment in the shouts of Christendom. The bogey of its troubled imagination—a false and terrible myth which mendacious diplomacy had invented to justify aggression—has rent in dust and ashes. The dreaded Pan-Islamism has ceased to be the terror that frightened the aggressors of Europe. Islam as a world force has finally ceased to exist. Europe need no longer be afraid of shadows in dealing with the various Islamic communities whom its combined strength and diplomacy has literally brought to the ground. "Gone are all the haughty delusions of holy wars, of the solidarity of Islam, of the omnipotent indignation of militant millions." Islam has lost

CONFIDENCE



Dr. Ansari's Vindication.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The copy of the *Comrade* in which was published a letter from Mr. Kasim Husain, the Secretary of the British Red Crescent Society, was received here this week before last. I would have written a week earlier on the subject, but I was precluded from doing so owing to the great demand made on my time by the Colonization Society and the Mission. Moreover, it is not an easy matter to get official statistics, and it requires time and patience. However, my patience has been rewarded in obtaining as complete statistics as possible. Only in one case have I been unable to get official statistics, and that because they could not be found anywhere even after a laborious search. They were either not furnished to the authorities at all or were misplaced. But I have given the figures supplied to me by a Final Year medical student here who acted as Registrar to the hospital.

Mr. Kasim Husain has grossly misinterpreted my statement and has drawn inferences for which he had absolutely no warrant. He has tried to foist personal motives upon my statement and to create the false impression that I intended maliciously to discredit and calumniate the British Red Crescent. A careful perusal of my letter will show that my sole object was to defend the Turkish hospitals against the bigoted calumnies heaped upon them by a section of the European Press, and it was only incidentally that mention was made of the work of the Foreign Medical Missions as a whole. I need no apology for reproducing the passage in my letter which seems to have given so much offence, and then I shall leave it to the unbiased mind to judge whether the statement was an honest narration of facts or a malicious sling at the reputation of men engaged in a work of mercy. In the course of my letter I said:—

"The story of the Turkish wounded being left in thousands, on the battle-field to die is a tissue of malignant lies, which is obvious to even casual observer who visits the hospitals, and sees for himself the number of major operations performed on the patients with results which even the best surgeons of Europe would be proud of. It may be of interest, by way of comparison, to mention here that the results of the German Red Cross Hospitals, the British Red Crescent Hospital sent by Mr. Ameer Ali and the French Red Cross Hospital have been very unsatisfactory, whether due to the lack of skill or interest of the doctors sent in these Missions. In fact, there is a feeling here, no doubt erroneous, owing to their bad results that these men deliberately maimed and dismembered the patients when a conservative treatment would have saved the lives and limbs of many of the patients placed under their treatment."

In the above passage I have made three distinct statements:—

(1) That the working of the Turkish Hospitals was efficient and satisfactory.

(2) That the results of some of the Foreign Medical Missions as compared with the Turkish Hospitals were very unsatisfactory.

(3) That there was a feeling, owing to their bad results, that the foreign doctors instead of trying to conserve the limbs deliberately maimed and dismembered the patients.

With regard to the first and chief statement, if Mr. Kasim Husain is anxious to see the Turkish Hospitals vilified and abused by the yellow press of the European Press, I see no reason why he should be deprived of that satisfaction, but that does not affect my position in the present controversy. Mr. Kasim Husain, however, is entitled to take offence at the second statement, if it

is not borne out by incontrovertible facts and figures. But when compared with the 2, 3, and at the utmost 8 per cent. of mortality in case of the Ottoman, Indian, Egyptian, and other hospitals, the Foreign Missions show a mortality of 18 and 19 per cent. Surely Mr. Kasim Husain cannot object to my calling the result as unsatisfactory.

My chief offence in his view, however, consists, presumably, in having referred to the prevalent feeling in Turkey against some of the Foreign Missions, who performed too many operations with a lack of regard for the conservative methods advocated by all the leading surgeons of the world. My personal view in regard to this feeling, as expressed in the words "no doubt erroneous," might, however, have atoned for my offence even in the eyes of Mr. Kasim Husain. When speaking of this prevalent feeling I have hesitated to believe in its accuracy owing to the instinctive regard and respect I had for my foreign colleagues. That these rumours were persistent is amply borne out by the report sent to the Turkish authorities by the Director of one of the British Hospitals, which begins thus:—

"Vu qu'on dit, comme il paraît, que les amputations faites par M. M. les Médecins . . . ont été excessives, j'ai l'honneur, etc., etc."—"In view of the facts that it would appear that the amputations performed by Drs . . . have been excessive, I have the honour" etc, etc.,

Further investigation, however, proves that there was a basis for these rumours, as the following figures would clearly speak for themselves:—

Hospitals.	Admissions.	Total mortality.	Percentage of mortality.	Remarks.
Croissant Rouge Ottoman (Ottoman Red Crescent) ...	18,445	323	2.3	From the beginning of the war up to the second armistices.
Ottoman Military Hospitals ...	22,524	758	3.3	
Croissant Rouge Egyptian ...	1,591	142	8.9	
Dutch Red Cross ...	185	4	2.1	
BRITISH RED CROSS.				
1. School of Fine Arts	313	61	18.8	10 amputations. 8 deaths. N. B.—The Director in his report gives 1,125 admissions in all, but does not mention the mortality.
2. Ali Bey Chiflik ...	49	1	2.04	
3. Kali Kratia ...	50	Not known	Not known	
4. Beikos ...	98	58	54.08	
BRITISH RED CRESCENT.				
1. Saint Stephanos ...	305	58	19.01	20 Amputations. Figures supplied by the Registrar.
2. Scutari Secondary School ...	87—98	Not known	Not known	
ALL-INDIA MEDICAL MISSION.				
1. Hindia (Omerli)—In-patients ...	208	1	0.48	One disarticulation; patient cured. Combined in-patient and out-patient mortality 0.18%.
Out-patients ...	390	Nil	Nil	
2. Chanak Kila—In-patients ...	355	11	3.09	Combined in-patient and out-patient mortality 0.88%.
Out-patients ...	1,152	2	0.17	

Although I have not been able to publish the statistics of the Bombay Poor Moslems' Medical Mission, owing to their not having been received up to date, I am aware of the fact that their mortality is very low, not exceeding 2 per cent.

Before commenting on the figures in the above table, it is necessary to emphasize that the patients sent to all the different hospitals were generally in similar conditions as regards exposure, mal-nutrition, and the septic condition of the wounds. The transport arrangements, whether good or bad, were similar for all hospitals. In fact some of the British hospitals were rather lucky in being situated very near to the railway or the Sea, whilst the hospitals nearer the Tehalaldja lines often had the worst patients sent to them because they were too ill to be carried to a more distant hospital. Note must be taken of these facts in judging the results of the different hospitals. Another fact to be borne in mind is whether these hospitals were field-hospitals in tents or in barracks and buildings. The patients in the former hospitals would naturally require more care and attention owing to the severer weather conditions prevailing under tents. The British hospitals, which were mostly located in barracks or buildings, were no exception to this rule, and should be judged according to their results. Whilst giving expression to my feelings of gratitude and thanks as a Mussalman, and to my appreciation as a medical man for the help rendered by the foreign medical men, I cannot help commenting that their figures show a higher percentage of mortality than those of other hospitals.

So much for the general results. When one examines the number of amputations performed in the British Hospitals (10 amputations in the British Red Cross and 20 in the British Red Crescent—the latter figure being subject to confirmation) one is forced to admit that the traditions of conservative surgery in the war time, handed down by eminent British and Continental surgeons, have not been always followed. It is easier to remove a limb than to save it. Even granting that all the operations were successful (which unfortunately was not the case at least in the 10 cases of the British Red Cross Hospital for there were no less than 8 deaths) it is open to question whether even some of these patients could not have had their limbs saved.

Professor Depage, of the Belgian Red Cross Mission to Constantinople, who is a surgeon of great eminence and has had special opportunities of studying the conditions during the present war, has insisted on following the principles of conservative surgery and has himself practised as few amputations as possible during his stay in Turkey.

His words are:—

"J'ai fait peu d'amputations; j'ai évité, quand je l'ai pu, les interventions, m'attachant le plus possible à observer les préceptes de la chirurgie conservatrice," etc., etc.

(I have performed few amputations. I have, whenever I have been able to do so, there avoided the means, endeavouring as much as possible to observe the precepts of conservative surgery.)

An eminent Israelite surgeon connected with one of the hospitals in Constantinople, who had seen some of the worst effects of aggressive surgery during the present war, writes thus of one of the Foreign Missions:—

"Naturally all the hospitals have not had the chance of being under superior and infallible medical men."

"Because of these very zealous operators we saw terrible mutilations, inexhaustible suppurations, and cachexia difficult to combat. Most of the younger colleagues, novices in the art of war surgery, operated upon, drained and rummaged the wounded after their arrival in the hospital. Perhaps they did not know that in the surgery of war conservation was the best known cure. To search a lost bullet in the body we have seen enormous and inconceivable incisions."

The same surgeon writing again expresses the following opinion in no mistakable language about the work of one of the Foreign Missions in Constantinople:—

"These soldiers had infected sores, profuse suppurations, disagreeable ulcerations, horrible stumps, and briefly all the consequences of a bad war surgery unworthy of the present century. Their corporeal hygiene was totally neglected. Parasites and dirt were diffused throughout their bodies and clothing. They were not soldiers arriving from the battle-field and lacking comfort and cleanliness, but were patients who had been operated upon and looked after for two months in a hospital."

"Large incisions from 30 to 40 centimetres were found all along the leg, the thigh and the superior extremity,

as it was necessary for the operator to dissect the whole member in order to find a lost bullet." (See photographs.)

One of the high officials of the Ottoman Red Crescent and Professor Depage were so disconcerted on seeing these patients that they asked the surgeon to take photographs for publication.

The doctor then goes on:—

"... publish them in order to inform the world that the European Red Cross Societies should entrust responsibility to clever surgeons and not to novices, who are too ignorant or who are desirous to learn the manual exercise of the bistoury on the poor soldiers."

He then quotes a number of cases with all their details showing the effects of bad surgery and careless nursing. The disgraced surgeon concludes his statement in the following words:—

"It is a pity to state that in this 20th century Powers like ... dare send us operators to attend to our wounded, perhaps inferior to our bone-setters. Poor Turkey! What illegal injuries in these days of distress! Is that what is called the progress of civilization???"

In order to show that my statements were not unfounded, I will quote, even at the risk of being tedious, a few more statements of some eminent Turkish doctors. A doctor in the course of his report to the authorities about one of the British hospitals says:—

"The scissors and instruments used for a case of tetanus were again used for other cases without sterilizing them or even putting them in antiseptic lotions. By so doing there were six deaths due to tetanus although they confess that only two cases were infected in the field. The beddings of the tetanus cases were used for other cases without disinfection except putting them in the open air."

Twelve cases of dysentery which were in the greatest need of treatment were simply kept some medicament until they died one by one in agony and exhaustion. The cholera cases were put in the general ward among other patients. A patient, who was extremely ill and died the next day, asked for a drink of water from the dresser in attendance who gave him a kick on his chest instead."

A Professor in the Faculty of Medicine at Haidar Pasha writes thus of one of the English Hospitals:—

"I have been hearing persistent rumours that many operations have been performed which were unnecessary and were not sanctioned by the medical science, with many fatal results."

An eminent Turkish surgeon of European fame who is also a Professor in the Faculty of Medicine says:—

"It has been known from the persistent rumours prevailing here that the English Red Crescent Mission as well as some of the foreign missions in Constantinople and other places, in carrying out the work entrusted to them, had at times not been treating the wounded and the sick as they should have done. And that some operations were performed which were quite unnecessary."

One of the Military Sanitary Inspectors of all the hospitals of the Tehalaldja section writes:—

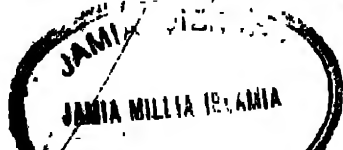
The papers pretending that medical and surgical patients were not treated scientifically by the Ottoman doctors must know thoroughly that the Foreign Red Cross Missions, found in Constantinople and in the field, are obviously more liable to be described in the same way than the Ottoman doctors."

The same authority writes to me in these terms:—

"I read your article in the 'Conrads' of 8th February 1913. All your statements are real facts. The method of treatment of the wounded patients in some of the hospitals established by the foreign missions, as you have said, was not good. I endorse all that you have said."

In fairness to the English doctors, I must pay a tribute to the excellent work done by Dr. Baynes in connection with the cholera patients, and to the surgical skill of Dr. Oalthrop for having performed twelve amputations with excellent results.

Mr. Kazim Husain has unnecessarily appropriated for his Society the remarks which I had made for the benefit of the donors in



India, who had been constantly writing to me letters inquiring about the different sums which they had sent through individuals and agencies in India and in Turkey. Obviously these remarks were not meant for the British Red Crescent Society, as their accounts, according to Mr. Kazim Husain's own showing, are regularly published in the papers. Besides, I assure him, no one esteems the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali's services to Mussalmans of India more than I do.

Mr. Kazim Husain has put the blame of the failure of funds to reach the coffers of his Society on wrong persons. If he had only taken the trouble to inquire of some of the leading Mussalmans in London, not to mention the various Mussalman journals in India, he would have found the real cause. It may be asked in justice why his Society has studiously excluded every Indian from the staff of the Mission sent to Constantinople. I am personally aware of some Mussalman young men who had volunteered their services for the British Red Crescent Mission, but were either refused or had their offers left unanswered. Their only fault seems to have been that they were Indians, and graduates and under-graduates of some of the best Universities, and had offered their services without any pay, some of them being even willing to pay their expenses to Turkey and back.

I have been accused of maligning the British doctors rather than paying them a suitable tribute for their good work. For a man who has been educated under the best British traditions and who has seen the art of medicine and surgery practised to perfection in England, it must always be the ideal to keep up those traditions. Anything that tends to lower the high place that medical science has acquired must as a duty be exposed and brought to light without fear or favour. This and only this has prompted me to criticize some of my colleagues, whose work and worth I am otherwise only too willing to appreciate.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. ANSARI.

The Primary Education Committee.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I was surprised to read your note on the Primary Education Committee now sitting at Naini Tal, published in your issue of 7th instant. It is evidently based on a misapprehension of facts, and, I am afraid, is likely to create a wrong impression on the mind of the public about the facilities given to the Moslems for representing their views before the Committee. You seem to object in the first place to the Constitution of the Committee so far as the two Muhammadan members are concerned, and suggest certain names of gentlemen who, in your opinion, would have been more suitable members of the Committee. In the first place it is difficult for the Government, or even for a private organized body to make such a selection as would satisfy everyone concerned. Secondly, it will perhaps be a news to you that one of the gentlemen whom you have named actually received an offer of the membership of the Committee, but he refused to accept it point-blank, thus showing the amount of public spiritedness he possesses. I could give you his name if you or your readers care to know it. Thirdly, the question of Primary Education cannot be thoroughly solved by fame-hunting young men, who have the solitary qualification of possessing a glit tongue. It is as important as it is difficult, and the two Moslem gentlemen who are sitting in the Committee are men of ripe experience and sound views. They have hitherto thoroughly satisfied with their work all the distinguished Muhammadan educationists who happen to be at Naini Tal. Fourthly, nearly all the gentlemen whom you mention, except one, have been actually selected as witnesses to give their evidence before the Committee, which does not fortunately confine itself to 'stock generalities,' but allows the witnesses a perfect freedom to discuss the question from any point of view they like. You will also be glad to know that the Committee has strictly forbidden the 'raking up of the Urdu-Hindi question,' and has permitted the Muhammadans to convene a special committee of theirs at Aligarh, and submit their representations through the Secretary of the College. The President of the Committee has also promised to give a sympathetic consideration to those views.

I am sure that after hearing the above facts you will admit that your remarks were somewhat uncharitable, though unconsciously so.

ONE WHO KNOWS.

The Year in India.

LORD HARDINGE'S RECORD.

IN ANY discussion of events in India since last Empire Day the deplorable attempt to assassinate the Viceroy during his State entry into Delhi upon December 28 must necessarily be given a foremost place. It was only by the merest chance that the lives of Lord and Hardinge were saved. The reasonable supposition is that had not the thrower of the bomb failed to allow for the forward movement of the elephant during the flight of the missile through the air both their Excellencies must inevitably have been killed. As it was, Lord Hardinge's injuries were extremely serious, although his naturally vigorous constitution eventually enabled him to make a rapid recovery. His coolness at a terrible moment and the calm courage of Lady Hardinge were worthy of the best traditions of Englishmen and Englishwomen, and made a deep impression in India and throughout the Empire. The outburst of indignation among all classes of the population in India was both sincere and reassuring. What is not so reassuring is that the police have so far failed to discover any definite clue to the culprit and his associates. The identity of the criminal must be known to a number of people. He stood with others on a house which was packed with sightseers, but vanished utterly the instant the deed was done. The unwillingness of the public in India to assist the ends of justice, which is generally due to fear rather than to toleration of evil, is one of the greatest obstacles to the investigation of crime. In this instance speculation suggests that the bomb-thrower had few direct associates, and that the plot of which he was the instrument may not have been hatched in India at all. Both Lord Hardinge and the Home Government quickly made it known that the outrage would not deter the British Administration from its steadfast policy of broadening the institutions of India and of encouraging the spread of education and the development of the country's resources. The only important measure since introduced, presumably as a consequence of the Delhi outrage, is a Bill to strengthen the law against conspiracies. At the same time, there is reason to fear that the country is entering upon a period of recrudescence of Anarchist activity. It is not apparently accompanied by any revival of general unrest. The province of Bengal has been unusually quiet, thanks largely to the efforts of the Governor, Lord Carmichael, but still more to the good effect of the visit of the King-Emperor to Calcutta in January of last year. But Anarchist crimes are once more frequent, and they have unsettling consequences. The Anarchists grow more expert, as is proved by the recent successful attempts to wreck trains. They must not be considered as either interpreting or disclosing the general attitude of the people towards British rule. They are a class apart, and must be so regarded, and our efforts must be directed towards their extirpation. But it is to be feared that India will be free from their menace for a long time to come.

THE MUHAMMADAN QUESTION.

A coincident factor, of a less sinister but still disturbing kind, is the growing unrest among certain sections of the Muhammadan population. The bulk of the 60 millions of Indian Muhammadans are still passive and placid, but the younger educated men are restive, and in Islam disquiet tends to percolate very quickly all classes of the community. The most visible outward manifestation of these symptoms is the agitation regarding the Balkan war, which has been so foolish and extravagant that it has received the public condemnation of his Highness the Aga Khan. While the excesses of some Muhammadan speakers on this subject have been unpardonably puerile, we must not thereby be deterred from endeavouring to trace impartially the origin of the agitation. The Muhammadans of India were for a long time a comparatively isolated community, taking a mild interest in the claims of spiritual supremacy advanced from Stambul, but in reality caring little about external affairs. With greater enlightenment has come a growing and somewhat exaggerated interest in the political welfare of other Islamic communities. The fate of Morocco, of Tripoli, and of European Turkey aroused much sympathy, together with genuine apprehension at the successive shocks which Islam was compelled to endure. This sympathy might have been respected, had it not found expression in more extreme quarters in reckless and superfluous telegraphic incitements to the Sultan and the Turks to continue a hopeless war. When this unsought advice to stricken combatants was coupled with attacks upon British Ministers for failing to intervene, it became plain that Indian Moslems needed reminding that the foreign policy of the British Empire could not be dictated by a section of the people of India. The excitement thus engendered is probably waning, but it carries with it a definite warning. If British action in the lawless provinces of Southern Persia is ever contemplated, the resentment of Indian Muhammadans may have to be reckoned with. In internal affairs the more advanced Muhammadans are developing new tactics which, though less questionable in character, require to be duly noted. The Indian National Con-

gama, which is mainly a Hindu organization, is declining in influence owing to the greater power of the reformed Legislative Councils, but the Muhammadans have, oddly enough, selected the moment of eclipse to formulate new and unexpected expressions of unity with the Congress and its aims. The All-India Moslem League has passed resolution in favour of "a system of self-government suitable to India," and Moslem speakers have declared that the Congress and the League now occupy a common platform. Detached spectators rightly express incredulity about the permanence of these new bonds of brotherhood, which are not reflected in the religious animosities visible in Upper India. The educated Muhammadan community is a little out of hand just now, and has temporarily lost loyalty to its leaders and to its own earlier ideals.

THE VICEROY.

The revival of Anarchism and the disturbed condition of Muhammadan feeling must have added appreciably to the anxieties of the Viceroy, but Lord Hardinge has emerged from his difficulties with a greatly enhanced reputation. Few Viceroys have had to labour under such disadvantages. For Lord Hardinge has never been able to feel that he could exclusively devote his attention to the normal work of administration. His first year was largely absorbed in preparations for the visit of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. His second year was filled with preoccupations regarding the new capital. During the earlier portion of the present year he has been to a great extent disabled by the injuries received at Delhi. Yet in spite of these successive drawbacks he has never failed to keep in close touch with the various departments of his Government, and under his control India has made steady and ordered progress. He has admittedly been greatly helped by the surpluses which are still a conspicuous feature of Indian Budgets, though he can hardly hope to enjoy such good fortune during the closing years of his term of office. He has not had to face a great famine, the plague seems to be diminishing, and such external complications as exist are not at present formidable. The Imperial visit had a calming effect, and rendered public opinion more tractable. The reformed councils are vigorous enough, but the unofficial members are rarely actively hostile to the Government. Yet if Lord Hardinge has had many things in his favour, the disadvantages he has had to endure still outweigh them, and he deserves the thanks of his countrymen for the success he has attained against heavy odds. The qualities he has shown most conspicuously are courage and determination. It required courage of a very rare order to shoulder the delegated responsibility of the change of capital in the face of a considerable outcry, and to keep resolutely at work upon the scheme when the first enthusiasm of others had waned. But the name of Lord Hardinge will not be remembered in the long list of rulers of India in connexion with the change of capital alone. His educational policy will probably be his chief monument, and it may already be said of him that his deep interest in educational progress has opened a new era in the advancement of India. Lord Hardinge has made few perceptible mistakes, and in speech none at all. He has attained widespread popularity without seeking it. The flood of sympathy which he received after the outrage of last December represented the unlocking of influences which were already at work. His anxiety for the welfare of the people of India has been quietly revealed in many ways, and it is noticeable that he enjoys the respect of the moderate portions of the native Press to an unusual degree. There is, fortunately, no longer any fear that he will not be able to complete his term of office, and before he leaves India the new Delhi will be well under construction.

THE NEW CAPITAL.

The preliminary stages of the transfer of the capital to Delhi have been attended by unforeseen vicissitudes. The original foundation-stones were laid by their Majesties in the Durbar Camp, west of the Ridge, but it was soon found that this area was too swampy at certain seasons and unsuitable for the site of a great city. Experts were summoned from England, and in conjunction with local officials they carefully examined the whole neighbourhood of Delhi during last monsoon. A new site was eventually chosen south and west of the present native city of Delhi, and for a time it seemed probable that this would be adopted without demur. Meanwhile, however, controversy was developing, and during the cold season the "battle of the sites" was fought with much animation in the Press of India. Many persons advocated the choice of a site south of the native city, embracing the present Civil Lines and a portion of the Ridge. Their arguments were chiefly based upon considerations of economy and convenience. In Bradford Leslie, a distinguished engineer with Indian experience, the

English experts found a more formidable opponent. Sir Bradford Leslie also favoured a northern site, but he wanted to place the capital between the Ridge and the river Jumna, with extensions beyond the Ridge and across the river. He proposed to dam the Jumna in order to create a lake, and to reclaim half a mile of river frontage. The Town Planning Committee carefully investigated this scheme during the last cold weather, and rejected it. The grounds of rejection were numerous, but chief among them may be noted the arguments that it would be more expensive, that the surroundings of the capital would be unhealthy, and that no suitable site could be found for the necessary military cantonments. The southern site has now been finally decided on, and the evidence in favour of its superior healthiness is regarded as overwhelming. The "battle of architectural styles," which began almost on the morrow of the King-Emperor's announcement that the capital would be changed, still continues. Broadly speaking, the quarrel is as to whether the style to be adopted shall be distinctively Oriental in character, with adaptations for modern necessities, or whether the choice shall fall upon some Western order of architecture, preferably Classic or Renaissance. The champions of the Indian arts hope that the building of the capital will be made the occasion for a revival of some of the decaying Indian industries associated with architecture. Some recognition of their pleas has been made by the appointment of Sir Swinton Jacob, who has built many admirable structures in Rajputana, as adviser in matters relating to the employment of Indian craftsmen and Indian materials at Delhi. He is also expected to ensure that the designs "are adapted to climatic conditions, Indian sentiment, and official requirements." But the main issue may be regarded as having been settled by the appointment, in February, of Mr. Edwin Lutyens and Mr. Herbert Baker as principal architectural advisers for the new capital. They have been specially charged with the design of Government House and "another important building," and may be expected to make good use of their unexampled opportunity.

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

Reference has been already made to the great advances in education now in progress in India. During the decade from 1901 to 1911 the total expenditure from all sources upon education rose from £2,666,000 to £4,882,000. In the last four years the number of those under instruction has increased by a million, and now stands at 6,888,000. Further large extensions are in process of being carried out, in pursuance of the King-Emperor's behest, uttered in Calcutta, that "there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life." The most prominent of these developments will undoubtedly be the gradual transformation of the character and methods of the Indian universities. Lord Curzon began the work of university reform with his Universities Act passed in 1904, which he himself defined as intended "to place the government of the universities in competent, expert, and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to the elected Fellows . . . to show the way by which our universities, which are now merely examining boards, can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions, in fact, to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham." It is in furtherance of these objects that the Government of India are now working.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

While much has been heard of the remarkable improvement in the tone and character of the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council since enlargement, too little notice has been taken of the corresponding changes visible in the reformed Provincial Legislative Councils. The Imperial Council focuses attention by reason of its importance and the magnitude of the issues with which it deals, but a far better, because more diffused, test of the new spirit at work in India is furnished by the Provincial Councils. The general testimony is that they are working uncommonly well, and are proving valuable factors in the formation of an informed and vigorous interest in public affairs. The Provincial Councils are the schools in which members are trained for service in the Imperial body. They are necessarily unequal in strength, and it would be unfair to compare the admirable quality of some of the debates in the Bombay Council, for example, with the newer institution in the Punjab. On the whole, however, the provincial reforms must be held to have had most satisfactory results, and to have brought provincial politics into their proper relation to the Imperial questions of India. It is probable that, for some time to come, the claims for a larger share of self-government in India will tend to be advanced upon a provincial rather than an Imperial basis; and this is a line of contention which, if it cannot at present command acceptance, is at least evidence of prudence and restraint among Indian political leaders. Mr. Gokhale said in London last July that "they were entitled to work for provincial autonomy, and they

would work it." The impelling cause of this declaration was a rather unguarded statement in the famous despatch of the Government of India about Delhi. The statement has since been officially "explained," but it is held in remembrance in India. At present Mr. Gokhale proposes to advocate a change in the method of selecting unofficial members of the Provincial Councils. All the Provincial Councils now have majorities of unofficial members, but while some of these are elected, others are still nominated by the Provincial Governments. Mr. Gokhale wants to have all unofficial members elected, and whatever may be thought of the expediency of such a further reform, there can be no doubt that it is the correct course for the further development of the representative principle when the time arrives. But true provincial autonomy probably connotes financial autonomy, and the Government of India has recently declared that "financial autonomy for the provinces, if and when it arises, must carry with it the power of taxation." Such a delegation of power is not possible under our existing system of control. The Government of India has, however, in the past year greatly improved and strengthened in various ways the financial status of the Provincial Governments as a result of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. The method of provincial government is steadily growing in importance, and is specially adapted to the varying local needs of the complex Indian Empire.

CITIZENS OF THE EMPIRE

The direct relation of India to questions of Imperial naval defence is still a somewhat academic question. No doubt it must be discussed from time to time. The important thing is to ensure that it shall be discussed with due regard to India's financial condition and needs, and not advanced, as too often occurs now, by writers and speakers who vaguely suppose that under pressure India could yield inexhaustible wealth for transmutation into fighting ships. A far greater necessity of a political kind now confronts those thinking men who are trying to solve the problems of British Imperial unity. We have first to make the people of India willing citizens of the British Empire, to make them realize that their best interests will lie within the Empire rather than outside it, and then to awaken among them a sense of the realities of their position, so that they may understand that even their dreams of a united Indian nation in the distant future can only be fulfilled if they are strong enough to protect themselves and to resist aggression. At present very few Indians, either Princes or politicians, have any conception of the great truth that a nation cannot be strong unless it is able to unite in self-defence. Hardly any of the Princes look further than their own territory and that of their neighbours, while the politicians are busy with other things. The time is coming, perhaps, when in our interests, as well as in the interests of Indians themselves, their country should be more united. The people do not now conceive of the Army of India as an instrument for their own protection. They only think of it as used to maintain British power. The revolutionaries and even some moderate men talk lightly of Indian independence, and are quite sincerely unable to grasp the conclusion that India without the English would fall a prey to the first passing conqueror. We ourselves are partly to blame for this lack of perception. We speak too much of holding India by the sword, and do not lay enough emphasis on the fact that the sword which India sees vividly enough serves also to keep out aggressors. We say that India needs more education, but in nothing does she more urgently need education than in the consciousness of her own leaders to look to other nations, to contemplate the plight of China and the decay of Persia, to ask themselves what is the best future which lies before India, to see that they are able to rouse in them a realization that the safety and prosperity of India will most fully be ensured by loyal development within the British Empire. If they would make their visions realities, if they would see India close the chapter of a thousand years and become strong and vigorous again, they will do so with success only beneath the British flag. It will take generations of striving, it will need many more concessions on our part and much self-sacrifice and forbearance on theirs. But Indian national patriotism is not now, and never has been, a sentiment which need be in conflict with loyalty to the British Crown. That way lies the surest and safest road to the regeneration and salvation of India.—*The Times*.

Lord Kitchener on Egypt.

LORD KITCHENER'S second report as H. M. Agent and Consul-General dealing with the finance, administration, and condition of Egypt and the Sudan in 1912, was issued on Saturday, May 24, as a White Paper [Od. 6682]. In the introduction to his report Lord Kitchener notes with satisfaction a marked diminution of party feeling and party strife, together with indications of greater

confidence in the Government, particularly among the alienated masses of the people. These he considers to be signs that in the near future the population will again be closely united and will endeavour to work loyally for the common good. In the meantime he trusts it is fully realized that the Government are doing all in their power to improve the condition of the people and help them forward on sound lines. Alluding to the effect of the war in the Near East, which was a cause of considerable anxiety, he says:—

"The effects of the war were deeply felt here, and its results came as a shock to the population of this country where only a few of the most intelligent and far-seeing had any real conception of the deterioration that was sapping the strength of the suzerain Power. Following the example set in the case of the Turco-Italian war, Egypt maintained neutrality, but the people showed their warm sympathy for the Muhammadan combatants by organizing and contributing liberally to a Red Crescent Society, as well as by a general subscription to assist Turkey in her need. The Khedivial family, and especially two of the Princes, took an active part in the movement. The people of Egypt have behaved during the war with complete self-control, and maintained this attitude in spite of the natural feeling roused by the sufferings of those of their co-religionists who were exposed to the hardships of the war."

In some remarks on the present economic condition of Egypt Lord Kitchener points out to how great an extent the prosperity of the country depends on the price of cotton, and adds:—

"It is, in fact, this partial dependence of the purchasing power of Egypt, as represented by her exports, on the fluctuations in price of a single commodity that renders her peculiarly liable to alternations of expansion and depression. We must bear in mind, therefore, that the level of prosperity which the country has now reached represents, in a very considerable measure, on the maintenance of the price of cotton which has prevailed during the past few years. There is, happily, little reason to fear that this price may fall in the near future to the level of 15 years ago, but were it to show a heavy decline the consequent reaction, intensified by the strain of the extra liabilities incurred on the strength of the present prosperity, would be extremely severe."

ECONOMIC REGENERATION OF EGYPT.

In presence of these and other latent dangers he calls attention to certain manifest counsels of prudence which impose themselves on the Government's financial policy:—

"It is necessary, while maintaining strict economy in ordinary expenditure, so to regulate extraordinary expenditure as to leave a permanent balance in the Reserve Fund for use in case of emergency. For two years past, indeed, the extraordinary expenditure has not exceeded the surplus revenues, so that the balance of this fund has suffered no diminution. If the Government be reproached with their failure to reduce the public debt in the course of the last 30 years, it may be replied that the economic regeneration of the country has been meanwhile secured by national expenditure of a capital nature which, although it has not had that result, might well have justified an increase in the public debt. Some £30,000,000 have been spent on public works and railways out of the resources of the country without recourse to foreign capital."

The Government, it is added, are fully alive to the expediency of developing the resources of the country in other directions besides that of cotton cultivation, and the Departments of Agriculture, of Survey, and of Technical Education are accomplishing useful work to this end.

With regard to the private indebtedness of the country Lord Kitchener says there is at present little inducement to borrow fresh capital for any but productive purposes. Meanwhile, by the establishment of rural savings banks and the enactment of the Five Feddan Law steps have been taken which are calculated to stimulate thrift among the rural population and to prevent improvident borrowing. The Five Feddan Law gives protection to the small cultivator of five feddans and under, against expropriation of his land, house, and farming utensils for debt, and it was rendered necessary by the action of small foreign owners scattered throughout the country, to whom the Egyptian peasants fall an easy prey. Lord Kitchener believes that the new law has been generally approved, and it is itself popular among the *fellahs*.

Another reform which has been introduced is the Cantonal Justice Law. This measure establishes notables as unpaid magistrates in small areas to administer justice in petty cases.

IRRIGATION.

A reference to the opening of the Aswan Dam last December leads Lord Kitchener to make a general review of the position with regard to irrigation. The new reservoir, with a normal river, will mean that the larger quantity of water available will provide

for an increase of 14 per cent. of the present cultivated area. Further schemes for a still greater enlargement of the area are described, two of which in the Delta of the Nile are now in hand, while others are contemplated in Upper Egypt. It is also proposed to erect a new dam on the White Nile, about 40 miles above Khartum.

The general conclusions arrived at by Lord Kitchener from his survey of the irrigation question are :—

"(1) That the necessary supply of irrigation water for the present greatly extended area of cultivation is assured; (2) that sufficient water for all probable extension in the Delta during the next 15 years is also assured, except in the event of a very low summer river; (3) that, as it is advisable to allow some extension of perennial cultivation in Upper Egypt and to meet the demands for water for extended cultivation in the Delta in years of low supply, fresh works will be necessary to increase the quantity available for distribution. The proposed dam on the White Nile will, it is expected, be sufficient for this purpose."

Lord Kitchener concludes his introduction by a reference to the need for urgent reforms in the judicial organization of the Mixed Courts, a subject with which he dealt in his last report. The most pressing reform is the economy of judicial power by means of a reduction in the excessive number of judges now required to form a Bench. Proposals to this end were made by the Egyptian Government, and in referring to the negotiations which have been going on during the past year, without result, Lord Kitchener says :—

"I regard it as very unfortunate that political opposition should prevent the adoption of reforms in these Courts which the responsible Government of the country consider essential to their continued progress and improvement. Such reforms do not in any way affect the maintenance of the fundamental principle of the present judicial organization, that is to say, the participation of foreign Judges of various nationalities in the administration of justice where foreigners are concerned. I regard the maintenance of this principle as necessary for the due protection of the very large financial interests held by foreigners in Egypt. But I am of opinion that, under present conditions, the existing Courts are not an efficient instrument for the protection of such interests, by reason of their defective organization and antiquated procedure."

The financial situation of the Government is described as satisfactory, the surplus on the ordinary Budget being ££2,045,000. The accounts for 1912 were published in March, and were summarized in the *Times* on March 13. They show that the revenue was ££17,515,000, and the ordinary and special expenditure ££15,470,000. The revenue exceeded by ££2,045,000 that of 1911, which was itself the highest revenue recorded.

The "Times" Comment.

LORD CURZON'S annual reports upon the condition of Egypt were always eagerly sought, because they told the layman in simple and vivid language exactly what he wanted to know. They were never overburdened with statistics or technicalities. They described very clearly the state of the country, the difficulties of its administration, the progress they had achieved, and their hopes for the future. Lord Kitchener has in this respect successfully emulated the example of his predecessor. His annual report, which has just been issued, is a model of compact, forcible narration. We wish that the Government of India would furnish Englishmen at home with a similar laconic record, promptly issued, instead of the slovenly and belated pieces of hack-work known as the "Moral and Material Progress Report" which is annually flung by the India Office at an unheeding Parliament. Lord Kitchener's note this year is throughout one of hopeful confidence. He thinks there has been a diminution of party feeling and party strife among the Egyptians, and he notices indications among the people of greater trust in the Government. Though he does not say so, we venture to think that his own unrivalled influence upon the Egyptian population has helped to bring about a restoration of calmness. The suppression of a foolish conspiracy of assassination doubtless assisted to produce the quieter spirit now visible in Egypt. The result of the Balkan War seems on the whole to have been salutary. Egypt was deeply stirred when Turkey passed from her conflict with Italy to an even wider field of warfare, but the ultimate feeling was one of disillusion tinged with sympathy. The Egyptian population mourned the overthrow of the Turks, but was astonished beyond measure at the collapse of Turkish military power. The shock of that surprise may help to remind headstrong Egyptian politicians that thirty years ago their countrymen were in revolt against Turkish domination among other things. Lord Kitchener evidently feels that the excitement

about the Balkan War was transient, for we note with some surprise, though not with disapproval, that he hints at coming reforms in popular representation. The Legislative Council has been doing useful work at last, and has been of "material assistance to the Government." Therefore the British Agent hopes "before long" to see a reform in the system of election, and some extension of powers to "a recognized Council more fully representing the people of the country."

Lord Kitchener's remarks upon the economic progress of Egypt are the outcome of serene conviction, but their chief interest this year lies in their courageous revelation of the reverse side of the shield. The prosperity of Egypt depends upon cotton and the price of cotton. The production of Egyptian cotton had been doubled by 1894, but the country was no better off, because prices had fallen greatly. At the end of last century prices bounded upward, the value of cotton exports doubled and money poured into Egypt. It was largely wasted in the period of inflation which ended in the "boom" of 1907, with its subsequent disasters. Only a continuance of abundant crops and good prices has enabled Egypt to emerge successfully from that time of trial. There are other precarious aspects of this dependence on cotton. Egypt is fighting the common boll-worm, which has been ravaging the crops, and she has now become aware of the presence of a pink boll-worm which threatens to be a menace. The cultivators are greater enemies to their crops than are these insects. Their wilful adulteration of their cotton has been damaging the high reputation of Egyptian cotton, and their mixture of inferior seed with the fine Affi has been a source of danger to the long-staple product. Legislation is now checking these suicidal practices. Again, the variation in the flow of the Nile is an important factor. For several years the Nile has been comparatively low, but in accordance with precedent a series of exceptionally high Niles may now be expected, which means a danger of floods in Lower Egypt and possible widespread disaster. The danger was lessened when the raising of the Aswan dam was completed last December, but it is proposed to build a new dam on the White Nile forty miles above Khartum, by which the supply can be still further regulated. The grave questions presented by the water-logging of the Delta are also being vigorously dealt with. The *fellah* has, however, to be still further protected against himself. Egypt is a multitude of small holdings, and the improvident peasantry were rapidly being expropriated from their land by swarms of rapacious moneylenders. The Agricultural Bank was not quite realizing expectations, and the facilities it offered were not a sufficient check. Lord Kitchener turned to his Indian experience for a remedy. He had a share in passing the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and knew how invaluable that measure had proved. He has now been instrumental in passing in Egypt the Five Faddas Law, which exempts the holdings of small farmers from seizure for debt. If he has done nothing else in Egypt, this wise and statesmanlike reform would have amply sufficed to justify his appointment.

But he has done much besides, and in all that he has steadfastly borne in mind the simple character of the people and their pressing needs. His Cantonal Justice Law is a reform which will give effect to local usage and provide the peasantry with swift access to justice from their own notables, without recourse to the elaborate procedure of larger courts. He is establishing rural savings banks upon methods which are encouraging thrift, because they make it easy to save. He has become a roadmaker, and Egypt will soon become covered with a network of good roads, and no longer be chiefly dependent upon her railways and her waterways for means of communication. Above all, he has perceived that Egypt's dependence upon cotton must be lessened, and to that end he is stimulating the development of the other resources of the country. Crude petroleum was exported from Egypt for the first time last year, but this was only one of many new forms of activity either already begun or in contemplation. Lord Kitchener's report on the progress of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is equally encouraging, though we are unable to deal with it in detail. All we shall note is that the Sudan is now very nearly self-supporting, that in four years its external trade has increased from under two to over three millions sterling, and that the great Gezira triangle between the White and Blue Niles should soon be producing large quantities of excellent cotton. There is only one remark in Lord Kitchener's report to which we must take exception. He expresses satisfaction that the industrious people of Egypt are able to pursue their vocations in peace and security, "untrammelled by the burden of military and naval expenditure which weighs so heavily on the finances of other countries." Egypt cannot for ever escape the burden of the common duty of mankind. She lies at the centre of the Old World. No country is more exposed to attack, and, if the development of representative government is to mean the growth of national self-respect, she must realize that bucolic placidity is no substitute for that preparedness for self-defence to which she should ultimately aspire.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, June 12.

A St. Petersburg wire says that Bulgaria and Serbia have agreed to accept arbitration by Russia.

A St. Petersburg wire says: The Tsar, on the 8th instant, sent an identical telegram to the Kings of Bulgaria and Serbia gravely warning them of the consequences of making war on each other. The Tsar regrets that the decision to hold a conference of the allied Premiers at Salonica, and afterwards at St. Petersburg, has hitherto not been carried out; the Balkan States are apparently preparing to enter upon a fratricidal war which may dim the glory they earned in common. "At this grave moment" the letter continues: "I appeal directly to your Majesties, as is my right and my duty, to ask you to adhere to your obligations and turn to Russia for settlement of the present differences between Bulgaria and Serbia. Not as a prerogative, but as a painful duty I feel it incumbent on me to warn you that a war between the Allies cannot leave me indifferent. I wish to make known that the State beginning war will be responsible to the Slav cause, and I reserve full liberty as regards Russia's attitude in such a criminal struggle."

A Bukharest message says. It is semi-officially stated here that Roumania will not allow the political equilibrium of Eastern Europe to be disturbed, but will energetically intervene at the proper moment—if necessary, by force of arms. The Government has decided to mobilise in self-defence on the outbreak of war.

Serbia has sent a note to Bulgaria proposing that they mutually reduce their forces on the frontier to one-fourth.

There was a favourable swing round on the Stock Exchange this afternoon as a result of the improved situation in the Balkans. No big failure is now expected though some small failures are probable. Liquidation will continue for some time, but the public is buying at bargain prices.

Sheket Pasha was accompanied by two aides-de-camp, one of whom, Lieutenant Ibrahim, was also killed. A footman was wounded. There were four assailants and they waited for Sheket Pasha in an automobile standing by the road side. The bodies were taken to the Ministry of War.

A Constantinople wire says that the late Grand Vizier was buried to-day in the mausoleum in the Hill of Liberty amid great military pomp. The Press pays glowing tributes to Sheket Pasha's services. Further arrests have been made in connexion with the assassination.

Prince Said Halim has been appointed interim Grand Vizier. All other Ministers retain their portfolios.

London, June 13.

The Tsar's telegram has had a salutary effect on the Balkan and has brought about an improvement in the situation. The telegram has been favourably received in Sofia, where the opinion is expressed that a pacific solution of difficulties will soon be attained.

London, June 14.

A message to the Daily Telegraph from Belgrade says that King Peter has written to the Tsar appealing to him to leave Serbia in possession of the Vardar Valley, without which, he says, Serbia will be worse off than before the war, and pointing to Serbia's sacrifices for a century on behalf of the Christians.

Owing to an outbreak of cholera among the Bulgarian troops at Serres, the Greek authorities have instituted a strict quarantine.

Reuter wires from Belgrade that the representatives of the Powers recently informed Serbia and Bulgaria that the Powers desired a pacific settlement of the dispute between the allies, and suggested that the allies should demobilise. The Serbian reply declares that Serbia has already made overtures to Bulgaria with a view to simultaneous demobilisation. It is stated that the Balkan premiers will meet at Salonica at the end of next week.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that police and troops, yesterday, surrounded a house in Stambul in which three men concerned in the murder of Sheket Pasha were located. The inmates opened fire on the besiegers who replied with a fusillade. The firing lasted for an hour, and the house was eventually entered and the assassins arrested.

The house belongs to a British subject of Maltese origin.

Iater.

Lieutenant Hilmi, orderly to the Military Governor, who was wounded in the siege of the house in Stambul, has succumbed. The Government does not fear a revolution, but the possibility of further outrages is admitted.

The following telegram has been received by the Turkish Consul-General in Bombay from His Highness Said Salim Pasha, Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"Sublime Porte, 13 June. The funeral of much regretted Mahmud Shevket Pasha took place in excessively touching circumstances."

"The funeral procession was followed by the Imperial Princes, by Dignitaries of the Empire and thousands of Ottomans and foreigners."

"The foreign missions have also taken part in the funeral ceremony, accompanied by their full staff and expressed their deep sorrow. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, our August Sovereign, was pleased to mark his profound grief, which he has felt in the loss of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, by delaying the nomination of his successor till the completion of the burial ceremonies."

London, June 16.

A Belgrade message says that the representatives of the Powers recently informed Serbia and Bulgaria, that the Powers desired a pacific settlement between the Allies and that they should demobilize. The Serbian reply declares that Serbia has already made overtures to Bulgaria with a view to simultaneous demobilization.

A Belgrade message says that it is stated that the Balkan Premiers will meet at Salonica at the end of next week.

A Sofia message says that King Ferdinand, replying to a telegram sent by the Tsar on 12th instant, throws responsibility for the situation upon Serbia. His Majesty declares that Bulgaria is still anxious for arbitration and would sincerely deplore a fratricidal struggle, but the Bulgarian Government cannot oppose a unanimous sentiment of the indignation aroused in Bulgaria by the attempts of the Allies to deprive her of the fruits of her victories in defiance of their pledged faith. The reply points out that Bulgaria has a right in Macedonia which Russia herself has long recognized.

The Bulgarian Cabinet has been formed with Dr. Danoff as Premier, and M. Madjaroff, Minister in London, becomes Minister of the Interior, and General Kovatcheff, commanding the Fourth Army, Minister of War.

A telegram to Paris from St. Petersburg says that Russia, considering the Bulgarian and Serbian replies to the Tsar's offer of arbitration satisfactory, has invited the Premiers of the four Allies to come to St. Petersburg as soon as possible.

London, June 16.

The Serbian Cabinet has resigned desiring to avoid the responsibility of accepting arbitration in the dispute with Bulgaria. The resignation has not yet been accepted and efforts are being made to induce the Ministers to remain in office.

London, June 16.

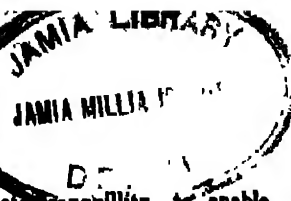
While the replies of King Ferdinand and Peter may be construed as an intimation that they acquiesce in the Tsar's arbitration, the actual situation is still regarded with considerable apprehension. The overthrow of the Serbian Cabinet implies disapproval of any yielding on that part of Serbia. The newspapers in Serbia and Greece continue to print violent attacks upon the Bulgarian Press, which replies with equal acerbity.

The newspapers in Vienna are perturbed by the tone of the Tsar's telegram to the Balkan sovereigns and have opened a campaign against any assumption by Russia of the supreme leadership of the Balkan States.

Iater.

According to the Vienna Press, Austria is offended at the Tsar's telegram to King Ferdinand and King Peter on the 13th instant. They maintain that it dictates to the Balkan States and say in this connexion that Austria may refuse further to join the Powers in urging the Balkan States to demobilise. There is a renewed bellicose spirit in Belgrade, where the terms of King Ferdinand's reply to the Tsar are considered to be insulting to the Serbians.

Sir Louis Mallet has been appointed Ambassador in Constantinople.



London, June 17.

Serbia, Greece and Montenegro have accepted Russia's invitation to hold a meeting of Premiers in St. Petersburg. A Belgrade message says: The King has refused to accept resignation of M. Pasic. The latter will consequently continue his policy.

London, June 18.

Bulgaria has consented to the Servian proposal to demobilise the troops on the frontier to one-fourth. She stipulates that the disputed territory in Macedonia shall be occupied by Servian and Bulgarian troops of equal strength till the Tsar has delivered his arbitral award.

A Constantinople message says: The police state that they have unearthed a widespread conspiracy to overthrow the Government by assassinations. Many leading men have been arrested, also thirty men appointed to murder Shekret Pasha, Talaat Bey, Dejmali Bey and Aszami Bey, all of whom are Young Turk leaders. The Government appears to have the situation well in hand and is displaying great activity. 450 prominent members of the Opposition and others have been deported to Sinope. Three sons and a grandson of Kiamil Pasha have escaped to the Piræus in an Italian steamer.

The Signing of Peace.

The Treaty of Peace between Turkey and the Balkan States was signed without any modification whatever at St. James's Palace at 12-40 on Friday, the 30th May.

That day will be an historical one for Europe and a memorable one for London, the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey and of the Allied Balkan States having assembled at St. James's Palace to ring down the curtain on the war in the Near East which has menaced the peace of the Continent for the past seven months.

In response to the pressure brought to bear upon them by Sir Edward Grey, on behalf of the Great Powers, the Balkan Governments who held out have at last given their consent to the conclusion of peace, and in order to sign the Treaty which will bring the war to an end and change the map of the Near East, Sir Edward Grey invited the delegates to meet him at St. James's Palace at noon.

Last December and January, it will be remembered, the Plenipotentiaries met at the same Palace to discuss terms, but on the last occasion the proceedings were brought to an abrupt close by the chairman announcing that the sitting was suspended.

The Turks were the first to arrive in a taxicab shortly after 12-15, the Servians following close behind. A few minutes later the Bulgarians reached the Palace, and by 12-30 all the delegates were in the Palace. Sir Edward Grey walked across the Park from Buckingham Palace, where he had presented the new American Ambassador to the King and entered by a side entrance. A small crowd of people watched the arrivals from the bottom of St. James's Street.

Not only the various delegates but their secretaries and assessors were present, a total company of close upon 40. Sir Edward Grey arrived at the Palace accompanied by Sir William Tyrrell, his principal private secretary, and went direct to the Conference Room.

SIR E. GREY'S ADDRESS.

The following is the official text of Sir E. Grey's address to the Peace Delegates at St. James's Palace.

"I am commanded by His Majesty the King to express the great satisfaction which the signature of this Treaty of Peace which you have just concluded in his Palace of St. James's will give His Majesty. On behalf of His Majesty's Government I desire to congratulate you most cordially on the conclusion of peace between Turkey and the Allied States. The step that you have now taken will, I trust, be regarded by you all with satisfaction and relief. This feeling will be shared by the other Powers who have remained neutral but who have desired to see peace restored, in the interest of the tranquillity of Europe. We are all aware that some questions still remain to be discussed before a complete settlement has been arrived at, but I trust that the conclusion of peace between you will facilitate these matters, and, it will, I am sure, increase the goodwill of other Powers towards you all. May I add also, as one who has from time to time been in frequent and friendly communication with you as delegates, and has had his sympathy quickened by a knowledge of the difficulties and anxieties with which you have had to contend, how earnestly I hope that the peace now made may

result in complete tranquillity, to enable each State to repair the resources upon which war has been so heavy a strain, to develop its territory, to secure the welfare and the happiness of its people, and the prosperity of its national life."

After the speech Dr. Danef, the chief Bulgarian delegate, rose and warmly thanked Sir Edward Grey for his diplomatic aid, which, he said, had undoubtedly tended towards bringing about the day's result. There was one point, he added, which had been reserved, and this would be a matter for mutual discussion and settlement among the Balkan delegates themselves.

M. Skoulados, the leading Greek plenipotentiary, followed, and endorsed all that Dr. Danef had said, and was supported in turn by the heads of Servian and Montenegrin missions.

M. Majaroff, the Bulgarian Minister, drove away from St. James's Palace to the Foreign Office at 1-25, being the first of the delegates to leave. In less than ten minutes all the other plenipotentiaries came out and posed beneath the archway for a photograph.

Provisions of the Treaty.

ALTHOUGH the Treaty could not be published before it was signed, its contents are known to all who have followed the negotiations and the efforts of the Allies to modify its terms. It puts into treaty shape the conditions of peace laid down by the Powers in their Note of April 13 and accepted by the Allies on April 21.

Article I. provides that after the formal ratification of the Treaty there shall be perpetual peace and amity between the contracting parties.

Article II. provides that Turkey shall cede to the Allies all Turkish territory on the mainland of Europe situated west of a line to be drawn from Enos to Midia, and that this boundary shall be delimited by an International Commission.

Article III. provides that the delimitation of Albania and all other questions relating to Albania shall be left to the Powers.

Article IV provides that Turkey shall cede to the Allies the island of Crete, and shall renounce in their favour all her sovereign and other rights in the island.

Article V. provides that the contracting parties shall leave the Powers to decide the fate of all the Turkish islands situated in the Ægean, with the exception of Crete and the peninsula of Mount Athos.

Article VI provides that the contracting parties shall leave to the International Commission, which is to meet in Paris, the settlement of the financial questions arising out of the recent war and out of the consequent redistribution of territory.

Articles VII provides that questions relating to prisoners of war, jurisdiction, nationality, and commerce shall be settled by special conventions.

The last Article provides that the Treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible.—The Times

The End of the War.

TURKEY and the Allies will sign to-day the Treaty which consecrates the results of the war and closes a great chapter in the history of the world. The practical extinction of the Ottoman dominion in Europe and the rise in its stead of new and vigorous young communities, akin in blood and in creed to the rest of Christendom, is an event so rich in memories and so momentous in possible results that it stands beyond and above the reach of imagination and of judgment. As we look back the mind is overburdened by the story of a struggle in which the Crusades were but an episode and the rise of Islam a fateful incident—the secular struggle between the civilizations of the East and of the West. As we look forward, we are conscious of a future so dim and so uncertain, fraught with such untold possibilities of good and overhung by such serious menaces of evil, that the wisest must shrink from prediction of its course. Time alone can enable us to grasp the full significance of this new Risorgimento, and help us slowly to see what seed will grow and what will not of those that it has sown. The very manner in which the downfall of the Ottoman Empire in Europe has come about is itself a lesson in the shortness and the fallibility of political prediction. It has been foretold for centuries, but who would have ventured to assert, a very few years ago, that the Balkan States would have wrought it in one brief campaign by their own unaided strength? The main features of the wonderful contest are still fresh in our minds. From first to last they utterly falsified the opinions of the shrewdest judges, and filled the chief actors themselves with astonishment. The military power of one of the foremost fighting races in the world collapsed at the first touch, and showed no real recovery until the

enemy were almost at the walls of their capital. Iule Burgas sealed the doom of Turkey in Europe. After that the Turks made but little resistance save behind the walls of their fortresses, and that little was made without hope. The great surprise of the war was not, however, the victories of the Bulgarians, but the triumphant advance of the Serbians and of the Greeks. These peoples, whose military reputation had been dimmed by relatively recent events, suddenly developed all soldierly qualities in a degree that astonished those who knew them best. They swept their old rulers before them as readily and as swiftly as did the Bulgarians, and marched from conquest to conquest until the completeness of their success became itself the chief danger to the Alliance.

The expulsion of the Turks from Europe by their own former subjects has freed the Powers from a fear which has haunted them ever since the natural progress of Russia brought her into rivalry with Austria in the Near East. All of them have regarded the liberation of the Christian provinces as inevitable, and all have looked with terror at the European war which they foresaw as its inevitable instrument. European interests in the Balkans appeared to be so immediate and so irreconcilable that diplomatists despaired of finding a peaceful accommodation of them. Sovereigns and statesmen shared the general alarm, and the archives of the Great Powers are filled with projects and counter-projects, laboriously framed and negotiated for averting the impending "Armageddon." They were thought by the best judges to be futile, and perhaps the best judges were not wrong. Had any single Power attempted to take part in a Balkan contest, the peace of Europe would not have been worth many days' purchase, and intervention by agreement would have been hardly less hazardous. But it is not the action of the Allies alone which has averted this danger. It might indeed have brought the calamity upon us, had it not been for the conspicuous wisdom, humanity, and good faith which all the Powers without exception have displayed. To the "two most interested Powers," Austria-Hungary and Russia, special credit is due for the moderation and the self-restraint which ultimately prevailed in their counsels; but France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy have vied with each other in their common zeal for peace. Zeal has not sufficed to preserve peace, insight and judgment, firmness and tact have been needed too. With a pride for which no one will rebuke us, for all own it to be just, Englishmen do grateful homage to these highest gifts of statesmanship as they have been manifested in Sir Edward Grey. Yesterday's debate bears witness to the feelings of his countrymen. All Europe acknowledges the greatness of his services. Other statesmen in every land have ably seconded his efforts; it has been in part his fortune, but also and chiefly his merit, to direct the general labours to a successful goal. Not until the history of these prolonged negotiations is written shall we know the patience and the skill with which he smoothed over difficulties, composed differences, and assuaged susceptibilities, or the frankness with which he spoke the downright word in season. We can best judge his work by its results and by the complete confidence which all the eminent diplomatists who are labouring with him repose in his straightforwardness and in his justice. The Delegates of Greece and Serbia have indeed murmured that at the last he told them the truth too bluntly. The prompt signature of the peace is the best answer to their complaint. He had to save them from themselves. He had exhausted all other means. The few downright words he spoke have proved their virtue.

The signature of the peace between Turkey and the Allies still leaves a wide field for diplomacy. There are questions to be settled by the Powers, questions to be settled between the late belligerents, and questions to be settled between the Allies themselves. The Powers have given the world such signal proofs of their real devotion to peace and of their readiness and their ability to adjust controverted points by fair compromise that we feel confident they will agree upon the points still outstanding, numerous and delicate though they are. They have inspired in the masses throughout Europe a new faith in the sincerity of that devotion, and a new trust in diplomacy as a strong rampart against the strife of nations. Those feelings are not plants of tender growth, but the mere fact that they show signs of taking root in the popular mind is of almost invaluable promise to mankind. We are no believers in the near advent of universal peace, and we know well that in this instance diplomacy has averted war because behind diplomacy was the balance of armed power. But it is impossible to look back upon the long and troubled history of the Near Eastern question without feeling that at no former time could it have been brought so far towards solution by the unanimous action of the Great Powers. That lesson will not be lost upon mankind. Inevitably it will foster the hope that the instrument which has been so efficacious in this most dreaded of international controversies may not be impotent for the peaceable decision of others. That the Allies themselves will destroy the reputation they have won and jeopardize the astonishing moral and material advantages they have gained, by suddenly turning their swords against each other, we shall refuse to believe, unless and until they actually commit so great a folly and so great a crime. They have filled the world with a just admiration by the sacrifice of

traditional jealousies and traditional hatreds to the common end of liberating from the Ottoman yoke their fellow-Christians of whatever communion and of whatever stock. Now that they achieved all, and more than all, they set out to do, it is incredible that they should sully their glory by reviving their ancient feuds. The chapter in history which they have ended has been very great. The chapter which they are opening may be greater still. They may begin it in amity or in hatred, in brotherly concord or in blood. They may solidify and perpetuate the Alliance which has done such great things in war so that it shall accomplish still greater deeds in peace: or they may wantonly and irreparably shatter this foundation of all their successes, this one sure ground of all their hopes. Their destiny is in their hands as it never was before. The world will augur of it by the course which they now take.—The Times.

The Army of the West.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, May 28.

THE situation has not changed at all since last week, save for the increase of what the writer recently heard described as "rumorions invention." I need not trouble the readers of the *Near East* with the relation of the wild reports that have been going about and are likely to circulate for the next few weeks at this centre of invention—I do not refer here to discovery, mechanical or scientific—for they have no doubt heard them all before. This week we had the poisoning of Abdul Hamid, the murder of the Valf of Beyrou, the conclusion of an Anglo-Turkish alliance. Last week we had the assassination of Enver Bey, the proclamation of a Kurdish principality, and several *pronunciamientos*. All these reports were false, their proved falsity never prevents the local *gobe-mouche* from swallowing the next crop of rumours and, apparently, thriving on them.

The Austrian Lloyd steamer *Graz*, three days ago brought a shipload of sick and wounded soldiers belonging to the Army of the West to Constantinople from Avlona. There were about 2,600 men on board, with fifty old officers all of whom carried their swords. The men were unarmed. An officer gave the following account of his experiences to a friend of the writer:—"For the last four months we have suffered such privations that it is a miracle that any of us are alive. The troops that were driven out of Monastir by the Serbs had to retreat over mountains and through muddy plains and icy marshes in abominable weather. They were short of provisions and had lost all their medical comforts, and neither at Yanina nor in the Avlona district did they find more than the barest sufficiency of food to keep them alive. The men who halted at Koritza under Djavid Pasha were better found: but after Djavid's offensive against the Greeks had failed, and the latter had driven him from his positions near Bigliahta and Koritza, they had to retire across the high, cold Colonia plateau into Northern Epirus. Now out of 15,000 concentrated in a semicircle round Avlona more than a third are sick, the rest are worn out, and not more than 9,000 have rifles. We have still a few mountain guns, but little ammunition for them. The Albanians, I mean the Avlona Government, have not more than 3,000 men all told, police, gendarmes, volunteers, militia, and regulars, but they are well fed and have abundant supplies of rifles and ammunition. They are none too well disposed towards us, and we owe them no thanks. Kumaovo was lost through the flight of an Albanian division, who passed the word round, 'Let the Turks fight it out; this is not our affair'; and they did little for us near Monastir except burn villages and kill stray Christians, with the result that the *komitadjis*, when they came, killed any poor Turks they could catch. But though we have lost in the West, we lost with honour. Djavid was only beaten at the Skumbi river because his men were literally dropping in their tracks from hunger and exhaustion, and we gave the Serb a good fight at Monastir, near which we won the one victory in the war over a Greek force, thanks to the intelligent use by Djavid Pasha of his machine guns." The appearance of the lucky men who have returned here from Albania amply bears out this officer's statement. These men have had some food on shipboard, but their uniforms are in rags, their faces emaciated, many are shivering with fever, others crippled by rheumatism. They have been sent to the Selimieh barracks, now vacated by the Kurd irregulars, who have been disarmed by the Government, which found them very useless when it came to fighting, and has sent most of them home.

The House of Commons.

Sir E. Grey's Statement.

May 29.

Sir E. Grey.—Perhaps I had better now answer some of the questions which have been put to me. So much material has

already accumulated that I could not possibly deal with it in one speech; but I will try and dispose of the points raised in the debate so far, and other matters can be dealt with later in the evening. I hope the Committee will realize that I feel very grateful for the many kindly references to myself, and they will understand that if I do not dwell much upon the subjects which are most closely connected with those kindly references it is because there are so many difficulties ahead of which we have not yet seen the end that it is very difficult for me at the moment to make any statement. It is quite true, of course, that the tension and anxiety, which have been very great at times among the Great Powers, have diminished and the prospects of peace have improved. But as everybody knows, there are still many difficulties and some very delicate questions ahead.

THE CAPITULATIONS IN EGYPT.

I will deal, as far as I can, with the points in the order they were raised in the debate. The first point is that raised by the hon. member for Leicester with reference to the arrest of a Russian subject in Egypt. In the first place, let me observe that this is not a case for the British Government. In the Sudan where the British and Egyptian flags fly side by side, the Capitulations do not apply; but in Egypt, where the Egyptian flag is down, the Capitulations do apply. Therefore, for anybody going to Egypt who is not a British subject to assume that he goes there under the British flag is not correct. He goes there under the Egyptian flag, and any action we take in Egypt with regard to foreigners is limited by the treaty obligations which the Egyptian Government entered into before the occupation. I cannot go into the merits of the case of the Russian subject who has been arrested. In the first place, I do not know about it, and I do not even know what the charge was, and in the next place, it does positive harm to discuss affairs belonging to another Government for which we are not responsible, and with which we cannot deal. The broad situation is this. As far as Egypt is concerned a foreigner in Egypt is under the jurisdiction of the Consul of the country to which he belongs and can only be protected by the foreign Government of which he is a subject. I admit that in this case, apparently, there was a complication, because the Russian subject had a German passport, but that is not a point which we can take up, although it is a point the German Government might take up. We cannot take up the case of a foreigner having a German passport, but if it was a British passport we should have to do it. As a matter of fact, I am informed that the German Consul was associated with the Russian Consul in the proceedings which took place in connexion with the arrest.

THE POSITION OF TURKEY.

The hon. member for Leicester asks how it comes about that when Turkish subjects are in Egypt Turkey is not able to lay hands on them and extradite them. It is because Turkey has not the benefit of the Capitulations. The whole status of Egypt in regard to Turkey is not regulated by the Capitulations but by treaty. The rights under the Capitulations in Egypt which Capitulatory Powers have do not extend to Turkey at all. Egypt has a comparatively free hand with regard to internal affairs so far as Turkey is concerned—a much freer hand than she has with regard to the subjects of a European Power which has Capitulatory rights. The hon. member for Leicester brought up another case in connexion with a Swiss subject. There again it is for the Swiss Government to take up the case of one of its own subjects. Supposing a foreign Government took up the case of one of its own subjects in Egypt and complained that the Egyptian Government had not acted in accordance with the Capitulations, then, of course, we who are in the position of insisting that the Egyptian Government should take our advice about these matters would have to go into the question to see whether the Egyptian Government had acted in accordance with the Capitulations or not. But we could only do that if the Government itself took up the case and complained of the action of the Egyptian Government. I have asked what are the exact rights under the Capitulations with regard to extradition, and I am told that they are these. In the case of a Capitulatory Power the Consul of that subject is entitled to demand the extradition of a subject without even specifying the grounds on which the extradition is demanded and that is a treaty right.

MODIFICATION OF THE CAPITULATIONS

The hon. member for Leicester went on to make an attack on the Capitulations. If he wishes to do that, I am sure he will get plenty of material for it if he looks through Lord Cromer's report. (Hear, hear.) It is not in my interest to defend the Capitulations, because they have been recognized as being a very great burden upon the freedom of the Egyptian Government to develop its own country. When you come to the question of the factory laws you are at once brought up against the rights of foreign Governments under the Capitulations, and in all sorts of ways the Egyptian Government is hampered by the Capitulations; but there they are

at the present time, and this is an international question. It has long been one of our objects on general grounds to get some modification of the Capitulations, and, as a matter of fact, we are in possession of promises from certain Powers that that matter shall be favourably considered when it is taken up. (Hear, hear.) It is a matter which is occupying our attention, but it can only be dealt with in discussion with other Powers. In cases of this kind, whatever the merits may be, it is absolutely impossible for us, while the Capitulations remain what they are, to interfere or accept responsibility. That is really the root of the whole matter of the Capitulations.

THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY.

I think I had better proceed with the point raised by the noble lord the member for Hornsey and the hon. member who has just sat down, who raised the question of the Baghdad Railway. On this point it is very difficult at this moment to know how far to go in regard to the negotiations, because they are not finally ratified or concluded, although we have got the drafts of certain agreements with the Turkish Government which I hope will be finally concluded. It is difficult to go into details, because until you can disclose the whole thing and put it before the House as a full paper, if you deal with a particular detail—I am not so much afraid of public opinion in this country as in other countries—it is sometimes fixed upon and given an undue perspective and importance, and it prejudices opinion against the agreement as a whole. I will, however, give as much information as I can safely to the House, and I will deal with the large lines of the agreement we hope to make. As far as the Baghdad Railway is concerned the central point of the agreement between Great Britain and Turkey is that the Baghdad Railway is not to proceed beyond Basra without an agreement with us, and we are making no agreement that it shall proceed beyond Basra. We are contemplating that Basra should be the terminus. We have a definite understanding that it will not run beyond that place without an agreement with us. That is the central point. Then the noble lord asked in what position we stand with regard to the construction of the section from Baghdad to Basra. There are so many difficulties about our participation in that matter that we thought the best arrangement for us would be that we should waive any question of participation ourselves in the branch from Baghdad to Basra, and that we should be left simply in the position that if we got a clear understanding that the railway will not go beyond Basra without our consent, it would cease to be any interest of ours to oppose the extension from Baghdad to Basra, and we are leaving the matter in that position. Then we want to have two directors on the board of the Baghdad Railway.

DIFFERENTIAL RATES.

The question of having two directors is very intimately connected with the question of differential rates. The hon. member for West Stafford asked some searching questions about differential rates. It is quite true that in the agreement we are making it as clear as possible that there are not to be differential rates on the railway, and it is also true that however clear your agreement may be that there are not to be differential rates, you want to be sure that in actual practice and in the actual schedule of rates a difference does not creep in. Of course, you cannot control the fixing of a schedule of rates, which may vary from year to year, unless you control the railway, and we cannot control the railway, because it has long been a concession to Germany and not to us. We are not asking for control, but we are asking to have two directors on the board of the Baghdad Railway, who would be too few to exercise control or to impede the real management of the line, but who would by their presence on the board be able to keep us informed of the rates which are being fixed and how the rates are being worked. If at any time it appeared in practice that the schedule of rates was being fixed or worked in a way which was unfair to British trade as compared with other trade, we should then, of course, be able to bring the question up diplomatically under the agreement which guarantees that we are not to have differential rates, and which we will contend has been broken in practice. German companies have other railway projects besides the Baghdad Railway which are already in working order and in existence—the Anatolia Railway, for instance—and I am bound to say that I do not remember any complaints with regard to differential rates on those railways. I think that, in the agreement we are making, that the railway should not go beyond Basra without our consent, and under which we are asking to have two directors on the board, we are really making an arrangement which, if you look at it in all its aspects, does relieve us of the anxiety which did exist at one time when we did not know where the railway was going to end or what disturbances might result on the Persian Gulf, and which justifies us in saying that it is no longer in British interests to oppose the construction of the railway.

GERMANY AND THE RAILWAY.

Germany has her own agreements with Turks, with regard to the Baghdad Railway. We, of course, are no parties to those

agreements, and I cannot go into them and discuss what they are, because that is a matter between Germany and Turkey. Our agreement has been, or will be, made with Turkey. Germany will not be a party to it, but, at the same time, it is essential that Germany should be satisfied that there is nothing in the agreement which makes with Turkey which is not consistent with her own rights in her agreements with Turkey. That is to say, you will not really get an agreement which is going to settle the whole matter unless it is an agreement which, though between Great Britain and Turkey so far as the two Powers are concerned, is also an agreement which Germany is satisfied, by her arrangement with Turkey, does not conflict with the rights of her own special agreement with Turkey. In other words, for the smooth working of the agreement it is necessary, not only that Great Britain should be satisfied that her interests are protected, but that Germany should also be satisfied that her interests are not injured. I hope that it may work out on lines such as these—that there will be a complete understanding to which Germany would agree, that the Baghdad Railway would not be made beyond Basra without an agreement with us, and that, on the other hand, there would be a complete understanding that no opposition was going to be offered to the making of the railway down to Basra on the conditions I have mentioned. That seems to me a clear bargain which would remove out of the way a subject of discussion which, as long as it remains unsettled, must be a cause of friction and which it is very desirable from every point of view, whether economic or political, should be settled by agreement.

GREAT BRITAIN AND KOWEIT.

There are other matters in our agreement with Turkey, apart from the Baghdad Railway. There is the Persian Gulf question, about which I have been asked for some details. I will see if I can give any further information, but it is a little difficult to go into all these details about particular places at this moment. I am not complaining of hon. members asking about them. They are things I will bear in mind, but it is a little difficult for me to go into particular details, for fear of putting some detail in a position which is not its true perspective and of prejudicing feeling, not so much here as elsewhere, against the agreement as a whole. I will say this with regard to the Sheikh of Kuwait. We should, under the agreement, recognize the suzerainty of Turkey over Kuwait. On the other hand, Turkey would agree that the autonomy of the Sheikh of Kuwait should exist in the future as it has done in the past, complete and unimpaired, and that the arrangements which have been made between the British Government and the Sheikh of Kuwait in previous years should be recognized. That is what I mean by preserving the *status quo* with regard to Kuwait. We have always regarded it as important that the *status quo* should be preserved. One hon. member spoke of restoring the suzerainty of the Sultan. The question of the suzerainty of the Sultan has always been a little ambiguous in connexion with the *status quo*. It is not a new thing. It is not inconsistent with the *status quo*. The important thing in the *status quo* is that we should be quite sure that the autonomy of the Sheikh of Kuwait is not going to be interfered with and that our arrangements with him are not going to be disputed.

There is another point of importance, which is that the navigation up to Baghdad, in which there has been a British interest, should not be impaired. We should hope to make an arrangement under which the British interest which has existed for many years in connexion with the navigation up to Baghdad should be extended and consolidated and we should be guaranteed that the navigation would be developed, and that, in that development, there should always be a substantial and satisfactory British interest. That would be an arrangement between ourselves and Turkey. Those are the main lines, and I can only say that, as soon as I am in a position to do so, I shall lay the agreement as a whole before Parliament.

THE MOHAMMERAH-KHORAMABAD RAILWAY.

The noble lord opposite asked me whether there was an arrangement whereby we could claim a railway in the south of Persia and Russia one in the north. There is the agreement of 1890, which, I believe, we have always considered as being in force. With regard to the direct question which he asked me, whether we had been approached by a British syndicate with regard to a railway in the south, I may say that we have been approached by a British syndicate with regard to a railway from Mohammerah to Khoramabad. We have supported an application to the Persian Government, and the syndicate has got an option for two years and is going to make a survey of that particular railway. With regard to the actual details, I believe I have given them more exactly in answer to some question in the House previously than I have done at this moment, but, if I have not, I will give the information as accurately as I can in answer to a question. Roughly, we have secured an option for a railway from Mohammerah to Khoramabad for the British syndicate.

There was one point I should have dealt with in connexion with the Baghdad Railway—the increase of Turkish Customs dues. If the agreement were concluded, we should give our consent to an increase of Turkish Customs dues when other nations gave it. The position would be this, that, as far as we are concerned, we should give our consent when other nations give their consent, and we should not make any further demands in return for our consent to an increase of Turkish Customs dues.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT.

The question of Persia was very shortly touched on by the hon. member for Hull. He sketched, in unfavourable terms, the result of the Anglo-Russian Agreement respecting Persia. What is always present to my mind is the very lurid picture I might draw, considering all that has taken place in Persia, of what would have happened if there had been no Anglo-Russian Agreement. (Hear hear.) He stated, with some force, the case against it on the ground that British interests have suffered. Of course, it is not pleasant to me to hear it stated in that way, but I have this compensation. It is one of the difficulties connected with the working of the Anglo-Russian Agreement that people complain here that it has not been satisfactory to British interests. The other difficulty is that there is a party in Russia who complain very much and criticize their Government in the same way as we are criticized here, that, but for the Agreement, Russia would have had a very much freer hand in Persia than she has had. I am afraid all, or most, Agreements between countries are open to those kind of criticism in each country, and all one can say is that one hopes that, in making criticism here, it will not be forgotten that the Russian Government, in defending the Agreement, has to contend with corresponding criticism in Russia itself. However disagreeable the criticisms may be for either Government, I hope the Russian Government, in dealing with the criticisms brought against it in Russia on account of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, will not overlook the criticisms which are brought here from the British side and which are really the answer to the criticisms that are brought there.

ARMENIA.

The other question with which I must deal is that of Armenia. (Of that I can say very little, but it is not for lack of sympathy or that I do not think the matter important. The question of reform in Asiatic Turkey is a matter which concerns all the European Powers who have interests in Asiatic Turkey. They must deal with the matter in consultation with the Turkish Government, and I hope a comprehensive scheme of reform will result. It has been impossible to take the matter up with the Turkish Government while they have been engaged in the war which has been going on for so many months past. It has also been impossible for the Great Powers, upon whom the war has brought one anxiety after another, especially upon those Powers who, either geographically or by national feeling, were most intimately affected by the changes that have taken place in the Near East, to elaborate a scheme of reform in Asiatic Turkey. Putting it shortly, both Turkey and the Great Powers have, for the last two months, been so wrought and exercised and occupied by the European question in the Near East that it has been impossible for them to elaborate anything for the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey. But we are all aware—the Turkish Government as much as any one—that disorder and massacres in the provinces of Asiatic Turkey would raise another question of anxiety to Turkey itself as well as to the Powers who have economic interests in Asiatic Turkey. The Powers who are specially interested in that part without exception wish to avoid that anxiety. They wish to avoid having any political question raised with regard to Asiatic Turkey that will cause anxiety. The Turkish Government themselves and the people of Turkey are just as anxious that there should not be disturbances in Asiatic Turkey which will give rise to interference or difficulties in the Asiatic provinces. I believe there is every disposition on the part of Turkey to avail herself of European assistance and on the part of the Powers to give that assistance to establish the authority of the Turkish Government in its Asiatic provinces.

JUSTICE AND SOUND FINANCE.

The real strength of Turkey, which we wish to see consolidated and maintained in Asiatic Turkey as soon as peace is concluded, will depend on the establishment of justice and sound finance. These are the two things we wish to see established in Asiatic Turkey, because they are essential to the consolidation of the position of the Turkish Government itself. I trust that all the Powers will co-operate in giving assistance to Turkey in this matter in such a way as not to impair Turkish authority, but to enable through Turkish authority these two great foundations of justice and sound finance to be established on a sure footing in her Asiatic provinces. That at any rate is our object. If I do not say more it is not because I do not think it important and desirable, but it is because it is a subject for discussion between the

Powers themselves and the Powers and Turkey, and it would be impossible to make real progress with questions such as these until the conclusion of the war between Turkey and the Allies. Then I trust to make some progress with the other matters that remain to be dealt with. I will not deal with large questions of policy, some of which were raised by the hon. member for Stirling Burghs, because the Foreign Office Vote is rather an occasion on which people ask for information on many different subjects. I do not think it necessary I should make any new statement of general policy on behalf of the British Government at the present moment. Such a statement could not be made at any rate without careful preparation, and ought not to be tacked on to a debate such as this. I have endeavoured to deal with some of the points raised in the debate. I know hon. members have other questions to bring forward. I will only say this with regard to the Vote. We are not asking the House to deprive itself of the opportunity of discussing this Vote on some other day. I am not going to press that the Vote should be taken to-night so that it may be put down on a future occasion. Whether or when it is put down would, of course, be settled according to the desires of the House through those channels about which I remain in as much mystery as any hon. members of the House (laughter), although, of course, I am always ready to receive instructions. (Cheers.)

A German View of the Turkish Defeat.

So many superficial and irresponsible views are advanced in regard to what is alleged to have been the failure of attempts to apply the German military system to the Ottoman Army, that the writer has sought from authoritative sources a true explanation of the causes of the Turkish defeat. In the task he has been assisted by Field-Marshal von der Goltz, who supervised the work of military reorganisation in the Ottoman Empire from 1883 to 1895, and by Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who, under Field-Marshal von der Goltz, was entrusted with the work of reorganising the Ottoman Artillery. To the former I am indebted for certain interesting memoranda bearing on the subject, while the latter has kindly placed at my disposal a revised copy of an article that appeared from his pen in the *Vossische Zeitung*.

It will not be denied that these statements, emanating as they do from distinguished generals whose duties brought them into close contact with Turkish military conditions, are entitled to respectful consideration. Certainly they dispose finally of the absurd argument put forward in some quarters that it is the German military system that has been on its trial in Turkey.

It is therefore unnecessary for me at this stage to say anything further in presenting these authoritative views.

By FIELD-MARSHAL VON DER GOLTZ.

When, four years ago, the great Revolution took place in Turkey, the Press of Europe showed an exaggerated approbation of the achievements of the Young Turks—a circumstance which naturally caused the latter to indulge in a superabundance of self-esteem. To-day, when unexpected attack has been followed by signal defeat, we find in the newspapers of very little else than decay, rottenness, ruin, and so forth. Such stigma is inaccurate. I cannot here enumerate all the causes which have led to the recent reverses; but I will mention one of them because, although not hitherto brought to the public notice, it is comprehensible to civilians.

Until the year 1908 the Turkish Army consisted only of a levy of the Muhammadans, controlled by law; and these men had none of the training necessary for the recent war. Indeed, this training had been rendered impossible by reason of the fact that Abdul Hamid distrusted his soldiers. The Sultan carried this distrust to such lengths that not only were the troops deprived of rifle practice and of training under active service conditions, but drill exercise in large companies was prohibited. Even blank fire practice was forbidden. The troops, under strict supervision were kept within the narrow confines of their barrack-yards, where only elementary exercises in small sections was allowed.

These circumstances justified the remark of a witty Turkish courtier, who once said to me: "We are presenting to the world the strange spectacle of a whole nation of prisoners."

Only after the revolution of 1908 was it possible for steps to be taken to create an army, in the modern sense, which should be fully trained on a peace footing, and yet have the usual number of reserves, Landwehr and Landsturm.

This work was interrupted by the unfortunate mutiny of 1909. We may therefore say with truth that the period during which serious reorganisation was in progress consisted of no more than three years. It stands to reason that in three years only three generations can be trained. The task was begun with great zeal and enthusiasm, but from the very outset it was rendered

exceedingly difficult of accomplishment because of the serious disadvantage that, after thirty years of lethargy, the aptitude for learning was almost entirely lacking. It was true that measures were taken to remedy this state of affairs, as, for example, the formation of camps for the training of officers, where they learnt modern warfare in much the same way as do our officers in field practice. But the time at disposal was insufficient for the whole army to derive the needful benefit. A long period of tranquillity would have been necessary in order to reap the full advantages of the system. Instead, however, there was a succession of insurrection in various parts of the extensive Empire, and these again and again interrupted training. Consequent upon the triennial period of active service which obtains in the Ottoman Army, the latest reserve levy, liable to serve with the colours in the event of war, dated from the reign of Abdul Hamid—that is to say, it was for the most part untrained.

Owing to the haste with which mobilisation had necessarily to be carried out, it was unavoidable that troops should be utilised merely to fill gaps and altogether irrespective of the circumstance of whether or not they had been properly trained. Accordingly, the army which we have seen vanquished by the Allies was, in reality, an army of recruits, and deficient, moreover, in officers. An army of this kind, which is to be compared to a hastily-called-up militia, may be, if properly prepared for the aim in view, a force effective for defence. That it was unequal to the task of taking the offence against a numerically superior army which had enjoyed twenty-seven years' preparation for war cannot be denied. And we should not forget that it was required to take the field at an unfavourable season of the year, and with the drawbacks of bad roads and insufficient commissariat and ammunition. To such a venture there could be no other end than defeat. It was altogether too premature to test the strength of the new Turkish Army in actual warfare.

At the same time, it would be an error to conclude that all is lost to Turkey. The real national strength of the Empire is derived from Anatolia. An excessively severe strain was imposed upon this strength in order that the ever-restless European provinces might be kept in subjection, and revolts stemmed from abroad suppressed. In my judgment, the severance of Macedonia will in the end prove a source of strength, rather than of weakness, to Turkey. Restricted to an area wherein is concentrated her true national power, she will now be able to devote herself to her own regeneration; and it is devoutly to be hoped that she will be given the time and opportunity for accomplishing this great purpose.

By IMHOFF PASHA.

Although at this stage it is premature to advance anything in the nature of conclusive opinion in regard to the wholly unexpected failure of the Turkish Army, I have decided, in compliance with several requests, to endeavour so far as may be possible to discover the causes that have brought about the defeat. In this connection I sincerely trust that my comrades of the Turkish Army will not allow themselves to feel hurt at anything which their old colleagues may say, and that they will read into my remarks merely the wish to offer some explanation to those individuals living far from the scene of conflict as to why the famous Osman Army has failed to justify the confident hopes and expectations that were reposed in it.

The recent war in which the so-called Sick Man has been thoroughly beaten and crippled is not at all comparable with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8. In the latter campaign the Russians were operating at a great distance from the Turkish capital; many fortresses, mountains, and rivers obstructed their advance, and they were, themselves, very slow in the development of their operations. On the other hand, in the recent campaign the enemy of the Turks was located only about 250 to 300 kilometres from Constantinople. Moreover, the Balkan States were efficiently armed, had prepared in common a carefully considered plan of operations against Turkey, and were imbued with the highest enthusiasm.

It is a well-known fact that in 1877-8 the intelligence and moral qualities of the Turkish race were the principal factors that enabled the Army to inflict, again and again, serious reverses upon the enemy, that produced the historic defence of Plevna which delayed for months the victorious march of the Russians towards Constantinople, and that, in short, were responsible for a stubborn resistance which only succumbed after a long struggle against an overwhelming enemy. These remarkable facts, it should be remembered, were accomplished notwithstanding the inferiority of the army as regards numbers, organisation, and equipment, the indifferent leadership of separate units, and the irresolute attitude of the lay Council of War. In the conduct of Turkish troops during the campaigns in Thessaly, Yemen, and Tripoli, and the rising in Albania, we find further striking evidence of their brilliant qualities. As a result of reflection upon all these important circumstances, the writer is led to ask the question: How did it happen that the Osman nation should have lived to experience so terrible a disappointment? Was the

true cause to be found in the enthusiasm and the moral superiority of the enemy, or were the defects inherent in the Turkish Army alone responsible for the disaster?

It is notorious that until July, 1908, there was no such thing as a modern army in Turkey in the strict sense of the term, and that any efforts to improve military organisation under the old régime were looked upon as little short of a crime. The period of four years that elapsed before the outbreak of the war was obviously inadequate, even with the best of intentions, for the purpose of training an army of about a million men—a total which Turkey was in a position to provide. The very promising beginning that had been made was marred in consequence of internal and political differences, and seeds of discord were sown such as to render all further work hopeless. Moreover, the frequent risings in Albania, Syria, Arabia, and also the Tripoli war, were disturbing factors, and contributed to no small extent in rendering impossible the task of organising and training, in time of peace, an army efficient for war on a great scale. Efforts in this direction were further hampered by the dissensions that existed among the officers.

The fanatical, wild, and brave Turkish Army, which in former times constituted a homogeneous whole as regards nationality and religion, had absorbed elements having absolutely no interest in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, and, indeed, whose sympathies were frankly on the side of the enemy. Observers who in 1908 shed tears of joy on witnessing the fraternisation of the various nationalities with the Turks, stand aghast to-day at the swift change which has come over the scene. It must be left to one more competent than myself to describe and explain this extraordinary phenomenon. But there remains the significant fact that the change did occur. The predicted brotherhood of all the races within the Ottoman Empire has not been realised; events, indeed, have proved it to be nothing more than a dream.

While the inner coherence of the Army had already been shaken in consequence of conditions described above, the causes of the demoralisation of the officers' corps were to be attributed to an altogether different influence, an influence which arose from the circumstance that its members were entirely engrossed in politics and political strife. Proof of this statement is to be found in the fact that the junior officers no longer accorded to their seniors the consideration due to their rank. Moreover, the younger officers received promotion out of all proportion to their merits, and consequently acquired not a little influence. The lavish praise that was for some reason bestowed upon the Turkish Army produced in them an exaggerated self-esteem, so much so that many officers seriously entertained the belief that they had reached a degree of efficiency which placed them above all further teaching. Having myself been an officer upon whom devolved, the duty of instructing the Turkish forces, I am filled with sorrow when I reflect that this once famous and brilliant army has, in the short space of time that has elapsed since 1908, split into various parties and factions—the Old and Young Turks quarrelling together, the Committee with its good intentions and its great defects, the Sadik movement, the secret societies, the cabal of officers identified with the political murder of Zekki Bey, the clubs and all the evil consequences arising therefrom. As a result of these pernicious influences, authority and discipline became undermined, a great gulf divided officers and men, and it was little wonder that serious work in time of peace no longer appealed to a class of men who had become what might perhaps best be described as "political officers." We arrive, then, at the conclusion that the ruin given to political passions had the effect of completely destroying that discipline so essential to the maintenance of an efficient army.

Within the last few years the authority of the Government has been greatly impaired. After the deposition of Abdul Hamid Cabinet changes became still more frequent. The leaders of the Government, too, were continually changed, with the result that constant friction arose between Ministers and ex-Ministers. What could be more natural than that the people, responding to the clamour of irresponsible criticism levelled at the highest officials, should lose faith in the Government? As a result of the popular agitation which ensued, whole parts of the standing army were subsequently relegated to the Reserves. No wonder, therefore, that the principle upon which State and Army had been founded was irretrievably damaged.

For the writer, an old instructing officer, the question of the inadequate training of officers and men is a somewhat delicate one to deal with. As an interested party, I shall refrain from offering any detailed criticism, and will content myself with referring to matters to which my attention has been drawn by the Press. I would, therefore, simply set forth the following points. The reserve troops were not acquainted with the handling of their weapons: the artillery did not know how to use their

guns; the Redifs were short of officers; over a quarter of the Nizam troops consisted of untrained men; the premature disbandment of the old Alajlis officers (the so-called troops) was a mistake; while the firing of the Anatolian troops, who adhered to the old system, was ineffective. There was a great shortage of officers altogether there were, roughly, no less than 8,000 officers' posts unfilled; the placing of men in position, and their ability when in position, were defective; and finally, the influence of foreign instructors, both in the Army and the Navy, was suppressed.

So long as the official Turkish reports concerning the engagements are not available, nothing of a definite nature can be said in regard to the alleged defects in generalship. Nevertheless it is undeniable that in consequence of the almost total absence of manoeuvres and exercises since 1909, there has been a great shortage of experienced leaders. At the same time, we should in fairness recognise the high intelligence and appreciate the merits of individual leaders. The defective organisation of the Intelligence Department, and the lack of proper facilities for transmitting orders, were faults in system to which attention must particularly be drawn. As far as the men were concerned it should be observed that they lacked neither courage nor discipline, and showed a fearless disregard of death. No blame could justly be laid upon the character of individual commanders; nor could they rightly be accused of lacking initiative. And still this crushing defeat!

Much can be explained by the fact that in the short period that elapsed since 1908 the highest officer in the General Staff had not time to prepare themselves by a thorough, or even theoretical, training for the important task which awaited them in warfare. The excessive burden of administrative work, the obsession of politics, long absences for the suppression of internal disturbances, and last, but not least, the exclusion for many years under the old régime of all practical work, were sufficient reasons to explain the failure of the higher leadership.

The Press point out in its reports that firing discipline, range-finding, and employment of protection were defective, and that the artillery was badly placed. We can also find an explanation here. It is no exaggeration to say that in reality the Turkish Army has, in the strict sense of the term, never enjoyed a normal peace training. Recruiting took place at all times of the year, and manoeuvres and exercises were only carried out to a very limited extent. But, above all, in any attempt to arrive at a proper understanding of the disabilities under which the Turkish Army laboured, it must not be forgotten that staff officers, colonels, and other commissioned ranks, for whose education nothing had been done for scores of years, were not likely suddenly to have acquired with the declaration of the Constitution the spiritual impulse now so necessary in the modern training of an army.

Furthermore, in reviewing recent events, emphasis must be laid upon the ill-effects produced by the rapid and altogether premature promotion of non-commissioned officers to commissioned rank, and one cannot help reflecting that had these officers retained their old status they would have exercised a useful and steady influence among the men at a time of great crisis.

Of all the points dealt with in the present article as bearing upon the defeat of Turkish arms, the military unpreparedness of the nation gives pause for the gloomiest reflection. This unpreparedness for war merits full analysis, for herein is to be found that factor of negation that rendered of no account the great and courageous stand made by the troops, and that led to the sorrowful and shocking events the accounts of which filled the columns of the Press of the whole world. In all quarters people are never tired of laying the burden of responsibility for Turkey's defeat upon the exterritorial distribution of troops during time of peace, defective railway communications and absence of good roads, shortcomings of administration, exterior and interior troubles, the Indian War, and the Albanian revolt, and one must concede that the difficulties arising therefrom were not inconsiderable. Foreign criticism has also reproached the Turkish authorities for their negligence in regard to hospital arrangements, the inadequate supply of ammunition, and the inefficient state of the medical service, all of which reasons are advanced as having brought about defeat in battle and accounted for the complete disaster with which even the most spirited Ottoman troops were afflicted. Here I may say that I am only setting forth the opinions of experts and of officers of the Turkish Army, and that I refrain from passing my own judgment.

In consequence of the failure of the commissariat a rebellious spirit seized hold of the forces. For seven days troops at Tchorus had as their only nourishment raw flour; there was a great shortage of ammunition, and, in fact, all supply departments failed shamefully. A state of marasmus inevitably followed this slow

process of serving the Army through its various arteries. So intense was the misery that the soldiers besought the employees on the trains to give them food, but there was a veritable famine in bread. Hunger itself caused the morale of the Army to dwindle away. There next came a failure in the water supply. The arrangements for the supply of ammunition were, as I have said, wholly inefficient. The artillery ran short of ammunition, and ammunition trains were nowhere to be seen. Thus the men stood, as it were, with folded arms and waited for the Kismet. For example, the second army corps at Hunar Hissar were begging for ammunition, but Abdullah Pasha had neither ammunition nor food. At Kirk Kilise thousands of Redifs arrived on the battlefield without weapons, and as rifles had to be supplied to them after the engagement had already begun, we can well imagine the confusion that reigned.

The complete failure of medical service has been discussed in all quarters. In most cases the wounded were not carried away from the firing line; those poor fellows who could move dragged themselves to the rear. There were few stretchers, and no wheeled ambulances. No facilities existed for the rendering of first aid; there were no field hospitals, and the few surgeons at the front were without instruments of any kind. All reports agree that the failure of supply was the principal cause that produced the demoralisation of the Redifs. The old saying, "Hunger and thirst never defeat a Turkish soldier," has thus been terribly disproved at the expense of the Turkish Army.

Stress has been laid in some quarters upon the fact that the General Staff completely failed, that it was not capable of preparing for a modern war, and that it ignored the advice of the experts. Consequently, although in possession of a railway line it did not understand how to make use of this means of communication. As a result there were experienced great inconvenience, indiscipline, congestion and many accidents: all of which, strange to say, were caused by faults in the Turkish organisation and were not traceable, as is customary in war, to the belligerent actions of an enemy.

We must give the individual officer his due. What could an individual accomplish, and of what service could he be in such a state of chaos? Again I must draw the attention of the reader to the fact that all observers agree that the primary evil lay in the insufficient preparedness of the Turkish Army for mobilisation, and that this led directly to general demoralisation with its sequence, the court-martialing of officers and men, and ultimately resulted in the spread of panic and starvation, the burning of villages, the formation of bands of marauders, and also in murderous revolver attacks upon the lives of the highest commanders.

The suggestion that the artillery of the enemy was superior cannot be accepted as the truth. The field-guns of all the Powers are to-day more or less on the same level, and in actual war the variation of one centimetre in trajectory and 20-50 metres in range is quite immaterial. The best weapons are of no avail when handled by inexperienced soldiers, and the firing itself, as well as the discipline, are the only decisive factors in modern war. For example, in the Franco-Prussian War the Chassepot weapon with which the French were armed was decidedly superior to the ignition needle weapon. Yet on this account the Prussian infantry were not placed at a disadvantage, for they were efficient in handling their guns. Herein is conveyed a serious moral to the Government of the future whose duty it will be to undertake the re-organisation of the Turkish Army. I have already stated elsewhere that a beginner in music cannot immediately, even with the best and most expensive piano, execute difficult passages and studies. Conscientious practice and fingering exercises are essential. And so in the Turkish artillery it was this very factor of diligent preparation that was absent. How often have the officers asked me to intercede with the authorities on behalf of more frequent practice in shooting; how often have I represented their wishes in the proper quarters, and how often owing to inadequate facilities have I been frustrated? It was the system, and not the officer or the soldier, that was chiefly to blame.

As I have already observed in the introduction to this article, the statements set forth by eminent German officers who were entrusted with the mission of re-organising the Ottoman Army, a task doomed from the outset to failure in consequence of circumstances beyond their control, are of supreme importance in so far as they represent the considered judgment of men whose position and knowledge afforded them privileged opportunities for observation. But it is when we seek to draw from their conclusions the lessons that may with profit be taken to heart by all States that we realise the valuable nature of the service which Field-Marshal von der Goltz and Imhoff Pasha have rendered in placing their views before the world. Apart altogether from certain drawbacks arising out of the character and constitution of the Ottoman forces, and unlikely to be reproduced in any other army, it is plain that

the causes of the Turkish failure were similar to those which, from time immemorial, have led to defeat in warfare in all countries; and which, in spite of the repeated warnings of history, will continue to accomplish the downfall of armies. All those causes, without a single exception, were directly traceable to lack of preparation and of organisation. The writer would like to refer to two particular defects, one relating to organisation of the Turks, and the other to that of the Bulgarians. The presence of these defects exerted upon the fortunes of the campaign an influence the importance of which cannot possibly be exaggerated. When we reflect that exactly the same failings were exhibited in the Russo-Japanese campaign as recently as 1904-5, then we are in a position to appreciate what are perhaps the most striking of the many examples that the war in the Near East has afforded of the indifference of nations to the lessons of history.

The fact that the Turkish artillery was furnished with guns of German manufacture, whereas the Allies relied mainly upon weapons of French origin, aroused considerable comment, and superficial critics jumped to the conclusion that in this respect the Ottoman Army had been ill-served. General Imhoff, upon whom fell the task of reorganising the Ottoman artillery, rightly points out that the guns of all first-class Powers are practically on the same level, and that no importance is to be attached to a slight advantage in range. It is clear then that as far as this arm was concerned the Turks could blame nothing save their own inefficiency. All impartial accounts agree that the Bulgarians employed their guns with superb judgment, and that the effect of their shrapnel fire was overwhelming. Here we find some parallel with the events of the Russo-Japanese campaign. The Japanese gun was inferior in range to the Russian weapon to the extent of no less than about one thousand yards. Yet the Japanese by reason of superior efficiency consistently maintained an advantage over the enemy. They aimed, as did the Bulgarians in the recent war, at concentrating all available artillery on a selected position, whereas the Russians kept large numbers of guns in reserve, with the result that, in the words of one of the British attacks, they were beaten in detail and the reserve artillery only came into action to cover the retreat.

In another important respect the recent war bore resemblance to the Russo-Japanese campaign—the lack of cavalry in the victorious army with which to follow up forces retreating in disorder. Mr Ashmead-Bartlett, who was present at the battle of Lüle Burgaz, has declared that "had more cavalry been at the disposal of the Bulgarians they could practically have walked through the lines of Tchataldja without firing a shot and taken 60,000 or 70,000 Turks as prisoners." It was, in the case of the Japanese, the lack of cavalry that deprived them of the complete fruits of victory: and one of their foremost leaders, Major-General Akiyama, expressed the opinion at the time that "one of the most important lessons of the war is that a proper proportion of thoroughly efficient and properly trained cavalry is as essential to success as the guns and other parts of the whole machinery of an army. No cheap or hastily improvised substitute can take its place." The British attacks with the Russian forces were moved to speculate upon what would have happened of the Russian infantry after a hard day's fight, or when retreating with their cartridges nearly exhausted, worn out with fatigue and want of food, if a well-handled body of hostile cavalry had suddenly appeared about dark and charged resolutely home. It is beyond question that both Mukden and Lüle Burgaz would have been converted into Sedans had the victorious armies in each case been provided with a sufficiency of cavalry with which to follow up their shattered foes. Only the lapse of a few years separated the dates of those two great battles. In spite of the fact, therefore, that the all-important lessons of the Russo-Japanese War were fresh in their minds, the Bulgarians, renowned as were the Japanese for efficiency in every other direction, failed to provide an adequate force of cavalry—an arm proved by events to be the crushing factor in warfare. Consequently, they were brought to a dead halt before the lines of Tchataldja, a circumstance that influenced to no small extent the stubborn diplomacy of the Turks in the subsequent peace negotiations. It must, however, be confessed that the cause of the insufficiency of the Bulgarian cavalry is not difficult to find. Cavalry is an expensive arm to raise and maintain, and the Bulgarians, like the Japanese, are not a wealthy race. While, therefore, the Bulgarians and the Japanese did all in their power to make victory certain, they were unable to accomplish what must be held to be the supreme aim of war—annihilation of the enemy. But although these shortcomings, resulting from inadequate financial resources, were unavoidable, a similar defect in the war preparations of wealthier nations would obviously be attended by grave consequences, and would be wholly inexcusable. The disappearance of the horse in obedience to the superior advantages of motor traction in time of peace has thus become a matter of serious State concern. I cannot forget that an English critic who, on behalf of a leading English journal, attended the last French manoeuvres, was so

deeply impressed with the success attending the employment on that occasion of motor vehicles for military purposes, that he permitted himself to indulge in the bold prophecy that the days of cavalry were numbered. "Even were we, for the sake of argument, to eliminate ploughed fields and ditches from our illustration, and to assume that the character of the country favoured the experiment, we could not imagine a Sedan brought about as a result of a resolute charge at dusk by a corps of motor cyclists."

For the purposes of transport, more especially in Western Europe where the roads are good, motor-propelled vehicles will, of course, fulfil a valuable function in war; but recent experience confirms in an unreluctant manner the opinion always held by authorities on higher strategy that if victory is to be rendered not merely decisive but complete, then a large force of cavalry with its convenient mobility is indispensable.

It is admitted on all sides that the Bulgarian infantry was incomparable. But the modern conditions of warfare, involving long drawn out battles over wide fronts, and conducted with that smashing strategy which has been well compared to the hammering of blows on an anvil, call for almost superhuman endurance on the part of the common soldier. The events of the campaign in Thrace demonstrated, as did the Manchurian operations, that there are limitations even to the staying-power of Spartan peoples like the Bulgarians and the Japanese, imbued though both of them were with an almost fanatical zeal for the terrible work in hand. Consequently, Nazim Pasha, as was the case with Kuropatkin, made good his escape, and turned the tide of his retreating forces so as once more to present a solid front to the foe.

We have seen that while Bulgaria, like Japan, did all that was possible to secure victory, she was unable to annihilate her enemy. The lesson to be drawn from this and other circumstances connected with the recent campaign should not be forgotten by those countries having both the time and the means at their disposal to perfect their army organisation. Such a warning would appear to be superfluous were it not for the fact that it has become necessary to repeat it after each great war; and for the reason that nations, in the intervals of peace, conscious of their own untried power and, more often than not immersed in their own domestic affairs, disregard with something akin to cynicism the lessons of the past. Were they to pay heed to the teachings of Clausewitz then they would realise that it is only experience in war that counts; and were they to apply his precepts they would not allow a sense of false pride to prevent them even going to the length of seeking to engage Bulgarian officers so that they might avail themselves of practical knowledge acquired on the field of battle in the improvement of their military systems. It is what this great master has termed habituation to war that is the one and only secret of success in war. "Habituation to war," he has said, "no General can give his army at once, and the camps of manoeuvre (peace exercises) furnish but a weak substitute for it, weak in comparison with real experience in war, but not weak in relation to other armies in which the training is limited to more mechanical exercises of routine. So to regulate the exercises in peace time as to include some of these causes of friction, that the judgment, circumspection, even resolution of the separate leaders may be brought into exercise, is of much greater consequence than those believe who do not know the thing by experience."

It is because the Bulgarians imparted to their preparatory training the reality of war that they triumphed; and it is because the Turkish forces lacked this reality in their training that they failed.—LANCELOT LAWTON in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Taking of the Census.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

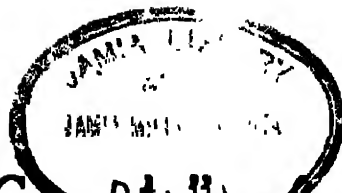
Salonica, May 16.

THE great event of the week has undoubtedly been the Census, which struck terror into the hearts of so many, notwithstanding all the efforts of the authorities to assure the people that they had nothing whatever to fear from it; that, in fact, it was really a blessing in disguise. One result was a regular stampede to become Spanish, Portuguese, or Austrian subjects, and some hundreds of families rushed to enrol themselves at the different consulates before they were regarded as the fatal day. There was also a considerable exodus of young men into the country or neighbouring villages the previous day so that they might be out of it. As it costs from twenty to forty pounds or more, according to circumstances, to become an Austrian, while a fraction of that is enough to get one made Spanish or Portuguese, these latter consulates naturally got a bulk of the custom, and so did a roaring business. Appa-

rently the policy of the authorities now is to regard these so-called alarmists as misguided people, who, ignorant of all the benefits and blessings that would be their lot as Greeks, through having become "accustomed under the Turkish Government to see foreigners protected while they and their fellow Ottoman subjects were looked upon as of no account," are somewhat to be excused for entertaining such groundless fears, and for allowing themselves to be thus led astray. And it is pointed out to them that, as foreigners will henceforth be on an altogether different footing from what they have hitherto been, by becoming foreigners they have everything to lose. Recalcitrants are warned that such transfers will not be acknowledged by the authorities; and that the latter know quite well, from the Turkish registers now in their possession, who were Ottoman subjects at the time of the occupation. There are, of course, very many Turkish subjects here who were unable to afford the three or four pounds needed to become something else, and others who, notwithstanding the great disabilities it will entail, could not bring themselves to cast off their old nationality; and one can but sympathise with him who, "in spite of all temptations to belong to other nations, remained an"—Ottoman. Looking at the subject from all sides, it seems a question whether this taking a census, for any special purpose or not, was worth the candle. It certainly gave rise to all sorts of doubts and fears which it would have been more prudent not to arouse; and it proved unmistakably that the Jewish community had not forgotten the first few days of the occupation.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	s.	p.
Munir Khan, Esq., Allahabad	10	0	0
Wahid Ali, Esq., P. O. Ramna	25	0	0
By transfer from Deposit Account : Money-Order received from Hayat Muhammad, Esq., Patwari, on 8th March, 1918	83	2	0
By transfer from Deposit Account : Money-Order received from Abdul Karim, Esq., Domoriaganj, on 15th March, 1918	4	15	0
By transfer from Deposit Account : M.-O. received from K. M. Azam, Esq., Dacca, on 14th April, 1918	11	0	0
M. Faig, Esq., Fyzabad	73	0	0
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Fazley Hussain, Esq., Bahawalpur	6	0	0
Sheikh Azizullah, Esq., Sardarshahr	5	0	0
S. Bashir Hussain Khan, Esq., Aligarh	2	0	0
A Moslem Lady through Masudul Hasan, Esq., Moradabad	4	0	0
Through Maulvi Muhammad Saifullah Sahib Siddiqi, Khateeb, Ka-Ka Masjid, Toungoo, Burma—			
Ma May, Esq.	2	12	0
Messrs. Daw K. and Ma Apa Ti-Re. one each	2	0	0
Miscellaneous Collection	10	4	0
Muhammad Shukib, Esq., Taqvi, Aligarh	2	0	0
Kambar Ali, Esq., Matli	5	0	0
Abdullah, Esq., Meerut	10	0	0
Abdul Jabbar, Esq., Ajmer	21	0	0
S. Aminuddin, Esq., Delhi	1	0	0
Pegam Saifdar Ali, Oral	15	0	0
Through M. Sahibdad, Esq., Mukhtar, Hissar—			
The proceeds of Hissar Red Crescent Fund	543	0	0
Haji Imam Baksh, Esq., Sukkur	20	0	0
Muhammad Hakim, Esq., "Comrade" Press, Delhi, monthly instalment	0	8	0
Mir Ahmad, Esq., Shamabad	1	0	0
Abdullah, Esq., Itarsi	3	0	0
S. Shuja'at Ali, Esq., Sheorampahuli	3	0	0
Through Imam Sahib, Dooni Market, Bagan—			
Muhammadans of the town Yamam, Bagan	125	0	0
Amount received from 10th June to 8th June 1918	1,084	5	6
Amount previously acknowledged	3,82,170	11	0
Total	3,83,255	0	6



Supplement to the "Comrade" of 21st June, 1913.



An eminent Israelite surgeon connected with one of the hospitals in Constantinople, who had seen some of the worst effects of aggressive surgery during the present war, writes thus of one of the Foreign Missions:—

"Large incisions from 30 to 40 centimetres were found all along the leg, the thigh and the superior extremity, as it was necessary for the operator to dissect the whole member in order to find "a lost bullet."

One of the high officials of the Ottoman Red Crescent and Professor Depage were so disconcerted on seeing these patients that they asked the surgeon to take photographs for publication.

The doctor then goes on:—

" publish them in order to inform the world that the European Red Cross Societies should entrust



responsibility to clever surgeons and not to novices who are too ignorant, or who are desirous to learn the manual exercise of the bistoury on the poor soldiers."

He then quotes a number of cases with all their details showing the effects of bad surgery and careless nursing. The chagrined surgeon concludes his statement in the following words:—

" It is a pity to state that in this 20th century Powers like dare send us operators to attend to our wounded perhaps inferior to our horse-setters. Poor Turkey ! What illegal injuries in these days of distress !! Is that what is called the progress of civilization ? ? ? "

(From Dr. Ansari's letter

published on page 500.)

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Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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view to influencing the free decision of the Balkan peoples in solving their present differences.

Sofia, June 21;

The Servian Minister to-day handed Serbia's reply rejecting Bulgaria's proposals to demobilise.

Belgrade, June 21.

The Cabinet has been sitting to consider Russia's invitation to a conference. It is believed in well informed quarters that the Government will inform Russia that Serbia deems a conference useless after Bulgaria's reply to Russia.

Sofia, June 21.

The earthquake last week practically wiped out Tirnovo and Goranovtzi, hundreds being killed. The damage is estimated at several million francs. Relief committees have been formed and foreign aid is requested. The shocks continue at intervals. Distress is great.

Sofia, June 22.

The semi-official journal Bulgaria declares that Serbia's rejection of Bulgaria's proposals brings diplomatic negotiation to a close. The task now remains to find more efficacious means for a settlement of the differences.

Belgrade, June 22.

It was Bulgaria's conditions of the 18th instant that Serbia rejected yesterday. The Servian Minister at the same time again urged unconditional acceptance of the Servian proposals of the 12th instant. He declared that demobilization was the only means of avoiding an armed conflict, and added that Serbia was willing to accept arbitration, but not on the basis of the agreement made before the war.

Sofia, June 22.

The Servian Minister has left.

Athens, June 22.

The Queen, at the last moment, has deferred her proposed departure for Germany, owing to the bad turn which affairs in the Balkans have taken. Her Majesty is now occupied in the re-establishment of war hospitals, which were organised under her patronage. The King returned to Salonica last night.

Belgrade, June 22.

The Cabinet has again resigned.

London, June 22.

Reuter learns that there is grave anxiety among diplomats in London in connection with the crisis in dispute between Serbia and Bulgaria. The strongest pressure is being brought to bear to induce Serbia to agree to arbitration unconditionally.

London, June 23.

Recriminations between Sofia, Belgrade and Athens are reaching an extreme pitch. Scarcely a day passes without accusations of violence and outrage committed by the troops of one or the other. These accusations are followed by vehement denials, explanations, and counter-charges. Altogether, public opinion in the three countries appears to be approaching fever-heat.

The Week.

The Balkan Crisis.

London, June 18.

A SEVERE earthquake has visited Bulgaria, especially at Tirnovo, where hospitals, barracks, churches and schools have been wrecked. Twenty-one killed and 127 injured have been extricated from the ruins. Twenty-seven bodies have been recovered at Teoravovitz.

Sofia, June 19.

Bulgaria's reply to the Servian demand for the revision of the Treaty of Alliance will be presented to-day. It is understood that the reply insists upon the adhesion to the terms of the alliance alleging that Serbia's demand for modification is inspired by a long-cherished desire to extend Servian territory at the expense of Bulgaria.

Belgrade, June 19.

In view of Dr. Danoff's reluctance to go to St. Petersburg, unless Serbia accepts immediate arbitration upon the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, M. Pasic, the Servian Premier, who intended to start to-night, has postponed his departure. Bitterness against Bulgaria is intensifying.

Sofia, June 20.

The text of Bulgaria's reply to the Servian demand for the revision of the Treaty of Alliance has been published. It protests very vigorously against the revision of the treaty, and fraternally appeals to Serbia to refer the division of the disputed zone to the arbitration of the Tsar.

Budapest, June 20.

Count Tizza announced in the Chamber yesterday that Austria was anxious to see the real independence of the Balkan States assured, but Austria could not allow any Power to interfere with a

London, June 24.

A Belgrade message says: The Cabinet crisis was due to Russia's request for the immediate acceptance of arbitration. The Ministers of War and Justice categorically refused to accept and resigned.

A Sofia wire says: It is reported that Serbia has yielded to the exhortation of Russia and has accepted arbitration.

The departure of the Tsar and the Imperial family for a yachting tour in the Finnish Skerries is regarded as denoting some lightening of the situation in the Near East, which nevertheless continues obscure. If M. Pasic be reappointed Servian Premier, it will be interpreted as meaning that moderation has triumphed over the war party. It is understood that the attitude of Rumania, who is likely to make heavy demands upon an aggrandized Bulgaria and is ready to mobilise at a month's notice, will be an important factor in moderating the bellicose spirit of Bulgaria.

A Belgrade wire says: M. Pasic will reconstruct the Cabinet without the Ministers for War and Justice. He will go to St. Petersburg shortly.

London, June 25.

Belgrade: The situation is regarded here with optimism, and it is now believed that the four allied Premiers will confer at St. Petersburg to arrange a peaceful settlement.

Turkey.

A *Sakir* of Afaks assassinated the Commandant of the troops here when landing on the night of the 20th instant.

Constantinople, June 23.

The Governor of Muntafix was mortally wounded at the same time as the Commandant of the troops was assassinated.

The Court-Martial has sentenced to death twenty persons alleged to have been accomplices in the assassination of Mahmoud Shekaf Pasha.

London, June 24.

A Constantinople wire says: Twelve of the men sentenced to death by Court-Martial for complicity in the assassination of Mahmoud Shekaf Pasha were publicly executed to-day, in the Bayazid Square. They showed the utmost bravery, and some of them delivered short addresses.

Persia.

A *rumor* received here from Kermanshah states that Salar-ed-Dowish is fifty miles north of Herrah in Kubiistan and that 450 Persian Cossacks are there to prevent him reaching Kermanshah.

It is understood that the survey of the Mohammorah Kharanabad Railway, which will open up the Karum Valley at the head of the Persian Gulf, will be completed with as little delay as possible.

The Regent of Persia, accompanied by the Persian Consul-General of Tiflis, has arrived here.

Egypt.

HUSSEIN PASHA, Minister of Justice, has started for Europe with a decree for the signature of the Khedive, who is now in Europe. The decree abolishes the General Assembly and increases the powers and numbers of the Legislative Council, which will henceforth be elected by the people.

Morocco.

DISASTROUS from Tetuan, dated the 16th instant, state that desperate fighting took place between the Kabylas and the Spanish garrison. The latter were driven back for half a mile, suffering heavily, but rallied and routed the hordes of the tribesmen with great slaughter.

The Morison Committee.

The report of the Morison Committee has been presented to Parliament. It shows that Indian Technological students generally do well, being quite up to the average capacity of their classes provided they come with a fair grounding of education and practical experience. Those who, like most technical students hitherto sent, have not had previous acquaintance with the industry they propose to follow, do badly. In view of the necessity for practical experience in works, the report recommends the extension of the period of the tenure of State Scholarships, which, it says, should range between three and five years. The Committee found very little evidence of racial prejudice against Indians, who are readily admitted into those industries in which apprenticeship and pupilage are customary. The report urges a higher standard of selection in India, preliminary practical experience being highly desirable and in the case of mining students indispensable. "The average man," the report continues, "can be trained in India. If he is trained here, it should be at his private expense, but when the best man, so far as human foresight can discriminate, has been selected, it is false economy to give them anything but the best training."

TETE À TETE



MR. QAZI BAHIMUDDIN AHMAD, a member of the All-India Medical Mission, has once more favoured us with a letter from Dardanelles, dated 25th June, which would no doubt be read with interest.

A Letter from Dardanelles.

He writes:—"After closing the hospital, we went for a trip to Troy. This is the ancient Troy of Homer's song. We did not find any Helen there but Turkish soldiers digging out trenches. The ruins are situated at the foot of a hillock. In front of the ruins after a two or three miles stretch of level plain is the sea. There is the famous Itum Killeh and the Yeni Shahr. The ruins are marked merely by big stones. On the other side of the hillock, opposite the ruins, a regiment of Arabs and Kurds is quartered. We had to pass near their tents on our way to the ruins. They stopped us to take coffee and tea. You could read their sincerity and love in their faces. Every officer and soldier was trying to get hold of our horses to hold for us while we sipped the coffee in the cool shade of a tree. They all sent salaams to all the Muhammadans of India. I was much impressed by their hospitality. Determined and resolute men with swords clanking at their side, they brought us coffee, cigarettes and water. Notwithstanding the full-throated entreaties of about two dozens of us, they would not sit but remained standing. At last we left them amidst a shower of blessings, and proceeded on our journey. Then we visited small Turkish villages. The thing which struck me most was the solitary aspect of the place. Without exception all had the same loneliness. A few old men and some children were all that we saw. All the able-bodied men had gone to die for their country. We were the guests of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society Hospital near Assana."

NAWAB FATEH ALI KHAN QAZILBASH writes to us as follows.—"Your note entitled 'The Confectioner's Shop' has been brought to my notice. The peculiarly harsh and unjust character of your criticism has caused me considerable surprise and pain, and I have therefore considered it proper on my part to inform you of the true facts, so that you may realize the wholly baseless nature of the onslaught that you have permitted yourself to make against me. Such onslaughts are the common stock-in-trade of a certain type of Indian journalism, and silence is the only dignified treatment they deserve. But after the very grave and serious charges you have brought against me, I feel I owe it a duty to state the facts. I wish you had ascertained from me as to the accuracy of the information on which you seem to have based your criticism. Let me in the first place say that on WHATEVER account of the feeding charges and other expenses incidental to the entertainment of those rich and important personages, who along with His Highness the Aga Khan were my distinguished guests, was ever sent by me for payment to the Foundation Committee; and if there is any such bill in existence in the Committee's records, it is most certainly a forged one, and I would be equally anxious to see you that all the papers relating to this 'forged bill' are promptly published. I do not wish to state in this letter what I spent over the entertainment of my guests, but the allegation that the charges of this description were met out of the University Fund is absolutely devoid of the truth. Those who know me well would hesitate to assume me of the lack of traditional instincts of hospitality. I would be the last person to claim any personal credit for the expenses incurred, and the heavy work that I and my staff had to do in entertaining my guests and rendering their visit happy and fruitful. But then, I did not expect to be required in this way for what little I did in the service of the University."

"You state that the donation I promised to the Moslem University Fund still remains unpaid. Let me please inform you that Rs. 10,000 was paid long ago and the remaining will be paid up as soon as Government's decision about the grant of University Charter has been finally made known. You are wrong in thinking that I want the Punjab contribution of over 5 lacs to the University Fund for the proposed 'Dane Research Science Institute.' I should like you to read carefully my letter on this subject, which appeared in the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore. You will find that my suggestion was simply that in the event of the University Charter not being granted, the Punjab will be well advised in claiming back its share and in applying the same to the completion of the *Shahdara Scheme*. This is a matter of personal opinion which like any other Moslem I am, I believe, fully entitled to hold. And in this proposal I do not stand alone, as events will probably show. I have written these lines for your information as I am sure you have been totally misled and deceived. And now I leave to you to decide whether in face of these facts you were justified in using the sort of language you did against me. I believe, in fairness to yourself, that you would not have caused me this unmerited pain unless you had been grossly informed, for I do not think, the *Comrade* would stoop to the methods of the sensation-monger who leads the columns of a section of Indian Journalism. I need say nothing about your concluding remarks and the value you seem to set on my 'zeal for public activity.' I wish, every one of us were worthy in every way to discharge his immense responsibilities to his community, his country and his God. My only prayer is that I may never forget, however unworthy I am, my heavy responsibilities in sharing our great and common burden as Moslems. God alone is the judge of motive and Dispenser of reward and retribution. Our business is to try to do what little we can, and above all to be charitable."

WE SHALL not discuss matters of personal opinion, for, as the Nawab Sahib has said, we are all fully entitled to hold our opinions; and his letter does not err on the side of being argumentative, so that we see no reason to alter our own in preference to the Nawab Sahib's. But we stated two facts which he denies, and we shall content ourselves with explaining the basis of our statements in each case, leaving it to our readers to judge whether we were justified in publishing them or not. In the first place, we wrote that "some of the admirers of Sir Louis Dane are trying to preserve his memory in some permanent and tangible form. One of these admirers, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash, came out some days ago with a scheme for creating a Scientific Institute at Lahore as a memorial to Sir Louis Dane . . . and he wants to despoil the Moslem University Fund of the subscriptions contributed by the Punjab Moslems that he may gratify his curious whim." Our authority for the statement was no other than the *Pioneer*, the twin brother of the *Civil & Military Gazette* in which the Nawab Sahib's letter on the subject was published. The *Pioneer* published on May 8 a Lahore telegram from its "Own Correspondent," presumably the editor of the *C. & M. Gazette* itself, stating as follows: "In a letter to the *C. & M. Gazette*, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan suggests the foundation of an advanced science research institute to commemorate Sir Louis Dane's régime. He proposes that the Punjab contribution of over 5 lakhs to the All-India Moslem University Fund should be claimed back and devoted to this institute." The Nawab Sahib now writes to us: "You are wrong in thinking that I want the Punjab contribution of over 5 lakhs to the University Fund for the proposed 'Dane Research Science Institute.' Well if we are wrong, we have for once erred in the company of the Allahabad apostle of truth. If the Nawab Sahib favours us with a copy of the letter published in the *C. & M. Gazette* and we discover our mistake—and the *Pioneer*—we shall appear in sackcloth and ashes and request our Allahabad contemporary also to do penance for doing evil and inducing others to share its sinfulness. Until then we are unrepentant, and we do not think we need apologise for the statement that the Nawab Sahib's donation remains unpaid. He informs us that Rs. 10,000 out of Rs. 30,000 promised by him are paid "and the remaining will be paid up as soon as Government decides about the grant of the University Charter has been finally made known." It is certain that unlike many of the "Living Hearts" of the Punjab the Nawab has not paid the greater portion of what he promised, and he admits that in certain events he would like the Punjab to claim back its share of the paid-up subscriptions to the Moslem University Fund, and he hopes others will follow his noble Nawab-like example. And there is the *Pioneer* telling all the world that the Nawab would like to burn other people's incomes

—at least other people's to the extent of Rs. 4,90,000 out of Rs. 5,00,000—on the altar of Sir Louis Dane, the Champion of the Punjab Mussalmans. We could have well understood if some one who had paid more than a third of his promised donation, chagrined at the Secretary of State's ill-timed and unreasonable interference, had held out a threat of claiming back his donation. But for one who had not paid more than a third of what he had promised, and who pleaded for the tardy performance, an "excuse more sinful than the sin itself," namely, "*jo hookum Sarkar ka*," to desire to obtain credit in the eyes of officials by suggesting the establishment of a Memorial to Sir Louis Dane, whose services to the Punjab Mussalmans are best known to himself, at the cost of those who paid all that they had promised for the central national institution of the whole of Moslem India without caring to know whether the Secretary of State or his advisers would like it to be a central national institution or not, can be characterised in no other way but "the offer of prayers for one's grandfather's soul over the confectioner's shop." We hope and believe that the shrewd Nawab will stand alone as events will probably show.

WE NEED hardly say that we found every instinct of ours in revolt against Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib's action because of the sordid affair which we mentioned in that connection.

If then we felt the sensation of repugnance in every fibre and nerve, we are now a prey to the feeling of extreme astonishment at the audacity which makes the Nawab venture to refer to the bill of cost for entertaining the Moslem University Deputation to Lahore early in 1911. He writes that "the allegation that the charges of this description were met out of the University Fund is absolutely devoid of the truth." Now if this is not an unblushing lie it is clearly a deliberate suppression of the truth which suggests a falsehood as the sequel would show. It appears that the Punjab Provincial Committee generally kept too large a balance of the paid up subscriptions of the University with itself, and we have been assured that one of the reasons for this was that Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash claimed a set-off on account of the expenses of the deputation. On the 31st March, 1912, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur wrote to the Hon. Mr. Shafi, the Secretary of the Provincial Committee, on the subject of the expenditure, and on 10th April Mr. Shafi sent him a statement personally vouching for all items "except such amounts as were disbursed through Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash." On this Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk lost no time but wrote to Nawab Fateh Ali Khan on 16th April as follows:—"At my request the Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Moslem University Fund, Lahore, has sent a bill of the expenditure of the Provincial Committee, Lahore, from the beginning to 31st March, 1912, which I shall lay before the Central Managing Committee for sanction. The details of the total expenditure of Rs. 5,334-6-10 are as follows:—(1) Expenditure in connection with the visit of H. H. the Aga Khan, Rs. 2,558-11-6. In connection with the first item of Rs. 2,558-11-6 the Secretary of the Provincial Committee, Lahore, writes that it has been disbursed through you and the details are as follows:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
To Mirza Jalaluddin Sahib, Secretary of the Pandal Committee, by cheque No. 10,881	400	0	0
To Haji Shamsuddin Sahib, Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam	233	14	6
To Israr Maula Khan Sahib, Clerk, through Maulvi Abdullah Khan, Joint Secretary, Provincial Committee	20	0	0
To Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Sahib Qazilbash, C. I. E., by cheque sent through Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib	1,224	0	6
To Rahim Baksh, florist, price of garlands and flowers (by order of Nawab Sahib)	47	4	0
To hire of chairs from Lahore (by order of Nawab Sahib) paid to Mirza Jalaluddin Sahib, Secretary of the Pandal Committee	237	10	6
To hire of chairs from Amritsar (by order of Nawab Sahib) paid to Shakh Ghulam Sadiq Sahib of Amritsar	386	14	0
To Printing of papers (by order of Nawab Sahib) paid to Maulvi Abdul Haq Sahib, "Refah-i-Am Press"	9	0	0
TOTAL	2,558	11	6

"You would remember, Sir, that when the University Deputation was at Lahore a Committee meeting was held of which H. H.

Aga Khan was the President and you, too, were present. It was unanimously decided at this meeting that the costs of receptions, meetings, and entertainments were not to be paid out of the Moslem University Fund. It was decided that only the expenses of the Officers and agents were to be defrayed out of the Fund. In view of this when the sanction of the Central Managing Committee is sought for Rs. 2,558-11-6 the question will certainly be raised why such expenses were defrayed out of the Fund against the previous settlement. I shall lay before the Committee whatever you will be pleased to write in this connection, and shall await your reply."

When no reply was received to this letter, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk sent a reminder to Nawab Fatah Ali Khan Qazilbash on the 5th May in these terms:—

Dignity

"Before this a letter was addressed to you on the 18th April, '12, of which a copy is attached with this letter as a precaution. In view of what has been written to you in the first letter in connection with the amount of Rs. 2,558-11-6 disbursed through you on the occasion of H. H. the Aga Khan's visit, your voucher for this amount and a letter are needed, so that the statement of expenditure may be presented along with them with a view to obtain the sanction of the Central Managing Committee. Whatever difficulty the Committee will have to face in passing this amount without such a letter has been stated in my previous letter of which a copy is attached." Now we say that even this letter was ignored by Nawab Fatah Ali Khan Qazilbash? Perhaps he thought that—like the "thoughts" which are, according to him, "the common stock-in-trade of a certain type of Indian journalism"—silence was "the only dignified treatment that these letters of Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk deserved." Oh Dignity, Dignity, what jests, nay, what frauds are perpetrated in thy name!

But let us pursue the business a little further. Failing to get any answer from the dignified Nawab Qazilbash,

Cash and Credit.

Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk placed the whole matter before the Central Managing Committee on the 8th August last; and, in order to divide the responsibility of such irregular, unauthorized and, in fact, disallowed expenditure, the Central Committee was forced to ask the Provincial Committee if it wanted the sanction of such a bill. The Hon. Mr. Shah wrote back on the 14th August that the Punjab Executive Committee had passed the bill and recommended that Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk should also obtain sanction of the bill from his Committee and adjust the accounts. On this the Central Managing Committee resolved on the 10th May last that "as the Provincial Committee has passed the disputed amount of Rs. 2,558-11-6, the Central Managing Committee also, in view of the situation, passed the amount and accordingly the amount is debited, according to customary procedure, to the Profit Account and credited to the Capital Account, as this item had already been debited out of the Capital." Thus has Nawab Fatah Ali Khan Qazilbash successfully claimed a set-off out of the Moslem University Fund which was in the keeping of his Provincial Committee, and he has neither sent a voucher nor an explanatory letter, nor indeed any scrap of paper to show how the amount was spent. It was certainly part of the "expenses incidental to the entertainment of those 'rich and important personages' who, along with His Highness the Aga Khan, were my (the Nawab's) distinguished guests," and although it is true that "no bill whatever . . . was ever sent by me (the Nawab) for payment to the Foundation Committee" it is a matter not of exaltation but for some explanation to the University Fund auditors. Can he pretend to believe that the issue of the bill which he never sent but which was twice sent to him can be passed in accordance with the Lahore settlement at which he was present? Some of the items are too vague, but the flowers of Master Rahim Sakah, florist, were not born to blush unseen, but shall show their crimson hue along with the blush on the Qazilbash cheek. To think that many a Moslem widow's wife was subscribed to permit a wealthy Nawab to strew the path of H. H. the Aga Khan with flowers, and decorate him with garlands! What we are curious to know is whether the cheque for Rs. 1,924-0-6 sent per favour of Maulvi Abdul Haq to Nawab Fatah Ali Khan Qazilbash was or was not a trifle handed over to him to lighten his "traditional instincts of hospitality." The Nawab states that he "would be the last person to claim any personal credit for the expenses incurred." In view of the foregoing circumstances we think he should be the last person to claim such credit. He has already claimed the cash and we shall say to him, with the Poet:

"Ah! take the cash and let the credit go."

When the South African Government was busy piloting through the Union Parliament the Immigration Restriction Bill, which seems to have been designed with fresh rigour against Indian immigrants and is bound to have a serious

effect on the settlement of the South African question, Bester could only send bold and elliptic messages to India regarding the progress of the measure. Even after the announcement that the Bill had been passed by the Parliament, we could have but meagre knowledge of its scope and character. It was, however, generally felt that the measure was retrograde and would, if carried, render the position of Indians worse than it was before. Lord Amthill, whose interest in the question has always remained deep, steadfast and sincere, said the other day that the Bill even as amended would not satisfy the Indians. He hoped that the Bill would not be submitted for the Royal assent until Parliament had had an opportunity of discussing it. He trusted that the Press would not allow the public to remain in ignorance of what was going on in South Africa and its bearings on India and Imperial relations. It appears, however, that Lord Amthill's hopes were all in vain. According to a Durban message to the *Bombay Chronicle*, the Bill has received the Royal assent and will come into operation from 1st August. The Bill has been practically hustled through, and no opportunity has been given for its discussion in India and the British Parliament. The Indian community in South Africa is naturally dismayed at these tactics. It now appears that the Bill goes back on the measure of 1911, and practically runs counter to Mr. Gokhale's compromise of the following year. It retains the provincial and the racial bars and disturbs the existing rights of Indians in Natal and Cape Colony. Further, it denies the right of domicile to ex-indentured Indians who will henceforth be treated as prohibited immigrants and subjected to all the rigour of the Bill. The marriage question and the rights of wives have been left in the greatest doubt and confusion. We are glad to hear that in view of the deep and widespread discontent caused by the Bill a universal movement for passive resistance embracing men, women and children and all existing bodies and organisations of the Indian community is imminent. We trust every effort will be made in this country to strengthen the hands of our oppressed brethren in Africa. The time has surely come when the Government of India should take some decisive steps in the matter. The Imperial Government has been trifling with this grave question and has so far failed to protect the legitimate interests of Indians within the Empire. The Indian Government, however, cannot afford to trifle with a matter which, we have repeatedly said, is fraught with greater danger to the best interests of the Empire than any other single issue of Imperial concern. There can be no better measure of the seriousness of the existing position than the warning addressed by the *Times*. Writing before the Bill received the Royal assent, this most powerful organ of British Imperialism said:—"This (the Bill) is intended to deal primarily with the Indian difficulty, and has been substituted for the Bill which was approved last year by the Imperial authorities but blocked by the opposition of certain members from the Free State. The new Bill hardly seems an improvement upon the old, for it gives the Ministry the right of excluding any immigrant of whatever race or class on 'economic' grounds and prevents any appeal except on the fact of domicile to the Courts. This is clearly a serious departure from the principle of an education or dictation test, which was generally understood to have been accepted by all parties in South Africa as a reasonable compromise. Moreover it confers an autocratic power upon the Government which might clearly be used very tyrannically both against Indian and European immigrants. The measure was attacked by Mr. Chaplin in the House of Assembly in a speech of great fairness and breadth, which contained the very reasonable offer on the part of the Opposition to help in passing an adequate Immigration Restriction Bill provided it contained some just and lasting settlement of the Indian question. General Botha's response does not seem to tally very well with his statements in this country or his promises to the Imperial Government. On the contrary, it shows, we fear, diplomatic relapse towards the views of his more reactionary Dutch supporters. His policy seems, indeed, to contemplate a process of bargaining with the backveld, in which he must always lose, rather than the maintenance of the broad national standpoint which has hitherto brought confidence to his statesmanship. A reaction on the Immigration question after Mr. Gokhale's visit, the success of which did credit both to South Africans and to Mr. Gokhale himself, would be little short of a calamity." But the *Times* hopes that "with the help of the opposition better results may yet prevail" has come to naught.

With the signing of the Peace Treaty between Turkey and the Allies the Balkan crisis has entered on a new and more perplexing phase. The Balkan Alliance has done its work and has ceased to exist. With the Turk driven off the stage the real features of the problem of settlement have emerged in all their tangled complexity. The Bulgars, the Greeks and the

who had fallen on one another's neck and shed tears of pity for their oppressed brethren under the Turkish yoke are now ready to fly at one another's throat. Europe stands aghast at the spectacle and does not know what to think of its pet heroes of yesterday whom it so lustily cheered as they joined hands to undertake "the war of liberation." As Mr. James Douglas says, the Bulgars and Greeks and Servians and Montenegrins were popular heroes so long as they were making mince-meat of the Turks. Now that there are no more Turks to be minced, they are preparing to mince each other, and Europe is horribly bewildered when she attempts to sort the heroes from the villains, the patriots from the brigands, the martyrs from the murderers. She has an uneasy suspicion that there is a cloven puff somewhere and she yawns over the cock-pit. The division of the spoil may lead to another war, if Europe does not intervene. The Tsar's rebuke as the overlord of the Slavdom has caused much irritation in Belgrade, where it is generally felt that Bulgaria would get the lion's share if Serbia submitted unreservedly to the dictation of the Tsar. Later information, however, seems to suggest that Serbia after a Cabinet crisis, has yielded to outside pressure and decided to refer the dispute to St. Petersburg for arbitration. The decision will manifestly relax the existing tension, but it would be premature to conclude that all danger is now past. We publish elsewhere the statement of the Serbian Premier on the subject of Serbo-Bulgarian Alliance and its bearing on Serbian claims and rights. The mutual differences seem to be formidable and nothing but a diplomatic pressure of overwhelming character would be able to compose them peacefully. The latest news about the armed conflict between the Bulgars and the Serbs in Macedonia renders such chances remote.

According to the Paris correspondent of the *Times* the International Commission for the settlement of the financial liabilities of Turkey and the Balkan Allies was opened on the 4th June at the Foreign Office by M. Pichon, the French Minister

The Financial Commission.

for Foreign Affairs. There were in all some fifty delegates and the countries represented, in addition to the late belligerents, were Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia and Italy. The French Minister, in welcoming the delegates to Paris, said that war always entailed burdens which constituted a charge upon the future. Every territorial acquisition involved obligations, the execution of which must be assured. To lighten these burdens as far as possible, and to ensure the execution of these obligations for the countries that had happily just concluded peace was the double task of the Financial Commission, and he was convinced that the personal eminence, diplomatic experiences and competence of the delegates would give authority to their labours which would be prosecuted in a spirit of justice, foresight and high impartiality. M. Pichon was thanked in the name of the Commission and was asked to accept the office of Honorary President. The acting President of the Commission will be M. de Margerie, the Assistant Political Director of the French Foreign Office who was one of the Secretaries at the Algerian Conference. The subjects with which the Commission has to deal are: (1) the portion of the Ottoman Debt which has to be taken over by the Balkan Allies is consideration of their territorial acquisition; (ii) the question of the form in which this charge is to be borne by the Allies, whether they are to pay a capitalised sum or annual interest, and how in either case these demands are to be guaranteed in the interest of the Turkish Bond-holders; (iii) the question of concessions, railway and other, which have been granted by the Ottoman Government in the territories now conquered by the Allies; (iv) the question of the pecuniary demands of the Allies—in other words, their claims for a war indemnity. It is worthy of note that various estimates of the amount of the Ottoman Debt which can justly be attributed to the conquered territories are current. The Allies would naturally desire to accept as few liabilities as possible, while the Turkish Bond-holders, who are most largely represented in France and whose interests are bound to influence the attitude of the French Government, take a different view of the Allies' obligations. However, it is generally assumed that the amount which it is ultimately decided will be taken over by the Allies will lie somewhere between £1,300,000 and £2,000,000. French capitalists are likewise largely interested in the railway and other concessions which were granted by the Turkey before the war. As regards the question of the war indemnity, French opinion is generally against the proposal, while Russia is likely to support the demands of the Allies. The attitude of the French Government will, however, be largely influenced by Russia, and if the Triple Alliance does not show a determined opposition, we are afraid poor Turkey will be saddled with a war indemnity. The attitude of Great Britain towards the question will be interesting to know and to watch.

The Comrade.

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's Message.

WE PUBLISH elsewhere the text of the speech which Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson delivered the other day at a farewell dinner given to him by his Indian friends and admirers at Simla. In every sense of the word it is a remarkable utterance, and it would be idle to search for the like of it in recent memory. In the peculiar conditions of India high officials of State have developed a characteristic vein in post-paradial oratory. Ordinarily they come across few opportunities in the course of their official careers to disburden themselves without reserve; and even then they rarely impress their audience with the possession of a faculty that seizes the heart of the occasion, imparts to it a personal, human note and frees it from the blight of the conventional and the commonplace. Lord Curzon, fresh from the garrulous atmosphere of the House of Commons and blessed with a temperament that loves the limelight and the scenic effect, caused a genuine surfeit in this country with his strenuous and interminable discourses. The only impression that he left behind him is that of a hyper-sensitive and egotistic man furiously engaged in self-vindication. His method was provocative, if not repellent; the text from which he preached was uninspiring and dull. It is no wonder then that his elaborate sermons read like an official despatch writ large or an amplified Government resolution. Lord Morley's stage was different, still he earnestly strove to grapple with the problems of the governance of India. His fine and weighty addresses on Indian affairs were read with deep interest in this country. They form together a literature of abiding value and afford a source of genuine instruction and pleasure on account of their breadth of view, calm, philosophic outlook, freedom from mannerism, downright sincerity and imaginative sympathy with all that is noble and pure and good in the movements of the Indian mind. They are, however, a class apart and stand outside the vicissitude of feeling and opinion in their classic dignity. The common type of official is often apt to forget that the problems of Indian government are not mere riddles of logic. They are in the main the results of the conditions that invariably come to birth when one race happens to gain absolute ascendancy over another, differing from it in history, tradition, language, customs and religion. A situation like this makes much stronger appeal to gifts of the heart and the imagination than to intellectual vigour and subtlety. The Englishman who honestly strives to understand the point of view of the Indian and brings unprejudiced and sympathetic mind to the task makes the best ruler even though he be an intellectual mediocrity. This is the supreme secret of success in the governance of India. Personality here as elsewhere offers the real key. It alone can weave the spells that enslave the hearts of men and induce them to bear the yoke willingly and even with gratitude. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson possessed this secret in abundant measure, and has reaped his reward. His successes should be a lesson to those who insist on regarding the task of governing India, like a problem of chess, as a cold-blooded intellectual and logical issue.

Sir Guy told his Indian experience in simple, straightforward words which went direct to the hearts of his audience. To the Indian gentlemen who had mustered strong at Simla to do him honour it must have been a novel treat. They did not find in Sir Guy the Finance Minister taking the occasion by the horns to justify his financial policy and the measures that he had adopted to make the administration of his Department a success. There was no unfolding of a tale of overflowing exchequer and abounding revenues, though the temptation could be naturally great. What the audience felt was the kindly, sympathetic and human presence of the man who had taken a responsible part in the direction of Indian affairs, who had tried to do his duty without fear or favour, who had thought kindly of India and her people and wished to make an honest confession of his faith before he quitted the scene of his labours. There was no theatricality here, no studied posturing, no benevolent feeding of the political stomach with the official spoon. In simple faith and understanding of the heart a man, rich in the experience of years and the esteem and affection of his fellow-men, gave free vent to his thoughts, his hopes, his fears, his whole aspiration. Mutual trust and good-will were the keynotes of his utterance. Things were said which only the privileged can have the strength to utter. In such an atmosphere all doubts, which usually furnish the stock themes of official warnings, seemed to have melted into thin air. One single touch of human sympathy reduced the whole problem of Indian governance to insignificant measure. Kindness, honesty, desire to learn and understand, tolerance of outlook

may yet point the way and solve the issue which has baffled the efforts of more pretentious statesmanship.

It would be instructive to learn what has successfully carried Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in his journey through India. Addressing his audience at Simla Sir Guy said that "it is not the individual to whom you are doing honour, but rather the honest effort which has influenced me throughout my Indian career, not only to identify myself with the aspirations of Indians, but to recognise the honest desire which influences them to combine progress and the desire to share in the government of their own country with most complete and absolute devotion to our common Sovereign and the loyalty to the British Empire." If he had been able, he said, to impress upon them how earnestly he had hoped to succeed in making himself acquainted with the wishes and aspirations of Indians and in meeting them with sympathy and in a spirit of helpfulness, it had been owing rather to the readiness of Indians to give him credit for good intentions than to any successful effort on his part to render them service. "Would that all Englishmen," said Sir Guy, "official and non-official, could be made to realise how truly Indians believe in the efficacy of good intentions; how appreciative they are of sympathy, how responsive they are to affection, and how foreign it is to their nature to take undue advantage of that brotherly familiarity which, between equals, cannot be open to misinterpretation." A few days before he had said that his efforts to make friends with Indians were wonderfully successful and the secret of this success he attributed to the fact that "you have taken me as I am and made the best of me. I on my side have not attempted to be anything but what God has made me." The difficulty with so many Englishmen in their life journey through India is that "they put official peas in their boots." Sir Guy has walked through his journey without getting footsore because he had "boiled his official peas and thereby rendered them soft and pleasant under foot." The prestige-mongers in the ranks of Indian officialdom will perhaps sneer at the idea and regard "the softening of the peas" as a sign of weakness. Their Press organs in the country have already said so in no uncertain words, and their comments on the utterances of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson remind one of how hazardous it is for a large-hearted and liberal-minded Englishman, who has borne a prominent part in the government of the country, to give free expression to his sympathy with India and her people even on the eve of his retirement.

Let us, however, in the first place see what Sir Guy had to say on the Indian situation. Naturally enough, his estimate of the position is based on the observations of the statesmen who conferred on India a really great measure of reform, and he interprets the future in terms of his own experience. He sees in the reformed Legislative Councils the real germ for the future development of the country on constitutional lines. He pays a generous tribute to the work of his Indian colleagues in the Imperial Legislative Council, and bears witness to their disinterested and earnest desire to serve their country. He recognises the justice and reasonableness of Indian aspirations and is confident of steady progress ahead. The hand of the clock can not be set back. He quotes Lord Morley to show that there is a living movement in the minds of the people, "a movement for objects which we ourselves have taught them to think desirable objects." The movement cannot be arrested, but all the same it is not desirable to force the pace. And then he goes on to say that, while the pledges once made by responsible Englishmen cannot be broken, he exhorts Indians not to condemn English honesty and veracity. He says that the English are slow by nature and that political caution has become a part of their very blood. This caution should not be mistaken for want of faith. And in the existing circumstances this caution is absolutely necessary in the best interests of the country. "We shall not in the long run disappoint you, only you must give us time. Help us to the uttermost in preserving and conserving the forces of stability and order; help us to keep firm the bases of law and authority on which in the end all constitutional government must rest; help us to make clear to the young and ardent spirits which are the hope of a great people that we are moving towards a high and worthy goal—a goal which will include all that is greatest and best in India's past; help us to do this, and keep your own confidence unshaken and immovable, and you will be the truest benefactors of your country."

It is hard to think that these noble words contain anything likely to be offensive even to the most blatant upholder of British might. And yet unalloyed chagrin and dissatisfaction seem to have been caused to an important section of the Anglo-Indian Press by the utterances of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. The *Pioneer* in an article of extreme fatuity makes a sly and unworthy hint to the effect that Sir Guy's frank sympathy with Indian aspirations may cause incitement to political agitation with dire results. It breathes a sigh of relief that a retiring Member of Council can speak out his mind freely but once in his life-time. It has no patience with

Sir Guy for having taught Indians to believe that there lie good things ahead for them. The *Englishman*, which has distinguished itself by cultivating a peculiarly rabid kind of Imperialism for some time past, goes one better and thinks it was high time somebody told Indians frankly that all their political aspirations were wicked moonshine. According to the *Pioneer* and journals of that ilk, the very belief of Indians about their future political destiny is dangerous. All those Englishmen who encourage or sympathise with this belief betray their racial and Imperial trust. Utterances like Sir Guy's sometimes furnish a test of the opinion of Anglo-India. They serve to expose the attitude which sets down all expression of "good intentions" as a heresy. Sir Guy's counsel to Indians for patience and faith in the purpose of their rulers will, we are sure, be productive of good result. But it becomes sometimes difficult to keep that faith unimpaired, when one sees responsible journals, conducted by Englishmen and extensively patronised by English officials, treating with high disdain all efforts to create goodwill and mutual understanding between the rulers and the ruled. The future of India would be dark indeed if these journals were to set the standard of official conduct and become the sole judges of Government policy. It is, however, a great relief to remember that there are Englishmen who are inspired with a high sense of Imperial duty and who refuse to believe that an expression of sympathy with the Indian people is a crime. Among such Englishmen Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson will always hold a conspicuous position. As long as he was in India he ever strove to make easy the task of Indian Government and created among the leaders of the people a genuine respect for individual Englishmen like himself by his courtesy, urbanity of manner, frank sympathy and helpful advice. His example should be the best inspiration to those who are eager to learn the art of successful government. His career should be a living lesson to Englishmen engaged in the task of governing India. He did his duty and bore his part manfully and the gratitude of the people is his best reward. We wish there were many others among his countrymen who could sow as he did and reap the same harvest.

As we go to press we have received from Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson the following telegram from Bombay in response to our message of farewell:—"Warmest thanks for kind message and still kinder thought. Goodbye and God bless you." But his farewell message to the whole of India will live as long as his memory is green in the minds of the people:

Thou hast made me known to friends whom I knew not, thou hast given me seats in homes not my own, thou hast brought the distant near and made a brother of the stranger. When one knows thee then alien there is none, then no door is shut. Bid me farewell, my brother. I bow to you all and take my departure. Here, I give back the keys of my door and give up all claim to my home, I only ask for the last kind words from you. We were neighbours for long, but I received more than I could give.

Dr. Ansari and the Foreign Missions.

WE PUBLISHED in our last issue Dr. Ansari's very full vindication of the accuracy of his statements made in the course of a letter addressed to us on the 14th January and published in our issue of 8th February. Mr. Kazim Husain, the Secretary of the British (?) Red Crescent Society, waited till the 20th March, and then all of a sudden discovered that in vindicating the Turkish hospital arrangements, which had been atrociously libelled by a section of the European Press, and in testifying to the excellence of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society's management of medical and other relief and of its accounts, Dr. Ansari had vilified the British (?) Red Crescent Mission, and called into question the honesty of the Society. No sooner was this belated discovery made—and it was made fully six weeks later than the publication of Dr. Ansari's letter in the *Comrade*—than Mr. Kazim Husain rushed to catch time by the tail. He sent not only to us but to many other papers—notably to the Anglo-Indian dailies of India which have shown such touching sympathy for the Turks and the Indian Mussalmans during the war—a letter for publication written in a high falutin' style—no doubt borrowed for the occasion—calling Dr. Ansari all sorts of names, and denouncing half the world of libelling the Society's doctors and diverting the funds intended—he evidently presumes to share with God the knowledge of peoples' unexpressed intentions—for the British Red Crescent Society.

Ordinarily we would have waited for a rejoinder from Dr. Ansari. But in this case it was obvious that for some reason or other Mr. Kazim Husain had chosen to misunderstand Dr. Ansari and had done his best to put on his own head the cap evidently made for others. We therefore pointed out (1) that Dr. Ansari had not set out to bury the Foreign Missions, but to praise Turkish hospitals.

of the public is with the Municipality. In fact, the butchers have been so long in the transfer of their trade, business and Municipal Markets would mean considerable loss to the poor and the old, and particularly to poor people of whom in Delhi an extraordinarily large number observe the custom, and the loss of the butchers would mean the greatest inconvenience to poor and the persistence of a community that uses meat as staple food. If there was any doubt on the subject it would have been easily removed if Mr. Jacob had been present at the meeting held in the compound of the Woollen Mills in Hindu Rao-Ka-Bara on 20th June, when an extraordinarily large number of people met to discuss the meat question. The resolutions passed in the meeting, after congratulating His Excellency Lord Hardinge on his recovery and conveying loyal greetings to him on His Lordship's Birthday, explained the nature of the inconvenience to the public from the refusal of the Municipality to license shops outside the market, and protested against the compulsory transfer of the butchers' trade to a particular locality against the principle of the freedom of trade. They also expressed the fear that the transfer of all such business to Municipal Markets would increase the cost of the meat to the meat-eating public, and the rule about carrying meat without exposing it to public view would be liable to be used for corrupt purposes and venal by the low-paid subordinates of the Municipal and the Police Departments. They gave the instance of Calcutta where it was not considered insanitary to permit butchers' shops to exist in spite of the existence of Municipal Markets, and they could have multiplied such instances if it was not perfectly clear that Mr. Jacob does not want normal conditions of good sanitation in Delhi, but a new heaven and a new earth. In conclusion, they begged the Hon. Mr. Hailey, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, to cancel or amend the rules with a view to remove their objectionable features. Again, on the 25th June, a very crowded meeting took place in Sooti Wala where the intensity of public feeling against the Municipality had in fact to be repressed. On the 27th instant a still more crowded meeting took place near Turkman Darwaza, and the Municipality and its novel ways were severely handled in a speech of great force and piquancy by a speaker who is not even a Mussalman. Surely Mr. Jacob can hope for little solace in the support and sympathy of the public even if he cares two straws for such support and sympathy. In fact, it is no longer a butchers' strike, for practically the whole of the meat-eating population of Delhi has struck and is boycotting meat altogether, and particularly the meat supplied in the Municipal Market near Dufferin Bridge.

We must confess we are amused by Mr. Jacob's reference to the Municipal Committee and its duties. Evidently he has yet to learn something of the methods of Municipal Commissioners in India, in spite of his 52 years' experience. We fear this case of individuals regards Municipal Commissionership to be, like virtue, a thing existing for its own sake. What matters it to them if the rules proposed by European officials and passed by them readily enough press heavily on the people? They know that even the system of election as it prevails in India to-day makes no demand on their capacity to understand or represent the people's point of view. All that they know is that the election provides them with a chair in the Durbar of the Town or the Zillah, and accords to them, after a lengthy process of sun-drying outside his bungalow, the privilege of "paying respects" to the Deputy Commissioner and of sending in the peculiar visiting cards of the gorgonzola East, otherwise known as *Dalis*. We confess we have a sneaking desire to be present at an interview between an infuriated Deputy Commissioner and a dozen Municipal Commissioners and to watch unobserved how this gentry acquits itself in explaining the wrath of the butchers and the public when they had solemnly assured the officials only a few months ago that the new rules, and specially the novel methods of business adopted by the Municipality, would be wholly acceptable to a submissive and loyal City, which, like the Municipal Commissioners, can see only with the eyes of the officials and hear with their ears. The discovery of a hundred thousand other pairs of eyes and ears must have been very disconcerting to those *Dust Bustin* City Fathers, and we doubt not that they are mourning in their unhonoured retirement the loss of their tyrannical and deceiving *patria potestas*. The next Municipal elections promise considerable instruction and entertainment, and we look forward to the advent of rotten eggs and orange peels. East is East and West is West, and yet the twain shall meet.

The present situation is summarised in the following telegrams exchanged between ourselves and the Hon. Mr. Hailey. As the matter goes inevitably to an authority that understands more than we do of the people and their representatives better than Mr. Hailey, and that we do not to our knowledge belong to that class of officials who think that to persist in an official's blunder is better

administration than to rectify it in the light of non-official truth, we shall not enter into any details at present. On the 25th June we sent at the request of the meeting the following telegram to the Hon. Mr. Hailey who is at present at Simla:—

"Resolved at a meeting of 10,000 Mussalimans that a deputation consisting of 30 persons should wait on the Chief Commissioner to explain public grievances regarding sale and carriage of meat. Would you kindly inform where and when you will be able to receive the deputation?"

On the 27th instant the following reply was received from the Hon. Mr. Hailey:—

"Your telegram regarding deputation. All questions regarding sale and carriage of meat are primarily dealt with Municipality, and I should therefore be obliged if deputation would in first instance wait on President Committee. Should deputation desire to wait on me subsequently, I am prepared to receive six representatives on my return from Simla next week."

This was received after the meeting of the 27th and the action taken in pursuance of its mandate. The following reply was addressed by us late that night to Mr. Hailey:—

"Please accept grateful thanks for very courteous telegram. Before its receipt, people in very full meeting to-day, on being led to believe proposed deputation to yourself misunderstood, enthusiastically resolved to wait on Municipal President, deputed me to request him even at this late hour receive people's representation when convenient. Just saw President; at his suggestion shall represent matters to him to-morrow morning nine with two others. Assure you people and butchers, while desiring to safeguard freedom of locating shops, are most anxious to respect all reasonable sanitary requirements. Trust President will be conciliatory."

Well, Mr. Abdul Aziz and Mr. Mohamed Ali saw Mr. Jacob, and he was anything but conciliatory. Regretfully, but under painful necessity, they addressed the following telegram to Mr. Hailey to-day:—

"As telegraphed we waited on Municipal President. Respectfully submitted people's and butchers' point of view; used utmost effort to persuade him. Regret he adopted non-possessive attitude; would not alter any portion of his decision. Extremely disappointed with manner of our reception and result of our interview. President appears to think decision rests with him and not Municipal Committee. We are persuading people to bear everything patiently and await your return. Please inform us convenient date for reception of deputation so that representatives may be duly elected."

We shall not dilate on the above telegram at present, but it is necessary to add that nothing astonished and amused us so much during the interview with Mr. Jacob as his complete and entire unconsciousness that such a thing as a Municipal Committee existed in the Capital of the British India Empire. We reserve for another occasion Mr. Jacob's views on J. S. Mill, individualism, freedom of trade, communal responsibility for crimes and his astonishing notions of compromise. But we cannot refrain from explaining here that not even for the fraction of a minute did it occur to him that the deputation was waiting not on Mr. Jacob but on the presiding officer of a self-governing body. We have said much that could not be pleasant reading for the Municipal Commissioners, but we need not say that our views are as regards the Delhi Municipal Commissioners as a whole, and not against each and every individual. But if the selfishness of the Municipal Commissioners is a prominent feature in their composition, their self-effacement is still more prominent. For all practical purposes they do not exist, and the youthful official who sneers at John Stuart Mill's academical and unpractical notions is practically the only official who has a Municipal existence. Verily *l'état c'est moi*.



Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson.

THE Hon. the Maharaj-Kumar of Tikari entertained Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson at a farewell banquet in Grand Hotel, on the 4th instant, which proved a brilliant and highly successful function. There was a large and representative gathering including officials and non-officials.

SIR G. F. WILSON'S REPLY.

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson received a splendid ovation when he rose to reply to his toast. He referred to the fact that before he left

home he did not know a single Indian except the two first Indian members of the Secretary of State's Council and that also a day before he left the Victoria station, and subsequently he made acquaintance of the Indian who gave him a bad coin. He greatly appreciated the honour done to him particularly by his host and gentlemen present.

HISTORY OF TIKARI RAJ.

Continuing he recalled the history of Tikari raj and said :

"The Tikari raj roses into prominence in the 18th century when Raja Sunder Singh with his own forces helped Ali Vardi Khan, the then subadar of Behar, to get the Murshidabad *gaidi* and become the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He was the first and foremost of all the leading zamindars of the province of Azimabad. Raja Sunder Singh was succeeded by his son Raja Dinkar Singh who openly espoused the cause of British call in this country, and for this reason he and his two cousins were treacherously put to death by Mir Jafar, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

"He was succeeded by his son Miterjit Singh who got the title of Maharaja Bahadur from the English Government. He helped the British Government in the Kolhan mutiny and introduced agricultural reform and cut many irrigation canals. He was succeeded by his son Set Narsin Singh, who got his *sansad* of Maharaja Bahadur from Lord Hardinge, the grandfather of our present Viceroy.

"After his death his widow administered the estate and vigorously helped the Government in checking the spread of the mutiny of 1857 in the Gaya district. Her son, Maharaja Ram Kishun Singh, died in her life-time and was succeeded by his widow Maharani Raj Rup Kunwar, who was a noted philanthropist. She was succeeded by her daughter Maharaj-Kumari Ralaswari Kisore, on whom the Government conferred the title of Maharani. At her death the estate devolved on Maharaj-Kumar Gopal Saran Narsin Singh, my host of to-night.

"The Maharaj-Kumar has been twice to Europe, is a great sportsman and there is hardly a work of public utility in Bihar in which he does not take a leading part. He has given a donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Gaya water works and is paying Rs. 200 a month to the Bihar National College at Bankipore. He is vice-president of the Bihar Landholders' Association and was one of the representatives of the landholders of the Patna and Bhagalpore divisions in the late Bengal Council. He now represents the landholders of the Patna divisions in the Bihar Council and the landholders of the province of Bihar and Orissa in the Imperial Council. I consider it an especial compliment to be the guest of such a man.

SOCIABILITY OF THE INDIANS

"Five years in a life extending to 62 is but a short period and it seems incredible that it is but five short years since I first landed in India. I cannot remember ever having spoken to an Indian other than the two members of the India Office Council, and I certainly never had any Indian friends before I reached Calcutta, but in an incredibly short space of time I found myself not only quite at home with Indians of every race but found myself treated by them and found myself treating them as though I had lived in the country all my life and had associated with them on terms of friendship since my childhood. Except perhaps in Italy I do not think it has been possible for this to have happened anywhere but in India, and I shall always look back as one of my greatest pleasures in life upon the readiness and cordiality with which Indian of all degrees accepted my effort to make friends with them. The fact is you have taken me as I am and made the best of me. I on my side have not attempted to be anything but what God has made me.

"Like myself however small

"Like myself or not at all"

"Calcutta was the first town which extended to me friendship and hospitality a town with which I severed my connection with genuine and profound regret.

"Within six months of my landing in Calcutta I could claim as intimate and kind friends at Bhupendra Nath Basu, My subsequent colleague Mr. S. P. Sinha, the Maharajas of Burdwan and Durbhanga, the Raja of Dighepatta, Mr. Haque, Mr. S. Sinha, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, Kamaur Birendra Chander Sinha, the Nawab of Dacca, Maharaja Ranjit Sinha of Nashipur, the Sans Kumar Gyanada Prasanna of Gobardanga, the Raja of Mahamudabad and many others whom it would take too long for me to name. These are friends who, as far as I am concerned, at any rate, will remain friends of mine as long as I live and to them others have been added since I left Calcutta.

A PLEASURABLE SURPRISE.

"India is a country of pleasurable surprises, but I do not think I ever experienced so pleasurable a surprise as I did on the first

occasion when I went to call at Gyanada Prasanna's house. He had asked me to come and look at his trophies. I walked through a succession of very fine rooms which were ornamented by a number of trophies until I found myself suddenly in a very large hall, quite as big as the ball room at Peterhof. The whole floor was covered with magnificent Bengal tiger skins, as were the couches round the room. In the very centre of the floor seated on a cushion was a most beautiful little Indian girl of, I suppose, about four years of age. She was my host's only daughter. There was no one else in the room; and I never shall forget her beauty and the grace and modesty with which she came towards me and handed me a little nosegay of flowers.

THE BIRTH-RIGHT OF INDIAN WOMEN.

"It was the most beautiful sight, I think, that I had ever seen and it was a sight which enabled me to understand how it is that grace and modesty are the birth-right of Indian women.

A GRACEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

"Not only in Bengal but in Madras, in Bombay, in the United Provinces, on the North-West Frontier and in the Punjab, everywhere I can claim to have attached friends. Great kindness and consideration also have I received from the ruling chiefs of India. To Kashmir, Mysore, Travancore, Benares, Sirmoor, Kapurthala and others, my thanks are due. My association with the members of the Legislative Council is primarily official, but it did not need a recent expression of their desire to keep me in this country to tell me that my relations with them are not official only, but also those of mutual respect and, I think I may add, affection.

PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICAL VIEWS.

"When I look back on the old fighting days when I was introducing additional taxation and when I re-read as I have done the accounts of the hard knocks which we gave one another and remember my fights with Malaviya, with Gokhale, with Banerjee, with Thackersey, Dadabhai and nearly all the other non-official members, and look round this table to-night, I am enabled to realise how easy it is to establish a close friendship between our two races, a friendship which no difference of opinion need ever impair.

'THE OFFICIAL PEAS'

"A friend asked me the other day how it was that I had managed to walk through my journey in India without getting footsore and I answered him thus. 'It appears to me that the difficulty which so many Englishmen experience in their life journey through India is attributable to the fact that they put official peas into their boots. And in that connection I told him the story of two holy men who went on a pilgrimage and to mortify the flesh put peas in their shoes. One arrived at his destination in a sorry plight, the other one sound footed and cheerful. The first one said to the second: 'Brother thou hast great favour of God that notwithstanding the peas in thy shoes thou canst walk so well.' 'Yes,' replied the other, 'but I did boil them, or I had not been able to walk so far upon them.' I boiled my official peas and thereby rendered them soft and pleasant under foot.

"Is it not natural that I should love India? May I not justly say to her in words which some of you will recognise: 'Thou hast made me known to friends whom I knew not, thou hast given me seats in homes not my own, thou hast brought the distant near and made a brother of the stranger. When one knows thee then alien there is none, then no door is shut. Bid me farewell, my brothers. I bow to you all and take my departure. Here I give back the keys of my door and I give up all claims to my home. I only ask for the last kind words from you. We were neighbours for long, but I received more than I could give.'

Entertained by the Indian Community.

Simla, Jan 12.

The Indian community of Simla, headed by Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, entertained Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson at a farewell dinner this evening at the Grand Hotel, which proved a unique occasion. There was a large and brilliant gathering of Europeans and Indians, among whom were Sir Edward Maclagan, Mr. Syed Ali Imam, Sir William Vincent, Sir James du Boulay, Justice Shahid, Mr. J. H. Kerr, Malik Umar Hayat Khan, Mr. Walter Wood, Sirdar Daljit Singh, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Messrs. Mahesh Haque, S. Sinha, Krishna Sahai, Nand Kishore Lal, Maharaj Kumar of Tikair, Lala Jai Lal, Lala Mohan Lal, Lala Harish Chandra, Messrs. Pir Bakhat, Mr. Mahomed Khan, Doctor Koder Nath and Sohan Lal, Mr. M. Ganguli, Mr. Sahib Singh, Mr. Asisuddin and Messrs. O. W. E. Cotton, F. W. Johnson, R. M. Cook, C. O. Garbett, Colonel Handley, L. M. S., and Black, L. A. Captain Neelam, L. M. S., Mr. J. Scott, Kumar Mahomed Singh, Messrs. G. F. Andrews, Mr. R. W. Baker, and Messrs. Kishan Singh.

(ii) that if the comparison of the Turkish hospitals with the Foreign Missions was in any way unjust to the British Red Crescent Mission, Mr. Kazim Husain's best course was to publish the results of the Mission's treatment of its patients; (iii) that Dr. Ansari had expressed his own opinion clearly enough against, rather than in favour of, the general impression in Turkey that the maiming and dismembering of many wounded soldiers by the doctors of some of the Foreign Missions was deliberate and unnecessary; and (iv) that there was no possible warrant for the inference that Dr. Ansari's advice to send contributions to the Ottoman Red Crescent and "prevent its going to quarters where one cannot find anything about the money," was an insinuation against the methods of the British Red Crescent Society which was not even once mentioned in his letter—unless, of course, the inclusion of the British Red Crescent Mission among the Foreign Missions, the results of which were compared with those of Turkish Hospitals six paragraphs away from this observation, could be counted as a mention of the Society and its financial arrangements.

We had expressed our readiness to publish our opinion on the results of the British Red Crescent Mission's medical work if Mr. Kazim Husain chose to publish them, and we said that "an ounce of statistics would have been better than a ton of angry verbosity." But it seems that the Grand Remonstrance was the supreme effort of Mr. Kazim Husain, and after it the current of his literary genius froze at the fountain. Even our challenge did not whip him into further activity, and after more than two months the ounce of statistics is still lying undisputed in the Society's medical stores, whereas it is Dr. Ansari that has had to hurl at the Foreign Missions a ton of the same drug.

Dr. Ansari quotes the preamble of a report sent to the Turkish authorities by the Director of one of the British hospitals in which it is acknowledged that apparently at least the doctors had performed only too many amputations, and the Director found it necessary to justify, or at least explain, this method of surgery. In the British Red Cross hospitals ten amputations were performed, and if the doctors had not saved the limbs of the patients they had not succeeded in saving their lives either, for out of ten cases eight resulted in death. The British Red Crescent Hospital is stated by its Registrar to have performed 20 amputations and though Dr. Ansari praises "the surgical skill of Dr. Calthrop for having performed amputations with excellent results", we cannot say whether equal success attended the efforts of other doctors of this Mission or not, and the affidavit sworn before the British Consul at Constantinople by Dr. Calthrop and Dr. Baylies, in which they declare that "of all the cases no operation came died in such hospital," refers to the hospital at Soutari only, and to its work before the 28th January when only 85 cases had been admitted into that hospital, and out of the same only four deaths had occurred. It does not say anything about the San Stefano Hospital subsequently opened by the Mission where 305 cases had been admitted up to the time that Dr. Ansari wrote and 58 deaths had resulted. But even assuming that all amputations were successfully performed, the large number of amputations performed prove to the hilt what Dr. Ansari had stated in his letter published in the *Comrade* of the 8th February, namely, that a conservative treatment had not been adopted. Whether conservative surgery is good or bad and whether a liberal pruning of wounded soldiers, who need all their limbs for their profession, is better or worse, are questions which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the layman except in so far that he would always prefer to save not only his life but also his limbs. Where doctors disagree it is difficult for the layman to take sides. But it would seem that traditions of conservative surgery in war time have been handed down by eminent British and Continental surgeons, and it is not difficult to understand the motive of that surgery, for, as Dr. Ansari says, "it is easier to remove a limb than to save it." Dr. Ansari refers not only to the precepts, but also to the example of Professor Uspege of the Belgian Red Cross Mission at Constantinople, and he quotes the emphatic assertions of an eminent Turkish surgeon, connected with one of the hospitals in Constantinople, who had seen some of the worst effects of aggressive surgery during the present war, and wrote about one of the Foreign Missions far more strongly than anything which we published on the 8th February.

Dr. Ansari then goes on to quote a few more statements of some eminent Turkish doctors who wrote with particular reference to one of the British hospitals. What he wrote would have been wholly unbelievable if Turkish doctors had not had the clearest and most powerful inducement for praising the work of the Foreign Missions—that had come to their rescue. The layman may forgive a doctor if he uses for other cases the scissors and instruments used for a case of Tetanus without sterilising them, or even putting them in antiseptic solutions. But he cannot condone their total neglect of such cases of Tetanus which were in the greatest need of treatment till they died one by one in agony

and exhaustion. And every instinct of humanity revolts at the savagery of that dresser who was asked by a patient for a drink of water and gave him a kick on the chest instead. Can Turkey or her doctors offer much thanks for this relief? A larger number of sins than the Decalogue contains are debited to the account of Orientals, but for such brutality as the dresser of this British Hospital showed commend us to the inhabitants of civilized Europe. Verily there is little to distinguish surgery from savagery in such cases.

We must remind the reader that Dr. Ansari did not write about the rumours current in Turkey with reference to any particular hospital, but about the Foreign Missions in general, and although Mr. Kazim Husain may fly into fury that the British Red Crescent Mission was also included in the general rumour mentioned by Dr. Ansari, Dr. Ansari himself is not bound to turn the searchlight on the British Red Crescent Mission only. But it is sufficient for him to know that a Turkish surgeon of European fame, who is also a Professor in the Faculty of Medicine, says that persistent rumours prevailed there "that the English Red Crescent Mission as well as some of the Foreign Missions in Constantinople and other places, in carrying out the work entrusted to them, had not been treating the wounded and the sick as they should have done, and that some operations were performed which were quite unnecessary."

The foregoing statements are an ample vindication of Dr. Ansari. But the figures which he has obtained from official sources are a still better vindication, for men lie, but figures don't! It appears that far the most important part of medical relief in Turkey was supplied, as one naturally expected, by the Ottoman Military Hospitals, and the Ottoman Red Crescent came next in order. Between these two, 36,000 patients were treated, but the number of deaths did not exceed a thousand by much. This shows a very moderate percentage of mortality of 2.9. The Dutch Red Crescent had a still smaller percentage of mortality, viz., 2.1. The Egyptian Red Crescent average was not so good and was as high as 5.9. But when we come to the British Red Cross Hospital we find the average of the hospital located in the School of Fine Arts to be as high as 18.3, while in the Beikos Hospital the average of deaths was more than one in every two cases. We have yet to hear what the British Red Cross Mission can say for a mortality of 53 out of 98, or 54.08 per cent. To say the least, the figures seem monstrous, and we can well say with the Turkish Doctor that it is a pity that in this twentieth century any nation dare send operators to attend to the Turkish wounded perhaps inferior to the bone-setters of Turkey. It appears that the British Red Cross hospitals had a larger number of patients to treat than are given in Dr. Ansari's official figures, for in a note he says that the Director in his report gives 1,125 admissions in all. But it is significant that the Director's report makes no mention of the average of mortality, and after knowing the figures of the Beikos Hospital we can well understand that the average of mortality would not have adorned the tale of the British Red Cross Director, although it would have pointed a moral which Turkey and the Mussalmans of the world must soon learn if they mean to exist.

The British Red Crescent figures, at least so far as Dr. Ansari was able to gather, are not very impressive. Evidently the Society concentrated its efforts on relief other than medical, and even the San Stefano Hospital admitted only 305 patients. The Scutari Hospital had apparently been closed by the end of January, because the affidavit of its senior and junior medical officers shows that before the 28th February eighty-five cases were admitted, and the Registrar of the hospital states that the total number of admissions till the hospital was closed was 87 to 98. Of this latter hospital even the Registrar has not been able to give the figures of mortality, but from the affidavit of the Medical Officers it appears that four deaths had occurred out of 85 admissions. This gives a percentage of 4.7 and is fairly satisfactory. But the results of the San Stefano Hospital do not appear to be satisfactory, for out of 305 admissions 56 deaths took place, giving an average of 18 per cent. This is much worse than the Turkish, the Dutch, and the Egyptian Hospital averages of mortality, and compares unfavourably even with the results of the British Red Cross Hospital located in the School of Fine Arts.

Compare this with the splendid result of the All-India Medical Mission, which admitted 2,106 cases (and not 290 as a Lahore vernacular paper has announced to the world) and had a total mortality of 14 only. This gives a percentage of .66 only; and we may well be proud of the work done by Indian doctors, even if the British Red Crescent Society, which came into being and maintained itself almost entirely through the contributions of Indian Mussalmans, does not consider Indian Mussalmans doctors worth employing even without payment, and even if they volunteered to travel to Turkey and back at their own expense. We

The results of the Hindia (Omerli) Sanitary Commission's report on patients and hospitals in the Hindia Section of the All-India Medical Mission, which has been able to publish the results of the Hindia Sanitary Commission's report, is believed that their mortality was very low, and the average 2 per cent. This is a good enough result, and the Hindia Sanitary Commission is achieving it.

Last, the doctors of the Foreign Missions may seek refuge in circumstances and may plead that the figures of mortality are not a true test of success. Doctor Ansari has shown that all the hospitals were generally in similar conditions as regards exposure, mal-nutrition, and the septic condition of the wounds, and that the transport arrangements, whether good or bad, were similar for all hospitals. In fact some British hospitals, as he states, were rather lucky in being situated very near the railway or the sea, whilst hospitals near the Tehsilidja lines had often to treat those patients who were too ill to be carried long distances. Moreover, those hospitals, like the Hindia Section of the All-India Medical Mission, which were housed in tents, were bound to suffer considerably more on account of exposure than the British hospitals, which were mostly located in buildings. This makes us all the more gratified at the record of the Hindia Hospital, and the thanks of the Indian Mussalmans as well as the thanks of the Turks are due to Doctor Naim, Doctor Fysee, Doctor Mirza Raza Khan, Doctor Mahmudullah and their fellow workers for the magnificent results of their work.

These figures leave no room for doubt that Doctor Ansari was fully justified in writing as he did, and that he would have been equally justified if he had written much more strongly. After such a vindication, can we have any hesitation in endorsing the verdict of one of the military Sanitary Inspectors of all the hospitals of the Tehsilidja Section who writes as follows:—

"I read your article in the 'Comrade' of 8th February, 1913. All your statements are real facts. The method of treatment of the wounded patients in some of the hospitals established by the Foreign Missions, as you have said, was not good. I endorse all that you have said."

An interesting fact in connection with this controversy is that the British Red Crescent Society has evidently been threatening Dr. Ansari with taking legal proceedings against him, as we mentioned at the time of the publication of Mr. Kasim Husain's letter. We then expressed some astonishment at the desire of the President of the British (?) Red Crescent Society who, we presumed, would like to see the humiliating capitulations done away with in Turkey, to seek redress in a British and a Christian Court of Law in Constantinople. But if the spectacle of a Mussalman, who has sacrificed so much for Islam, being prosecuted in a Christian Court, by another Mussalman on whom Mussalmans have bestowed much esteem, in order to whitewash the surgical methods of some Christian doctors, presumably with the help of funds contributed in the main by Mussalmans, would be a strange one, what shall we say of the person chosen to carry out the deed? Sir Edwin Pears has been writing to Dr. Ansari demanding interviews and threatening him with dire results. Our readers would perhaps like to know something more about this gentleman. What they will learn may or may not cause them further astonishment, for the way in which the British Red Crescent Society has been dealing with Indian Mussalmans should not leave room for much further astonishment. The Balkan War of 1912-13 is a legacy of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, and Sir Edwin Pears was the gentleman who wrote in the London Daily News the first series of articles inviting Europe to avenge the so-called Bulgarian Atrocities. For this service no less a person than the late Mr. Gladstone publicly thanked him in the British Parliament on behalf of the British race and in fact on behalf of all Christendom. He is the author of a history of the Turks in two volumes, and his latest book is "Turkey and its People", from which we hope to give sometime later some extracts to show what a friend Turkey and Islam have in Sir Edwin Pears. For the present we suffice in quoting two passages from two recent articles from the pen of this redoubtable champion of Islam and Turkey.

The historian will regard with satisfaction that, after the struggle of the winter of 1812-13 between Turkey and her former subject provinces, the condition of Macedonia ceased to be a constant source of trouble to every Foreign Office in Europe.

Twelve years ago I concluded a historical study with a sentence with which I venture to close this article. "Wherever the deadweight of Turkish misrule has been removed, the young Christian States have been fairly started on the path of civilisation, and justify the reasonable expectation of the statesmen, historians and scholars of the West who have sympathised with and aided them in their aspirations for freedom." I still hold the same opinion.

The Butchers' Strike at Delhi

Mr. Jacob, the President of the Municipal Committee of Delhi, writes in his Press Notice that: "No application for meat in the market reached the Committee by the 10th of June, and on that date all the butchers of Delhi refused to do any business at all, and they now apparently expect the Committee to go back on its declared policy of Sanitary Reform. The issue is extremely simple and amounts merely to this: Is the Municipal Committee to insist that meat is to be sold in suitable shops duly licensed for the purpose, or is it to allow any person who chooses to sell meat in the most unsanitary surroundings, without attempting in any way to control the conditions under which the sale is to take place? The object of the strike is to force the Committee to withdraw its bye-laws regulating the sale of mutton, so that the sale can go on indiscriminately in dirty and unwholesome conditions without interference. The Committee would sadly fail in its duty were it to allow itself to be coerced into conceding the butchers' irrational demands. The Committee believes that it has the support and the sympathy of the public in its insistence on this very moderate measure of reform."

Now, as a matter of fact, it is wrong to state that "all the butchers of Delhi refused to do any business at all." If Mr. Jacob has been able to keep count of all the notices and notifications issued by the different officers of his Municipality during the last two months he would remember that on the 1st of May the Health Officer issued a notice to all the butchers to take out permits within the next fifteen days, threatening that otherwise action would be taken against them according to law. All that the butchers of Delhi have done is to refuse to take a permit, which means, in the peculiar phraseology of Mr. Jacob's Municipality, to take up a stall in its Market. Does Mr. Jacob want them to do business and be proceeded with according to law for breaking one of the many "Commandments" of his Municipality? This is in fact no strike, but a combination of the butchers to oppose compulsory occupancy of the Municipal Market. The butchers do not expect the Committee "to go back on its declared policy of Sanitary Reform", but they certainly do expect that a system of compulsory occupancy opposed to the freedom of trade would be abolished. Let the Municipal Committee insist as much as it likes that meat is to be sold "in suitable shops duly licensed for the purpose", and let it by all means prevent "any person who chooses to sell meat in the most unsanitary surroundings" from doing so. But that is not the simple issue of Mr. Jacob's Press Notice, nor does it amount merely to this. The issue rather is: Should the butchers be allowed to do business in their shops provided they are made perfectly sanitary, or are they to be compelled to sell meat nowhere except in the Municipal Market, whether their shops are clean or not? Surely Mr. Jacob cannot be so ingenuous as to be unconscious of the real issue, and we must confess we were not prepared for such sophistry from an officer of his position and attainments.

We are informed, and we write subject to correction, that "after 52 years' experience" (!) Mr. Jacob has drawn the highly flattering conclusion that "Indians think inaccurately; talk very loosely; their ideas very seldom resolve into action; when they do act, it is spitefully and rashly, and very seldom from a sense of duty." Now "the experience of 52 years" must be inherited as well as self-acquired, for Mr. S. M. Jacob is not yet even in his teens so far as India is concerned, and present indications do not lead us to hope that Mr. Jacob will acquire anything from India except autocratic tendencies and a pension. But let that pass. What we are concerned with here is his considered verdict on a fifth of the whole human race. Surely Mr. Jacob is of Europe European; yet if his verdict is just and fair, he presents in his own person the woful phenomenon of being more Indian than the dullest of our countrymen, for his Press Notice is an apt illustration of inaccurate thinking and loose talk. As for ideas resolving into action, his office screens him, for what Deputy Commissioner is there whose ideas do not resolve themselves into action? The trouble is that only too often, alas, that action is innocent of the substratum of ideas! Whether Mr. Jacob's present or future action is undertaken from a sense of duty or is merely rash and spiteful remains to be seen.

The object of the strike is not to attempt to force the Committee to permit the sale of mutton indiscriminately "in dirty and unwholesome conditions without interference", but even if it were so, Mr. Jacob could have easily counted on the important sympathy of the public in his insistence on a "very moderate measure of reform." But it is the unbusiness-like nature of his demand that has drawn upon the Municipality the wrath of the butchers, and Mr. Jacob is very much mistaken if he thinks that the sympathy

SIR HARNAM SINGH'S SPEECH.

After the loyal toast was drunk Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, in proposing the health of Sir Guy, said :

"Gentlemen, it is my pleasant duty this evening to propose the health of our distinguished guest, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. The Indian community of Simla and I, on their behalf, as one of the oldest residents here, feel it a great privilege to do honour to one who has spent the greater portion of his Indian career in this famous hill station. I do not propose to detain you with a long speech. That part of the programme must be reserved for our distinguished friend to whom the art of speaking, confirmed by the experience of five Indian Budget debates, comes more naturally. I think that there are three aspects from which we appreciate Sir Guy's Indian career; firstly, as Finance Member of the Executive Council; secondly, as Vice-President of the Imperial Legislative Council, and, thirdly, as personal friend. It is needless for me to expatiate on his work as Finance Member: that can be gathered from the Budgets of recent years which will ever be associated with his name. Details of his work may be open to criticism (what is there in these days of newspapers and presses which is not freely criticised?), but it is safe to say that the salient features of his policy, viz., his successful effort to secure autonomy in financial matters, his close scrutiny over public expenditure, his dislike of extravagance, and, withal, his generous support of all schemes, such as education and sanitation, which tend to the permanent progress of the country, have met with general approval. As Vice-President of the Council he will long be remembered for his unflinching tact and urbanity, his progressive ideals and his profound belief in the future of the enlarged Councils. What more unique and striking tribute can there be to the success with which he held this high office than the unanimous appeal made to the Government by his non-official colleagues for an extension of the term of his office? Last, but not least, I come to Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's personal qualities of head and heart. Gentlemen, these are known to you all. Sir Guy has endeared himself to all who have come into contact with him by his courtesy, his broad-minded sympathy, his freedom from prejudice and, may I add, his unflinching good humour. Following a liberal policy and working for the best interests of this country, he has forged another link in the chain which unites India and England. It is men of this type whom we desire to welcome to our country, men who appreciate India's loyalty to the Crown, and at the same time recognise Great Britain's duties towards us—sympathise with our ideals, even though the path to attainment be long and weary; who believe in a progressive policy and who recognise that all difference of creed and colour vanish before a common humanity.

"Gentlemen, it would be superfluous on my part to ask Sir Guy to remember India. For I know his heart will be always with us and that he will continue to serve India as sincerely in the future as he has done in the past. On behalf of you all, gentlemen, I wish him farewell and God-speed. We part with him with great regret, but we all trust that he may still enjoy many years of health and prosperity in his country." (Loud cheers.)

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in responding said: "If anything could enhance the value of the honour done me to-night, it is the fact that the banquet to which you have invited me is presided over by my valued friend, Sir Harnam Singh. Raja Sir Harnam Singh belongs to the ruling house of Kapurthala. He was a prominent member of the Imperial Legislative Council during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty and was one of the foremost representatives of this country at the Coronation of the late King Edward in London. He is one of the oldest residents of Simla, and is held equally in the highest esteem by his own community and ours. He prefers to live in retirement, but those distinguished services which have been signalled by the bestowal of the K. C. I. E., by his Sovereign, we well know would be readily renewed in time of stress or trouble for the welfare of England and of India."

SIR GUY'S SPEECH

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—In my young days it was my privilege to know John Lawrence at the Punjab, or as I was when I knew him, Lord Lawrence, ex-Viceroy of India. I remember his saying to me in his somewhat rough way: 'The wise man in India never makes a speech; the man who makes a speech in India when he need not do so, is a fool.' Although at that time India was to me but a geographical expression, and I never, in my wildest moments, then anticipated ever visiting India, much less holding office in India, Lord Lawrence's words impressed themselves upon my mind, and when I accepted my present appointment, I determined that nothing should induce me to make a speech during my tenure of office, except such speeches as I should be compelled to make in Council. I live up to the present never spoken in this country outside the Council, and it was my hope and my intention to leave India without doing so. I find myself, however, in a position to-night which renders it incumbent upon me to break the rule which I had laid down for myself.

"I look round this banquet hall and I see Indians of nearly every caste, creed, rank and profession who have come from nearly every part of this great continent to do honour to one who has for the best part of five years endeavoured to do his duty by them; and it would ill become me if I did not endeavour to convey to you all, even though it be very inadequately, my feelings of profound, heartfelt gratitude for your kindness. I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that so many of you should have been put to the great personal inconvenience entailed by travelling long journeys in hot weather to enable you to come to Simla to do me honour.

"The kindness which you are showing me this evening is literally overwhelming, and I do not hesitate to admit that it has affected me to a degree which renders the task of speaking to-night even more difficult than it must of necessity be. Indeed I hardly think I could have faced the duty of endeavouring to give adequate expression to my gratitude were it not for the fact that I fully appreciate that it is not the individual to whom you are doing honour, but rather the honest effort which has influenced me throughout my Indian career, not only to identify myself with the aspirations of Indians, but to recognise the honest desire which influences them, to combine progress and the desire to share in the Government of their own country, with most complete and absolute devotion to our common Sovereign and loyalty to the British Empire. If I have been able, in the short time I have been with you, to impress upon you how earnestly I have hoped to succeed in making myself acquainted with the wishes and the aspirations of Indians; if I have succeeded in impressing upon you that my desire was to meet you with sympathy and understanding and in the spirit of helpfulness, it has been owing rather to the readiness of Indians to give me credit for good intentions than to any successful effort on my part to render them service. Would that all Englishmen, official and unofficial, could be made to realise how truly Indians believe in the efficacy of good intentions; how ready they are to give credit for those intentions; how appreciative they are of sympathy; how responsive they are to affection, and how foreign it is to their nature to take undue advantage of that brotherly familiarity which, between equals, cannot be open to misinterpretation. How true are the words of General Gordon who died at Khartoum: 'To govern men there is but one way, and it is eternal truth. Get into their skins.' Try to realise their feelings. That is the true secret of government."

"It is not my wont to indulge in lengthy quotations, but I shall to-night quote extensively, indeed textually, from the utterances of that Viceroy and that Statesman who are connected with the grant to India of the first semblance of an assembly empowered to voice public opinion in this country and capable of so doing. I shall adopt the words of others who could speak with authority, not because it is admittedly better to read a good sermon than to preach a bad one, but because it is especially incumbent on me as a Member of the Government of India to be exceptionally circumspect lest any utterance of mine admit of being interpreted—or twisted—into even the semblance of a pronouncement of a fresh policy, or the enunciation of new administrative or executive principles.

1908.

"When I landed in India at the close of the year 1908, I was appalled by the task which lay before me. It was as complex as it was new to me. I found myself in a country with which I was totally unacquainted. My fellow countrymen here were as much strangers to me as were the Indians, and I was brought in contact with a race as different from my own as it is possible for two races to be who spring from one common—the Aryan—origin. The only thing which met me with which I had ever before been familiar was a large deficit in the budget. I asked myself what hope could I entertain of succeeding in such a task—a task not indeed self-imposed, but undertaken with diffidence and only after having twice declined the proffered honour. I asked myself the question 'Can I hope to succeed?' and I answered myself: 'It is my duty to try,' and I was supported by the conviction that if I did my very best I should at least be given credit for an earnest endeavour to acquit myself without discredit and possibly with advantage to those whom I had come to serve.

"I have had a very hard life at home and abroad and my five years in India have been full of heavy work, of worry and of anxiety, but I have received and am taking away a priceless reward—the esteem and affection of all those Indians with whom I have been brought in contact. From the first you all gave me a fair chance, from the first you gave me encouragement and support. No one can, I think, charge me with having either flattered you or feared you. I said to myself, 'I shall have to hold my own, to utter unpalatable truths, to add to Indian burdens and thereby to incur the odium of both my countrymen and my Indian fellow-subjects.' But I also said to myself, 'This Indian race seems just, it appears to be sympathetic, and I believe that it will realise that I mean well by them and by India. I shall work for India according to the motto of my family—*fortiter et fideliter*.'

"I have indeed reaped a full measure of the harvest of reward. I have learnt to love India whole-heartedly, and equally I love Indians, and I should be guilty of the basest ingratitude were it otherwise. When I look back on the state of the country as it was when I first came to it, and look upon it now when I am about to leave it, and when I realize the changes which have operated, the progress which has been made, and the marked influence which has been impressed upon the country by the reforms which came into being in 1909, I can hardly believe that the India which I leave is the same India which I found.

"I do not propose to-night—it would be quite out of place for me to do so—to deal with the financial position of five years ago as compared with the financial position of to-day. I can only in passing express my thanks to Providence for the good monsoons and consequent bounteous harvests which have enabled me to provide for the expenditure needed for the good government and the development of this country; and I must add that if any success has attended my efforts in dealing with the finances entrusted to my care, it is largely owing to the reasonable, the considerate, and the absolutely fair treatment which I have received at the hands of my Indian colleagues in the Legislative Council. Great indeed are the changes which have taken place in that assembly since I first sat in it. Its evolution has been as startling as its success has been undeniable. The first time that I addressed the Council we numbered, I think, 21 members, of whom only 6 were Indians; and the like number only were present when I made my first speech in answer to the criticism on my first budget. I remember the day well. It was on the 29th of March, 1909, and the day was abnormally hot and close, even for that time of the year in Calcutta. Partly owing to the heat, but largely no doubt owing to the wearisome effect of my first attempt at oratory, one by one every single Member present went to sleep; and it is the simple truth that, after awhile, I actually fell asleep myself in the course of the delivery of my statement. I ask myself what would happen to my successor were he to allow himself, in the forthcoming session, to go to sleep when defending his budget? Some of my friends who sat in the last Council have gone, but the incisive criticism of Mr. Gokhale, the torrential eloquence of the Pandit Malaviya, the emphatic utterance of Mr. Acharya, to say nothing of the journalistic thunder of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee would soon lead to a rude awakening. When I look back upon the character of the old Council and consider the quality of the present Council, I am almost astonished that even the old name remains. In wishing good-bye to the old dispensation, I used these words:

"The reforms which have been decided upon and which will presumably become operative before this time next year will unquestionably vastly increase the labour and the difficulties of the Finance Member. I do not fear the change. Undoubtedly it will lead to increased and more searching criticism, but I believe that the criticism will be the outcome not of an intention to embarrass a public servant who is honestly trying to do his duty, but rather of a desire to help him to effect improvement. I shall welcome criticism because I believe my critics will be actuated by the same impulse, the same desire, which will influence me—a common desire to improve the work of those who govern and the conditions of those who have to bear taxation."

1912.

In my words of welcome to the new dispensation, I said: "I may confidently say that that forecast has been fully realised. It is not the time to sum up the influence which the Council has exercised on the general administration of India, or to estimate the services which it has rendered alike to the rulers and to the ruled. But I can testify unhesitatingly the power that the Council holds for good in directing attention to the finances of the country, in scrutinising expenditure, and in advising the Government on the employment of the public funds. I have always found the criticisms of my non-official colleagues temperate, suggestive and helpful. Unable though we may at times have been to accept their opinions at once, they have not been without their effect on our subsequent arrangements, and even where we wholly disagreed, they have shown us fresh points of view and warned us of probable dangers. It is no exaggeration to say that the free interchange of views which this Council stimulates has already become a powerful factor for good in the financial policy of India."

THE REFORMED COUNCIL.

Up to two years ago my connexion with the Council was primarily financial. During the last two years, however, I have been very much more closely connected with the Council owing to the honour conferred on me by the Viceroy which has empowered me to provide at its deliberations as His Excellency's representative. When presiding over any assembly, it is easier to note its character, to gauge the value of its work, and to appreciate the tone which pervades it, more fully than is possible during

an active participation in the actual debating; and I think I can speak with some assurance, and that I may hold that my judgment of the Council is the outcome of greater experience of it than that of any one else in this country. I have no hesitation in saying that our Legislative Council bears the most favourable comparison with the best analogous assemblies in other countries, and I am well acquainted with many, and that it is immeasurably superior to the remainder. The eloquence of some of its members is of the highest order; the single-minded desire to further the interests of the country is universal; and the determination to respect the rulings of the chair so as to maintain good order in debate and uphold the honour and good name of the Council, is as conspicuous as it is successful. Important classes among you—I quote Lord Morley—representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power; and a marked step towards the satisfaction of that claim was taken when the decision was arrived at to confer on India the reformed Council. By inviting the leaders of Indian public opinion to become fellow workers with us in British administration and by securing the representation of those important interests and communities which go to form the real strength of India, we have borne in mind, as Lord Morley has told us, the hopes held out to the people of India in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. And Lord Morley has added—We have felt that the political atmosphere of a bureaucracy may become close and confined and that the admittance of air is beneficial to its health and strength. I defy any one to show that the admittance of air has been otherwise than beneficial not only to the bureaucracy but also to the leaders of public opinion in this country. It was Lord Morley who expressed the belief that in the fellow service of British and Indian administrators under a supreme Government is the key to the future political happiness of this country. I may echo his words and say with him that it is in that belief that I have worked hard for India, and that I have worked hard to make the Legislative Council a success; and when I see around me to-day the representatives of powerful communities and interests which are represented in that Council, and know that they are here to testify their appreciation of such poor service as I have been able to render, then indeed I feel that not in vain has the bread been cast upon the waters. I can assuredly bear witness that England is reaping, and will continue to reap, her reward for the generous impulse which has conferred on India a reformed Council and has enabled Indians to voice their opinions with freedom and with authority.

THE RESULT OF EDUCATION.

In 1909 and again in 1910, Lord Minto gave utterance to two weighty statements. Indian affairs, he said, and the methods of Indian administration have never attracted more public attention in India and at home than at the present moment. The reasons for their doing so are not far to seek. The growth of education, which British rule has done so much to encourage, is bearing fruit. Important classes of the population are learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves their own intellectual capacities, and to compare their claims, for an equality of citizenship, with those of a ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India. We, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change, questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore, and which we must attempt to answer. And he recognised that politically India is in a transition state; that new and just aspirations are springing up amongst its people, which the ruling power must be prepared not only to meet but to assist. A change is rapidly passing over the land, and we cannot afford to dally. And to my mind, he added, nothing would be more unfortunate for India than that the Government of India should fail to recognise the signs of the times. What was true then is equally true now. You cannot set back the hands of the clock, and we should combine to ensure its keeping true time. You are not justified in forcing the pace; but neither should we be right in jamming back the regulator to the extreme point of slow. Let us not forget—

"With what a leaden and retarding weight
Does expectation load the wings of time."

It is incessantly being impressed upon me that a prolonged residence in the country is an essential condition to any knowledge of India. Doubtless, in India as elsewhere, intimacy with the inhabitants, topographical knowledge, and personal experience of the special conditions which prevail, represent inestimable advantages, but after all human nature is human nature all the world over. It is the wider knowledge of the world rather than the restricted knowledge of India which I have so often found lacking in those who have to guide the destinies of this country. How completely a man who has never set foot on

Indian soil can grasp the fundamental principles which govern some of our difficulties is well exemplified in Lord Morley. Would 30 years' residence in India have enabled him to express with greater accuracy or more precision the movement with which here we are so conversant and which he himself has defined as a living movement in the mind of the peoples, a movement for object which we ourselves have taught them to think desirable object, and he went on to say in that perfect English of which he is master—Much of this movement arises from the fact that there is now a large body of educated Indians who have been fed, at our example and our instigation, upon some of the great teachers and masters of this country—Milton, Burke, Macaulay, Mill and Spencer. Surely it is a mistake in us not to realise that these masters should have mighty force and irresistible influence. Who can be surprised that educated Indians who read those high masters and teachers of ours are intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality, self-government, that breathe the breath of life in those inspiring and illuminating pages? Who of us that had the privilege in the days of our youth, at college or at home, of turning over those golden chapters, and seeing that lustrous firmament dawn over youthful imaginations—who of us can forget, shall I call it the intoxication and rapture, with which we strove to make friends with truth, knowledge, beauty, freedom? Then why should we be surprised that young Indians feel the same movement of mind, when they are made free of our own immortals?

I have quoted the words of English statesmen. But while I declare to you with all the emphasis at my command that these words once uttered, those pledges once made, by responsible Englishmen, are going to be kept, I must also ask you to grant me an old man's privilege while I say something in the way both of counsel and of encouragement to you in your present difficulties and perplexities—difficulties which I appreciate with a deep and sincere sympathy.

My counsel is this. Do not condemn our English honesty and veracity if you find that we move very slowly forward towards the goal of your hopes. Do not mistake that slowness for want of faith. Do not oppose for a moment that we are going to be false to our word. It is not this which is taking place, however much at times it may wear that outward appearance. Believe me, it is simply the working out of our somewhat stolid English nature, which has made political caution a part of our very blood. We can not change our nature any more than you can change ours. You are much quicker emotionally than we are: you are a very emotional people; you are in many respects also intellectually quicker. That is your nature and you may well be proud of it. But try to understand ours: for we also are proud of our nature. We do wish to be absolutely honourable in our conduct towards India. That is a part of our conception of an English gentleman. But you will always find us politically hesitating and almost overcautious. We test one step, time after time, before we take another; and even then we are not satisfied and fear we have been imprudent. That is our nature; it has become a kind of political creed with us, what the poet has called—

Freedom slowly broadening down

From precedent to precedent.

Now my counsel is this:—Do not be surprised at all this caution, but expect it from us and never look for any thing else, or you will be disappointed. And I would add, if you will allow me as your friend and guest to-night, a word of personal explanation, a confession of my own faith about India. It is this: If I were convinced, from my five crowded years of Indian experience, that this English political caution which is a part of our English nature were standing in the way of India's progress, then I should be a pessimist. But I am nothing of the kind. On the contrary, I believe that this very quality of English nature is promoting the progress of India and not retarding it. India, with its age-long traditions and its storehouse of treasures to be preserved for mankind at large, is not like a small South American Republic where a violent revolution is a kind of hot-weather relaxation. Stability and settlement in this country mean everything. India, with all the memories of the pillage and rapine of the 18th century behind her, cannot afford to go back to a time of unsettlement and anarchy. Every year of settlement and peace is a year to the good: it makes for Indian unity, Indian solidarity and Indian prosperity; it affords a means by which India may give out her own great intellectual and spiritual treasures to the world. But let anarchy once come in; let hasty steps in government be taken which may lead to anarchy, let the present steady but slow progress be interrupted, and then no one can tell in this vast continent whether the spark once kindled may not light a vast and awful conflagration. In India we are not dealing with an insignificant country where a false step or a hasty experiment may be easily rectified. We are dealing with one-

fifth of the human race; and, therefore, for the sake of the peace of mankind, for the sake of the prosperity of mankind, for the sake of the higher intellectual welfare of mankind we must move slowly; we must give no countenance to anything which will lead to anarchy or even to revolution, we must set our hopes wholly and solely on steady and ordered progress.

For this reason, therefore, I believe with all my heart that this quality of political circumspection in our rule, corresponding with our somewhat sluggish English temperament, is a blessing to India at the present time and not a curse. I know how galling it must be at times to some of the finest emotional instincts in Indian nature, instincts which I admire; but I would ask you to take long views instead of short views. By all means urge us on when we go too slow; by all means criticise us in the freest friendly spirit in Council and in the Public Press; but never distrust us; never lose confidence; above all never despond. I do not ask you to be optimistic, but I do ask you not to be pessimistic. I do ask you to have a steady confidence in our rule based on a steady belief in our honour. We shall not in the long run disappoint you; only you must give us time. Help us to the uttermost in preserving and conserving the forces of stability and order; help us to keep firm the bases of law and authority on which in the end all constitutional government must rest; help us to make clear to the young and ardent spirits which are the hope of a great people that we are moving towards a high and worthy goal—a goal which will include all that is greatest and best in India's past; help us to do this, and keep your own confidence unshaken and immovable, and you will be the truest benefactors of your country.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

We are face to face in India with a situation which is novel and may be embarrassing, but I cannot account it dangerous. It will become so only if it be handled intemperately. It has come upon both rulers and ruled with startling suddenness. The former must not resent; the latter need not exult. We will have to resort to the more difficult art of persuasion and conciliation, in the place of the easier methods of autocracy; and you will have to remember that if you have qualified for government it is to us that you owe training. Difficulties beset your path and ours, but I have no fear for the future. I have complete confidence in the progress of this great country; in the regeneration of the Indian people. I have confidence, absolute and illimitable, in what is even dearer to my heart; in good will between your race and mine, in mutual respect and affection between English and Indian. It was your King-Emperor himself who brought you a message of sympathy and of hope. The atmosphere has changed from dark and sullen to hopeful. Let East and West combine to allow naught to overcloud that promising sky.

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

"We are going through a period of transition, and such a time carries with it a heavy load of anxiety. The burden will lie heavily on my colleagues of the great Civil Service, to whom modern India owes its very existence. I know full well how heavy that burden can be. But to him who is called upon to share in the government of this country I say: Take to heart as I have done, the words of the Psalmist.

"He that hath clean hands and a pure heart, who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully,

"He shall receive the blessing from the Lord and righteousness from the God of his salvation."

To my fellow Indian subjects I say, Be of good cheer, the Government of India is the heritage of no bureaucracy; it is the heritage of English statesmanship and the heart of England is sound on this great question of Indian progress. Have confidence in the assurance given you by the Viceroy, whom your King-Emperor has appointed to rule this country, in almost the first words he spoke when he rose from a bed of suffering and of sorrow, no nobler words ever fell from human lips:

"I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course. My faith in India, its future, and its people remains unshaken."

Answer him—"We abide in your faith, we know you will not fail us."

Let both races repeat in unison the prayer of our late King-Emperor:

"My divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual good-will that are needed for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time."

As for myself, it but remains for me to give expression to one all-inspiring aspiration—May India, the India that I love, become a land, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore:

"Where the mind is without fear and the land is held high;
Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls,
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way in the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father let this country awake."

M. Pashitch on the Alliance.

M. PASHITCH, the Serbian Premier, delivered in the Skupstina on the 28th May his anxiously awaited statement regarding the war with Turkey and especially the present relations between Serbia and Bulgaria.

After recapitulating the causes which led up to the war and the successes which attended the arms of the Allied States, the Premier drew attention to the Serbian desire for an outlet on the Adriatic and the Austro-Hungarian refusal to grant this request.

M. Pashitch then turned to the relations of Serbia with Bulgaria, which, he said, were friendly, as was fitting between allies. The Premier proceeded:—

"The alliance between Serbia and Bulgaria has been the cornerstone of the Balkan Alliance. The Treaty which unites us and which provides for the obligations and duties of each is a secret document, as are other treaties of alliance in Europe. If, in the course of time, the foundation on which the treaty is formed undergoes modifications, the Treaty of Alliance, if it be desired to maintain it, may require revision and it adapts itself to the new circumstances. Our Treaty of Alliance with Bulgaria has for its object the defence and mutual preservation of the interests of both countries. In this Treaty various eventualities were foreseen, including a conflict with Turkey. The events of the war, owing to the alliance of all the Balkan countries, developed in such a way as to exceed the scope of the Treaty between Serbia and Bulgaria. Some of the points covered by the Treaty were modified during the war, a few even on the eve of the war. The Allies' first care was to ensure the success of the campaign without taking into account sacrifices, foreseen or not, by the Treaty. Owing to the unsuitability of the moment and the need of assuring the success of the war, all discussion of these questions was avoided during the war in the conviction that after the war all those sacrifices would be remembered and that they would be compared with those provided for by the Treaty and that the conquests would be divided according to the actual state of affairs. Our Government did its whole duty to its ally until the end, being fully convinced that the sacrifices to which it consented loyally and conscientiously would be rewarded."

THE MACEDONIAN FRONTIER

"The facts on which the Treaty of Alliance and the military convention were based have become modified to such an extent that all that remains intact is the Macedonian line of demarcation. This line was drawn in accordance with facts and hypotheses laid down in this treaty. It is therefore logical that this line must also undergo modification. The Treaty cannot continue to exist integrally for one point alone, for one obligation, when the other points and obligations have been modified or completely cancelled. According to the Treaty, all conquered territories become the property of the two allies, whereas, according to the situation which has been actually created, they become the joint property of four allies. The Treaty provides for contested and uncontested territories. The territories to the north and west of the Char Mountain are uncontestedly Serbian, and those east of the Struma and Rhodope uncontestedly Bulgarian. The territories between the Char Mountain and Rhodope, the Archipelago and Lake Ochrida are contested. The Serbians asked for nothing beyond the line laid down, and Bulgaria accepts this line if the arbitrators decide in favour of it. The following is the understanding in the case of arbitration:—Both parties undertake to accept as the definite frontier the line which the arbitrators, within the limits mentioned above, regard as answering the best to the rights and interests of both parties. I underline those words 'within the limits mentioned above,' for Bulgaria wishes to interpret this stipulation as being applicable to a region between the Char and the line laid down, while Serbia interprets it as applying to the whole region between the Char, Rhodope, the Archipelago and Lake Ochrida. This difference might have some ground if all the other points of the Treaty remained intact. But the difference between Serbia and Bulgaria does not arise from the interpretation of the Treaty. It consists in this question: does the Treaty remain in force or not, seeing that numerous obligations have not been carried out? The changes foreseen did not materialize, as influence from without modified the extent of the conquered territories. According to the Treaty, Serbia had an incontestable right to the territorial outlet on the Adriatic, which was so dearly paid for by her. At the request of Austria-Hungary the Great

Powers deprived Serbia of her Adriatic outlet, and by so doing annulled the clause of the Treaty giving this outlet to Serbia, a clause which would have permitted Bulgaria to hold the territory from the Struma and Rhodope as far as Adrianople if it had been upheld with regard to Serbia. Even had this been the sole modification, it would have been sufficient to justify Serbia in asking for compensation from Bulgaria for giving up her most important conquest. This modification was unforeseen and becomes a case of *force majeure*. Another modification consists in the prolongation of the war. The war would have been finished if Bulgaria had not demanded Adrianople and the region east of Adrianople. Serbia, conscientiously carrying out her duty to her ally beyond the provisions of the Treaty—which Bulgaria had no right to expect—sent a force to Thrace. Serbia was compelled to supply the void by raising a supplementary force of 100,000 men. The sacrifices of Serbia on behalf of the Allies and for the success of the common cause must be taken into account in the division of the spoil.

REQUESTS FOR REVISION OF THE TREATY.

These are the events which have altered the basis of our treaty of alliance, some due to *force majeure* and others the result of an inexact appreciation of the situation at the moment when the Treaty was concluded. Finally, the war was undertaken by four Balkan States instead of two. As long ago as February we sent written proposals to the Bulgarian Government for the revision of the Treaty after having given verbal expressions to this wish. We approach the Government without exciting public opinion and asked it now to allow the Great Powers to intervene in the question of division. The Bulgarian Government did not share our view and did not open negotiations with us. We have recently made further overtures to the Bulgarian Government and have laid before it the reasons which favour our point of view. We hope that the Bulgarian Government will appreciate in a friendly spirit the conclusions which we set forth in our Note and that it will discuss these questions which are important for the interests of the two peoples and the maintenance of our alliance. To the reasons already given we can add the following:—

(1) By the loss of the territory on the Adriatic and the creation of an autonomous Albania the extent of territory accorded to Serbia is decreased and Serbia suffers the loss of the free and independent outlet on which she was relying in accordance with the Treaty.

(2) Serbia must assure herself of a road to Salonica. Serbia will be in a position to do this when she has a common frontier with Greece. Serbia is at present on friendly terms with Bulgaria, but time may change this without any fault of our own as at the period of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina when we were on terms of friendship and alliance with Bulgaria.

Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria might hem us in and force us to accept the conditions which they choose to dictate. The Adriatic line does not yet exist and Serbia must live.

(3) The division of the territories won from Turkey cannot be carried out on a principle of the nationality of the population of autonomous Macedonia, or on the principle of communal self-government. Bulgaria cannot insist on the division of the territories on an ethnographical principle, for then it would have to abandon Adrianople and part of Thrace and also the shores of the Aegean Sea. It is the same with Greece, but in compensation for the losses which she has sustained on Bulgaria's behalf the latter cannot refuse her the right of retaining part of the Slav territories.

Those who are asking for the revision of the Treaty are those who ask that the Treaty of Alliance shall continue to exist; those who believe that the Treaty should be retained in its present terms are against the Alliance.

During the negotiations for the autonomy of Albania and the evacuation by Serbian troops of the outlet on the Adriatic, Serbia was offered the whole of the Vardar Valley with Salonica if she would voluntarily abandon her claim to the Adriatic outlet. Serbia refused the offer, although it was a very advantageous one for her for she was assured that it would be contrary to the interests of the Allies. Serbia was also given to understand that it was not to her interests to support Bulgaria's claim to Adrianople and the Thracian territories, as Serbia could no longer obtain the territories which had been provided for. Serbia again declined to listen, being convinced that her loyal support, although not compulsory, must be recognized and recompensed. It is the duty of the four Allies to settle among themselves in harmony all questions including questions of territory, so that the relations of the Allies shall be fortified and placed on a still wider foundation.

The solution of the Balkan question has perhaps injured the material interests of certain States, and it remains our duty to heal these wounds with the passage of time, and to create friendly and healthy relations with all States imbued with a desire for the development of the Balkans and desirous of living in tranquillity and friendship with the Balkan States.

The Islamic World.

The First Persian Feminist.

THE present Woman's Movement is a tree grown, now to such dimensions that its branches extend to the remotest lands where men and women live in any kind of ordered community. The roots strike deep down into the very hearts of the mothers of the race, and spread beneath the surface of life, wide as the fruit-bearing branches overhead.

But this tree has been of slow growth, so slow that the roots were already strong and ineradicable before even a green shoot appeared. Unnoticed, unheeded, often trodden under foot, were these first green shoots, but again and yet again the indomitable life in the roots put forth new growth and always with renewed vigour, until now, in every land the women are awakening from their age-long sleep. Even in the most reactionary countries they are beginning to stir and shake off the apathy bred of hopeless centuries behind high walls, barred windows, and veils. It needed but a match to set fire to the smouldering spirit of revolt, the outraged sense of justice, the bitter suffering, physical and mental, of crushed and mutilated womanhood all the world over. A little glimmer of education, an accidental glimpse of some other woman belonging to a more civilised country, a picture, a song, or a modern novel from France or England, any one of these has proved enough to set the woman behind her griled window thinking, thinking till her heart was stirred within her and the fire kindled.

The Indian woman, her body crippled by child-bearing before she has herself emerged from childhood; the Chinese woman hobbling on her poor crushed feet; the veiled and Purdahed women of Turkey, Persia, Egypt, whose minds have been crushed like the Chinese feet; the sweated, underfed European women debarred from the rights of citizenship and many even more vital rights; all are forming into one great united army, not for the avenging of their wrongs or the punishment of man—the score against him they leave to be settled by that inevitable old lady, Mrs. Bedonehyasyoudid, when he enters her domain—but for the freeing, not only of herself, but of Man, he, who, in crippling her, his other half, has crippled himself and his son after him. The Woman has at length realised, though Man still fails to do so, that the human race can no more run with one leg than the bird fly with one wing. Once awakened, she will never sleep that drugged sleep again, for enough of her window has been opened to let in a ray of sunlight and a breath of the fresh, life-giving air.

But this great awakening has, like all other onward and upward struggles of the race, claimed its sad toll of martyrs, and among these no name deserves to stand higher than that of Qurratu'l'Ain, the Persian woman.

Born about the year 1820, Qurratu'l'Ain was married young to a Mahomedan priest, Muhammad, whose father, like her own, also belonged to the priesthood. From her youth up she was therefore enclosed, not only by the high walls of the woman's quarters, but by a mental wall of the strictest orthodoxy and tradition.

But Qurratu'l'Ain was gifted not only with exceptional beauty, but with intellectual gifts and a quality of mind which refused to be bent and moulded by external influences, however strongly they gripped her. There are some plants of such vital essence that they will grow in a dungeon and push up a stone slab in order to reach the light.

The barred windows of Qurratu'l'Ain's chamber, the high walls of her garden, and the still more impassable barriers of religion and ancient custom, all alike gave way before the spiritual force of her personality. Even before her marriage she achieved much from which her countrywomen were debarred, few of them being able to read or write. For her father, who was both fond and proud of her, seeing hers was no ordinary intellect easy to hold down in the narrow groove allotted to women, permitted her great concessions in respect to books and teachers, with the result that Qurratu'l'Ain became a scholar of no mean order and a writer of verse showing great poetic gift.

She was twenty-eight and the mother of two children when that happened which changed the world for Qurratu'l'Ain. At heart she had always rebelled against the condition of her countrywomen, but believing, in accordance with the teaching

of her religion, that this evil condition was decreed by Allah, she had tried to stifle the protesting voice within her and had forced herself to submit in silence.

But one memorable day, while staying with relations at Kerbala, she heard a new message from Allah. Standing with her young sister Fatima behind a curtained window overlooking the courtyard of the big house, Qurratu'l'Ain listened to a voice. Who the speaker was she did not know, but he was addressing a crowd of men who sat in a circle round him listening intently.

His mission was not only to Persia, but to all the world, proclaiming the universal brotherhood of mankind; the unity of all religions as having but one centre, God the Father of all; and the absolute equality of the sexes, sons and daughters alike of God. Religion, said this new teacher, must evolve with the needs of man, the message of Truth could never be final, the esoteric law alone being eternal, the exoteric law changeable and mutable even as man himself.

Qurratu'l'Ain, behind her barred window, felt her soul stirred to the very depths of being; like a winged creature from the chrysalis, her spirit shook off the old bonds and fetters and came forth into the light, conscious of her divine nature and the wings which could bear her to Heaven.

That the preacher was the messenger of Allah she recognised beyond any shadow of doubt, for he made all dark and perplexing things clear to her. He brought the Water of Life for which her soul had so long been athirst; he opened the doors of her dim prison house and she rose up and knew herself free in a world which might be flooded with joy and beauty if only men would receive the Truth. No more war, no more race-hatred—no more sex slavery and oppression. For Woman was to be free. Allah had so created and ordained her, man alone had willed it otherwise for his own lust and to the irreparable injury of the child as well as the mother.

This was the message of Mirza Muhammad Ali, called by his followers the Bab, or Gate, for it was he to whom Qurratu'l'Ain had listened that day at Kerbala.

The Bab commenced his mission about the year 1844. The foundation of this new doctrine had been laid, however, as early as the seventeenth century by Mulla Sadra, the philosophical teacher of the Shakhis, the immediate progenitors of the Bābists. His bitterest foes from the first were the all-powerful priests of Islam, but the disciples of the Bab increased only the more in number and in fervour with the persecution directed against them. "By the martyr's blood the tree must be watered before it can grow strong," said the Bab.

Through one of her uncles who had become a follower of the Bab, Qurratu'l'Ain learnt more of the new religion. With his assistance she obtained some of the written teaching and corresponded with the Master. On one occasion she even managed to hold a conversation with him. The Bab discerned in her from the first a rare spirit, and a powerful acquisition to him in his work, and the eloquence and personal charm which not even her barred windows and veil could effectually hide, made him eagerly welcome this new disciple. He told her that hers was the voice which was to rouse her sister women, preaching to them the gospel of freedom and light, that she must henceforth devote herself to this work, for it was Allah Himself who had called her.

All that was noble and heroic in the soul of Qurratu'l'Ain responded to his appeal. The Bab had handed her the torch, and she joyfully accepted the task of bearing it to her downtrodden sisters.

Inspired by this ideal, she began at once teaching what she had learnt to the women around her. They listened at first in doubtful wonder, which slowly turned to wondering joy, as Qurratu'l'Ain's glowing words, coined red-hot from her heart, found the way straight to their own.

Everywhere she spoke she gained converts. It did not occur to her at first that a teaching of such lofty beauty could excite the wrath and bitterness of any true servant of Allah. But she had a rude awakening on her return to her husband's house at Quaswin. Hitherto Muhammad had found Qurratu'l'Ain a model wife. In spite of her rather unnecessary intellectual gifts, she had shown herself always obedient and submissive to his will.

But now here was a lamentable change. No longer was the approval of her lord and master the touchstone of all her actions, the final appeal in all questions of right or wrong. Allah, and His Spirit as revealed within her own heart, was the supreme

court to which she now appealed, just as though a mere female woman could have direct access to the Highest even as a God-created male. The soul of the priestly husband was filled with righteous indignation.

It soon became evident that the evil had not even stopped here. The wife whose ideas and affection had hitherto been decorously bounded by the four walls of her own home, now spoke and acted as though all men and women held a place in her heart as brothers and sisters. Nor did she even restrict this sentiment to her own countrymen, but preached a universal brotherhood extending all over the world. Muhammad had, of course, heard of the mad Bab and his highly undesirable teaching, but little had he thought to come up against him in his own well-ordered home. The poor man was staggered, bewildered, and beside himself with wrath.

Qurratu'l'Ain, when reprimanded, instead of, as formerly, showing humility and repentance for her errors, became only the more earnest in holding to them, and even endeavoured to persuade her husband to accept the monstrously evolutionary doctrines of the Bab, and to co-operate with her in spreading them far and wide.

Muhammad silenced her sternly, and gave her the choice between restoration to his favour on resuming her right mind as an orthodox Mahomedan wife, and the disgrace of divorce, which would involve separation from her beloved children.

Qurratu'l'Ain replied that she needs must choose the latter, though it should tear her heart in two; Allah had called her through His Prophet, and she dare not disregard His voice. Then the heart of Muhammad became as stone towards this woman he had once loved sincerely in his limited way, but who now dared openly to defy and disobey him. He divorced her, and, from his point of view, being as he was a consistent Mahomedan priest, he could not do otherwise. Qurratu'l'Ain went back to her father, Hajj Mulla Shah, whose more easy-going outlook on life did not oblige his living up to his religious principles in the severely logical manner of his son-in-law. Salih appears to have left, in truth, a sneaking admiration and sympathy for the offender and her unorthodox ways. This sentiment, however, he kept to himself, for his daughter was, while in his house, practically under detention, all Babis being regarded with suspicion, and their leader now in the prison from which death alone was to release him.

Qurratu'l'Ain, though her sphere of activity was thus per force limited, never ceased preaching and teaching the new Doctrine to all those with whom she came in touch. This she continued to do till an event occurred which caused the smouldering hatred of the Mahomedan priests to flame into active persecution of the followers of the Bab. Mulla Taqi, the father-in-law of Qurratu'l'Ain, was assassinated by a crazy fanatic who, unfortunately, had joined himself to the Babis. Though he at once confessed and declared he alone was responsible for the crime, four other Babis were arrested as accomplices, and, after being tortured, were executed.

This was the signal for a fierce persecution, led by the priests. Wherever the hated Babis were to be found they were handed over to be first tortured and then either killed or imprisoned under conditions of renewed suffering.

The Bab, who knew his own days were now numbered, sent word to his followers to be of good cheer, for soon another and a greater prophet than himself would come forward as their leader, one for whom he had but paved the way. That other was to be Baha U'llah, already a distinguished follower and teacher of the Babi doctrines.

Meanwhile it was rumoured that Qurratu'l'Ain had secretly instigated her father-in-law's murder, and though no one seriously believed it, her father's house became no longer safe for her, and her presence there a danger to her people. So in accordance with orders received from Baha U'llah, she silently left her home one night while all the household slept, with the aid of a rope scaled the city wall and joined a faithful follower who had chariot and horses in waiting for her. They travelled to Badasht, where Baha U'llah was holding a great assembly of the Babis encamped outside the city.

It was while here that Qurratu'l'Ain made her first definite public appearance, and once and for ever cast aside the symbolic veil, a step requiring, even for one of her undaunted spirit, exceptional courage, the courage which is ready to face not only martyrdom of the body but that of mind and spirit. She realised that even those who loved her best might misjudge and misinterpret this violation of ancient custom, but also that "Courage being the mother of all the virtues," Love itself is unworthy the name unless mothered by this strong-hearted goddess. The Bab had come to break down prison bars, cast away veils, and let in the light; his faithful followers must not shirk the fight.

In the camp of the Babis a great meeting was being held. At the door of her tent Qurratu'l'Ain listened, absorbed in thought. Her uncle Ali, he who had so helped her in the past, arose and spoke:—

"Let us arise," he cried, "out of our graves of superstition and egotism. Let us go forth into the world proclaiming far and wide the love of God, the brotherhood of mankind, the equality and freedom of woman, for the day of Resurrection is at hand and the trumpet shall sound."

Suddenly Qurratu'l'Ain stepped into their midst, and, throwing aside her veil, she addressed the astonished assembly, turning her fair face full on them as she cried:—

"Yes, my brothers, the trumpet shall sound; it is sounding to-day, it is my voice. The day of Resurrection is here, a new era commences, the Quran is completed. Even as I fling away from henceforth my veil, so I conjure you fling away the old bonds and chains that have bound you. Arise and open the prison doors of the women of your land, living in slavery of body and soul. I proclaim to them this day their Resurrection."

But men who would have heartily assented to all she said of woman's equality and man's brotherhood, could not consent to this first revolutionary step, the casting aside of the woman's veil. The wife of a Mahomedan priest, showing her naked face unabashed and unashamed at a public meeting, outraged these worthy Persians as greatly as the English Suffragist outrages her British brothers when she lifts up her voice at a public meeting in "question time." Strangely illogical is the working of the human mind! Even these enlightened and progressive Babis, who had arrived at the point of accepting and teaching the absolute equality of the two halves of the human race, experienced a shock of revulsion at the first sight of their theory converted into practical action.

A murmur of disapprobation and outraged feeling ran through the camp, striking a chill to the heart of the woman so confidently appealing to her "brothers." But the faithful uncle Ali stood by her loyally, and presently Baha U'llah appeared from his tent where he had been lying sick, and ordered that the Quran be read describing the Day of Resurrection. He then proclaimed authoritatively that the voice of Qurratu'l'Ain was, indeed, the trumpet which should sound, and bade all heed her words, arise and cast away their feeble fears, their hindering superstitions.

The result was that though those of finer metal rallied round Qurratu'l'Ain, many of the weaker brethren left the camp. The Bab, hearing in his prison of the event and of the scandals which now attacked the fair name of Qurratu'l'Ain, sent word that from henceforth she should be named Tahira, "the Pure," so that no man calling himself a Babi should dare reproach her.

From this time began Qurratu'l'Ain's active public life. Throughout the length and breadth of the land she went teaching and preaching as though she bore a charmed life. In spite of the persecution still going on more or less everywhere in Persia, the only attempt at this time made to silence her ended in failure for her enemies. She was taken before the Shah and accused of dangerous and unorthodox propaganda. But called on to curse, the royal personage, like the prophet of old, turned round and blest, remarking that he liked the look of the culprit and telling the prosecutors to "let her alone."

Much discomforted they withdrew and Qurratu'l'Ain continued her mission, going from village to village, attended by a small band of devoted followers and enjoying absolute liberty.

On one occasion she even entered the mosque at Kerman after prayer had concluded and addressed the worshippers. She possessed an extraordinary power of drawing to her men and women of all classes; scholars, mystics and peasants alike were stirred and convinced by her words. Yet her beauty and wisdom drew them not so much to herself personally as to the Creator and Author of all beauty and wisdom.

"She is sent of Allah." This was the verdict wherever Qurratu'l'Ain was heard. They seemed to recognise her influence as purely spiritual. Her fame grew, and many of the Persian grandees received her as a welcome guest in their houses. For two years this went on, and then the priests who had been watching and biding their time, found their opportunity.

Attempt was made on the life of the Shah. In spite of evidence to the contrary, the guilty man was accused of being a follower of the Bab, and this was the signal for a violent renewal of persecution and slaughter of the Babis. The imprisoned Bab himself was taken out, hung on a wall, and shot, while thousands of his disciples met with a far less merciful fate, being put to every imaginable torture before death released them.

Qurratu'l'Ain was at first merely deprived of liberty and detained in the house of a Governor, where she soon made her influence felt among his women folk. But this mild form of detention

did not satisfy the implacable priests, and before long they procured her removal to prison.

Qurratu'l'Ain faced whatever befell her with a perfect serenity, looking forward to death as the Gate of Life. From this time till the hour of her death, some two years later, little is known of her except vague rumours. One thing only is certain, that even in the darkest dungeon her dauntless spirit burned bright and steadfast. Hardened ruffians sent to her cell to torture and insult her came out, it is reported, protesting they could not do this thing, they dare not lay hands on such an one. Others left her, the tears streaming from eyes unknown to weep, declaring she was a saint and spoke such words as made all things changed for them from that day forth.

At last the people clamoured so loudly for their beloved lady's release that it was decided to do away with her by stealth. The authorities gave out that he was to be let out of prison and sent back to her father's custody.

One night she was conveyed secretly to an empty pavilion in a deserted garden, and there told to await her friends. The friend she awaited she well knew to be Death, and that friend she was ready to meet with joy. Knowing that her particular task on earth was finished, and, with that second sight of the soul granted to such high spirits about to quit their earthly tenement, she foresaw that the seed she had sown would be quickened into such life that one day her sister women of Persia would shake off their shackles, and, their brothers helping them, would stand up free human beings, rejoicing, instead of deploring, that Allah had decreed them to be women.

The new day was just dawning in the deserted garden when a negro, hired for the purpose at the price of his own life, crept up to the quiet pavilion where sat his waiting victim. He kept his eyes averted, and cotton wool was in his ears lest the sound of that voice which had brought comfort to so many a weary soul should cast its spell upon him. In his hand he held a long scarf. With fierce rapidity he accomplished the deed, then fled, trembling at the remembrance of that calm and shining face.—CONSTANCE ELIZABETH MAUD in the *Fortnightly Review*.

The French in Algeria.*

[COMMUNICATED]

IN THE very interesting account which Mrs Devereux Roy has given of the present condition of Algeria, she says that France "is now about to embark upon a radical change of policy in regard to her African colonies." If it be thought presumptuous for a foreigner who has no local knowledge of Algerian affairs to make certain suggestions as to the direction which those changes might profitably assume, an apology must be found in Mrs Roy's very true remark that England "can no more afford to be indifferent to the relations of France with her Moslem subjects than she can disregard the trend of our policy in Egypt and India." It is, indeed, manifest that somewhat drastic reforms of a liberal character will have to be undertaken in Algeria. The French Government have adopted the only policy which is worthy of a civilized nation. They have educated the Algerians, albeit Mrs Roy tells us that grants for educational purposes have been doled out "with a very sparing hand." They must bear the consequences of the generous policy which they have pursued. They must recognize, as Macaulay said years ago, that it is impossible to impart knowledge without stimulating ambition. Reforms are, therefore, imposed by the necessities of the situation.

These reforms may be classified under three heads, namely, fiscal, judicial, and political. The order in which changes under each head should be undertaken would appear to be a matter of vital importance. If responsible French statesmen make a mistake in this matter—if, to use the language of proverbial philosophy, they put the cart before the horse—they may not improbably lay the seeds of very great trouble for their countrymen in the future. Prince Bismarck once said: "Mistakes committed in statesmanship are not always punished at once, but they always do harm in the end. The logic of history is a more exact and a more exacting accountant than is the strictest national auditing department."

It should never be forgotten that, however much local circumstances may differ, there are certain broad features which always exist wherever the European—be he French, English, German, or of any other nationality—is brought in contact with Oriental—be he Algerian, Indian, or Egyptian. When the former once steps outside the influence acquired by the power of the sword, and seeks for any common ground of understanding with the subject race, he finds that he is, by the elementary facts of the case, debarred from using all those moral influences which, in more homogeneous countries, bind society together. There are a common religion, a common language, common traditions, and—save in very rare instances—intermarriage and real-

ly intimate social relations. What therefore remains? Practically nothing but the bond of material interest, tempered by as much sympathy as it is possible in the difficult circumstances of the case to bring into play. But on this poor material—for it must be admitted that it is poor material—experience has shown that a wise statesmanship can build a political edifice, not indeed on such assured foundations as prevail in more homogeneous societies, but nevertheless of a character which will give some solid guarantees of stability, and which will, in any case, minimize the risk that the sword, which the European would fain leave in the scabbard, shall be constantly flaunted before the eyes both of the subject and the governing races, the latter of whom, on grounds alike of policy and humanity, deprecate its use save in cases of extreme necessity.

In the long course of our history many mistakes have been made in dealing with subject races, and the line of conduct pursued at various times has often been very erratic. Nevertheless, it would be true to say that, broadly speaking, British policy has been persistently directed towards an endeavour to strengthen political bonds through the medium of attention to material interests. The recent history of Egypt is a case in point.

No one who was well acquainted with the facts could at any time have thought that it would be possible to create in the minds of the Egyptians a feeling of devotion towards England which might in some degree take the place of patriotism. Neither, in spite of the relatively higher degree of social elasticity possessed by the French, is it at all probable that any such feeling towards France will be created in Algeria. But it was thought that by careful attention to the material interests of the people it might eventually be possible to bring into existence a conservative class who, albeit animated by no great love for their foreign rulers, would be sufficiently contented to prevent their becoming easily the prey either of the Nationalist demagogue, who was sure sooner or later to spring into existence, or that of some barbarous religious fanatic, such as the Mahdi, or, finally, that of some wily politician, such as the Sultan Abdul Hamid who would, for his own purposes, fan the flame of religious and racial hatred. For many years after the British occupation of Egypt began, the efforts of the British administrators in that country were unceasingly directed towards the attainment of that object. The methods adopted, which it should be observed were in the main carried out before any large sums were spent on education, were the relief of taxation, the abolition of fiscal inequality and of the *corvée*, the improvement of irrigation, and last, but not least, a variety of measures having for their object the maintenance of a peasant proprietary class. The results which have been attained fully justify the adoption of this policy, which has probably never been fully understood on the Continent of Europe, even if—which is very doubtful—it has been understood in England. What, in fact, has happened in Egypt? Nationalists have enjoyed an excess of licence in a free press. The Sultan has preached pan-Islamism. The usual Oriental intrigue has been rife. British politicians and a section of the British press, being very imperfectly informed as to the situation, have occasionally dealt with Egyptian affairs in a manner which to say the least, was indiscreet. But all has been of no avail. In spite of some outward appearances to the contrary, the whole Nationalist movement in Egypt has been a mere splutter on the surface. It never extended deep down in the social ranks. More than this. When a very well intentioned but rather rash attempt was made to advance too rapidly in a liberal direction, the inevitable reaction, which was to have been foreseen, took place. Not merely Europeans but also Egyptians cried out loudly for a halt, and, with the appointment of Lord Kitchener, they got what they wanted. The case would have been very different if the Nationalist, the religious fanatic, or the scheming politician, in dealing with some controversial point or incident of ephemeral interest, had been able to appeal to a mass of deep-seated discontent due to general causes and to the existence of substantial grievances. In that case the Nationalist movement would have been less artificial. It would have extended not merely to the surface but to the core of society. It would have possessed a real rather than, as has been shown to be the case, a spurious vitality. The recent history of Egypt, therefore, is merely an illustration of the general lesson taught by universal history. That lesson is that the best, and indeed the only, way to combat successfully the proceedings of the demagogue or the agitator is to limit his field of action by the removal of any real grievances which, if still existent, he would be able to use as a lever to awaken the blind wrath of the masses.

How far can principles somewhat analogous to these be applied in Algeria?

In the first place, it is abundantly clear that, from many points of view, the French Government have successfully carried out the policy of ministering to the material wants of the native population. Public works of great utility have been constructed. Means of locomotion have been improved. Modern agricultural methods have been introduced. Famine has been rendered impossible. Mutual benefit societies have been established. The creation of economic habits has been encouraged. In all these matters the French have

**Aspect of Algeria*, By Mrs. Devereux Roy, London: Dent and Son. [10s. 6d.]

certainly nothing to learn from us. Possibly, indeed, we may have something to learn from them. Nevertheless, when it is asked whether the French Government is likely to reap the political fruits which it might have been hoped would be the result of their efforts, whether they are in a fair way towards creating a conservative spirit which would be adverse to any radical change, and whether, in reliance on that spirit, they are in a position to move boldly forward in the direction of that liberal reform, the demand for which has naturally sprung into existence from educational policy, it is at once clear that they are heavily weighted by the policy originated some seventy years ago by Marshal Bugeaud, under which the interests of the native population were made subservient to those of the colonists, numbering about three-quarters of a million, of whom, Mrs. Roy tells us, less than one-half are of French origin. It may have been wise and necessary to initiate that policy. It may be wise and necessary to continue it with certain modifications. But it is obvious that the adoption of Marshal Bugeaud's plan has necessarily led to the creation of substantial grievances, which are important alike from the point of view of sentiment and from that of material interests. It appears now that there is some probability that this policy will be modified in at least one very important respect, namely, by the removal of the fiscal inequality which at present exists between the natives and the colonists. The former are at present heavily taxed; the latter pay relatively very little. It may be suggested that it would be worth the while of the French Government to consider whether this change should not occupy the first place in the programme of reform. The present system is obviously indefensible on general grounds, whilst its continuance, until its abolition results from the strong native pressure which will certainly ensue after the adoption of any drastic measure of political reform, would appear to be undesirable. It would probably be wise and statesmanlike not to await this pressure, but to let the concession be the spontaneous act of the French Government and nation rather than give the appearance of its having been wrung reluctantly from France by the insistence of the native population and its representatives.

Next, there is the question of judicial reform. Mrs. Roy tells us that, under what is called the *Code de l'indigénat*, "a native can be arrested and imprisoned practically without trial at the will of the *administrateur* for his district." It would require full local knowledge to treat this question adequately, but it would obviously be desirable that the French Government should go as far as possible in the direction of providing that all judicial matters should be settled by judicial officers who would be independent of the executive and, for the most part, irremovable. Some local friction between the executive and the judicial authorities is probably to be expected. That cannot be helped. It might perhaps be mitigated by a very careful choice of the officials in each case.

In the third place, there is the question of political reform. M. Philippe Millet, who has published an interesting article on this subject in the April number of the *Nineteenth Century*, is of course quite right in saying that political reform is the "key to every other change." Once give the natives of Algeria effective political strength, and the reforms will be forced upon the Government. But, as has been already stated, it would perhaps be wiser and more statesmanlike that these changes should be conceded spontaneously by the French Government, and that then, after a reasonable interval, the bulk of the political reforms follow.

A distinction, however, has to be made between the various representative institutions which already exist. The *Conseil Supérieur* and the *Délégations Financières* have extensive powers, including that of rejecting or modifying the Budget. At present these bodies may be said, for all practical purposes, to be merely representative of the colonists. It would certainly appear wise eventually to allow the natives both a large numerical strength on the *Conseil* and on the *Délégations*, and also by rearranging the franchise, to endeavour to secure a more real representation of native interests. It must, however, be borne in mind that the difficulties of securing any real representation of the best interests in the country almost certainly be very great if not altogether insuperable. In all probability the lequacious, semi-educated native, who has in him the makings of an agitator, will, under any system, naturally float to the top, whilst the really representative man will sink to the bottom. It would perhaps, therefore, be as well not to move in too great a hurry in this matter, and, when any move is made, that the advance should be of a very cautious and tentative nature.

The *Conseils Généraux*, which are provincial and municipal bodies, stand on a very different footing. Here it may be safe to move forward in the path of reform with greater boldness and with less delay. But whatever is done it will probably be found that real progress in the direction of self-government will depend more on the attitude of the French officials who are associated with the *Conseils* than on any system which can be devised on paper. It may be assumed that the French officials in Algeria present the usual characteristics of their class; that is to say, that they are

courageous, intelligent, zealous, and thoroughly honest. Also it may probably be assumed that they are somewhat inelastic, somewhat unduly wedded to bureaucratic ideas, and more specially that they are possessed with the very natural idea that the main end and object of their lives is to secure the efficiency of the administration. Now if self-government is to be a success, they will have to modify to some extent their ideas as to the supreme necessity of efficiency. That is to say, they will have to recognize that it is politically wiser to put up with an imperfect reform carried with native consent, rather than to insist on some more perfect measure executed in the teeth of strong—albeit often unreasonable—native opposition. English experience has shown that this is a very hard lesson for officials to learn. Nevertheless, the task of inculcating general principles of this nature is not altogether impossible. It depends mainly on the impulse which is given from above. To entrust the execution of a policy of reform in Algeria to a man of ultra-bureaucratic tendencies, who is hostile to reform of any kind, would, of course, be to court failure. On the other hand, to select an extreme radical visionary, who will probably not recognize the difference between East and West, would be scarcely less disastrous. What, in fact, is required is a man of somewhat exceptional qualities. He must be strong—that is to say, he must impress the natives with the conviction that, albeit an advocate of liberal ideas, he is firmly resolved to consent to nothing which is likely to be detrimental to the true interests of France. He must also be sufficiently strong to keep his own officials in hand and to make them conform to his policy, whilst at the same time he must be sufficiently tactful to win their confidence and to prevent their being banded together against him. The latter is a point of very special importance, for in a country like Algeria no government, however powerful, will be able to carry out a really beneficial programme of reform if the organized strength of the bureaucracy—backed up, as would probably be the case, by the whole of the European unofficial community—is thrown into bitter and irreconcilable opposition. The task, it may be repeated, is a difficult one. Nevertheless, amongst the many men of very high ability in the French service there must assuredly be some who would be able to undertake it with a fair chance of success.

One further remark on this very interesting subject may be made. M. Millet, in the article to which allusion has already been made, says "The Algerian natives will look more and more to France as their natural protector against the colonists." It will, it is to be hoped, not be thought over-presumptuous to sound a note of warning against trusting too much to this argument. That for the present the natives should look to France rather than to the colonists is natural enough. It is manifestly their interest to do so. But it may be doubted whether they will be "more and more" inspired by such sentiments as time goes on. There is an Arabic proverb to the effect that "all Christians are of one tribe." That is the spirit which in reality inspires the whole Moslem world. It is illustrated by the author of that very remarkable work, *Turkey in Europe*, in an amusing apologue. Let once some semi-religious, semi-patriotic leader arise, who will play skilfully on the passions of the masses, and it will be somewhat surprising if the distinction which now exists will long survive. All Frenchmen, those in France equally with those in Algeria, will then, it may confidently be expected be speedily confounded in one general anathema.—CROMER in the *Spectator*.

Egypt's Financial Relations With Turkey.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST'S" CORRESPONDENT.)

THE news cabled out here that it was understood that one of the conditions of the agreement which is being negotiated between England and Turkey will be the abolition of the Turkish veto on Egypt's borrowing powers has been confirmed locally. This veto was introduced by the Sultan into the firman of August, 1879, which appointed Tewfik Pasha Khedive of Egypt. It had not existed in the great firman of June 8, 1878, which consolidated all the previous firmans and altered the order of succession in the manner asked for by Ismail Pasha. The veto was confirmed in the firman of 1892, granted to the present Khedive, and constituted the main obstacle to the contraction of any public debt by Egypt. This proposed alteration in the relations between this country and Turkey has attracted a great deal of attention out here, and the conclusion has been immediately drawn that a loan is in perspective. I am advised that such an assumption is without foundation, and that for the present there is no intention to increase that indebtedness of this country. The opportunity presented itself for obtaining for Egypt the abolition of an embargo which no longer had any *raison d'être*, and, in view of the possibility that in the near future Egypt might, for some reason or other, require to raise a loan, the British Government quite rightly decided to take advantage of it.

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